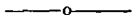




WORKS ISSUED BY

# The Hakluyt Society



THE EMBASSY

OF

SIR THOMAS ROE TO INDIA

1615—1619

VOI 1

SECOND SERIES,

No. 1



THOMAS ROE K.

1881

THE EMBASSY  
OF  
SIR THOMAS ROE  
TO THE  
COURT OF THE GREAT MOGUL,  
1615-1619

AS NARRATED IN HIS JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE

Edited from Contemporary Records

BY  
WILLIAM LOSTIER BA

*Editor of "Letters Received by the East India Company 1613-1619" in 1881 and of  
"The First Letter Book of the East India Company 1600-1619"  
Honorary Secretary of the H. M. S. Society*

*Inter omnia gentes quæ relationes sunt de hoc Regno pendulorum,  
facile tale et id gustum principis est THOMAS ROE'S Legatus, Mogen  
Hollanderum Regni ad imperatorem Indiarum Regem Legatus.*

DE LACEY De Imperio Mogul Mogul 1631

VOL. I

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TO  
SIR GEORGE C. M. BIRDWOOD  
M.D., K.C.I.E., C.S.I., LL.D.,  
THIS ATTEMPT TO CONTINUE  
THE WORK INAUGURATED BY HIM  
OF MAKING BETTER KNOWN  
THE BEGINNINGS OF BRITISH INDIA  
IS DEDICATED  
WITH THE WARMEST SENTIMENTS  
OF RESPECT AND REGARD.



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## PREFACE.

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THE mission of Sir Thomas Roe to the court of Jahángír was not only a remarkable episode in the life of a remarkable man, but an event of high importance in the history both of England and of India for the footing which was then obtained, largely through his energy and wisdom, by the despised traders from the West, proved to be but the first step in a march of conquest which has only of late years reached its limits and the scarlet liveries which escorted the ambassador through Rájputána were prophetic of a time when a descendant of King James should rule over an Indian empire vaster and infinitely more prosperous than ever owned the sway of a Mogul.

Considerations of this nature would not, it is true, entitle an account of the embassy to a place among the publications of the Hakluyt Society. But it happens that the ambassador kept, for the information of his employers a minute and careful record of the events of his mission besides writing from time to time full accounts of his proceedings to his many friends in England, and being in a land so little known to his fellow-countrymen his diary and letters are naturally full not only of what he did but also of what he saw. His position afforded him excellent opportunities for observation, while a natural gift for literary expression imparted a vividness to his descriptions which is often lacking in the writings of other travellers of the period. The result is a picture of the India of the early seventeenth century which is of exceptional value and interest, and on this ground the Council of the Society have judged his journal suitable for inclusion in their series.

As explained at greater length in the Introduction, the

present edition is based chiefly upon Roe's own copy of his journal (Brit. Mus *Addl MS* 6115), which has been printed for the first time at full length. Unfortunately this record is not complete, and for the third year of the embassy we are dependent upon the extracts given in *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, while of the fourth and concluding year we have only the particulars to be gleaned from the correspondence of the time. Roe's narrative has been supplemented by about fifty of his letters and other documents bearing on the mission, very few of which have been published before, and the whole has been illustrated in the notes by extracts from other contemporary records, especially from the account published by the ambassador's chaplain, the Rev Edward Terry

The editor's sincere thanks are due to the authorities at the India Office, British Museum, and Public Record Office, for the manner in which his examination of the documents in their archives has been facilitated. He has also been indebted to Sir George Birdwood, K.C.I.E., Mr. A. N. Wollaston, C.I.E., Mr. C. H. Tawney, C.I.E., Professor Denison Ross, Ph.D., Dr. James Burgess, C.I.E., and Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole, for friendly assistance and advice, to Mr. Alexander Rogers, late of the Bombay Council, for permission to consult and make use of his manuscript translation of the *Tūzak-i-Jahāngīrī*, now the property of the Royal Asiatic Society, and to several other gentlemen whose assistance in connexion with specific points has been acknowledged in the course of the work

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# INTRODUCTION

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Toward the end of this present yeere 1612, viz. in the beginning of January his majesty at the request of the East India company sent Sir Thomas Roe Knight, Ambassadour to the great Moghoore, whome some corruptly call Mogall into whome this Ambassadour had commission to make and contract a league between his Majesty and his Subjects for commerce and Traffique in his Dominions, and to procure and establish a factory for our nation in sundry parts of his Dominions, as well Seaports as Island Townes, with other instructions yet vndiscovered. Hee is the first that ever was employed in this his Nature to any of those so farre remote easterne princes. —*Stow's Annals continued by Edmund Howes* (London, 1615), p. 945.



THE early attempts of the English to establish themselves in India have been to some extent narrated in two previous volumes of the Society's series. In *The Hawkins' Voyages*, edited by Sir Clements Markham in 1878, will be found an account of the arrival of the first English ship at Surat, in August, 1608 the journey to Agra of its captain, William Hawkins, to present a commendatory letter from King James, and to solicit trading privileges his encouraging reception by the Great Mogul and the consequent alarm and intrigues of the Portuguese representatives, resulting in the virtual dismissal of Hawkins in November 1611. The narrative is continued in the extracts from the India Office Records given in *The Voyages of Sir James Lancaster* (1877). From these we learn the arrival at Surat in September 1611 of the

ships of the Sixth Voyage under Sir Henry Middleton the indecision and double-dealing of the local authorities, culminating in an absolute refusal of trade Middleton's consequent departure (after embarking Hawkins and his companions), and his retaliation upon the Surat traders in the Red Sea the coming (September, 1612) of Thomas Best with a fresh fleet, all unaware of the difficulties with his predecessor his favourable reception, due, it would seem, to the terror inspired by Middleton's proceedings the conclusion of a trading agreement with the local officials, confirmed in general terms by a *farmán* from the Court the repulse of an attack made upon the English by a Portuguese fleet from Goa and finally Best's departure for Achin (January, 1613), leaving Thomas Aldworth to take charge of the factory at Surat, and Paul Canning to go up to Agra, carrying fresh letters and presents for the Great Mogul

Thus far, as we have said, the reader is already acquainted with the course of events, and little more was known to the East India Company itself in June, 1614, when Best, upon his return, related in detail his proceedings His glowing report of the prospects of the trade, and of the privileges he had obtained, confirmed the Company in its resolution to push matters vigorously in this direction Already, in the preceding February, a fleet of four ships had been despatched to Surat under the experienced leadership of Nicholas Downton, and it was now determined to prepare a fresh expedition to be set forth by Christmastide William Keeling, who had taken part in the First Voyage, and had commanded the Third, was placed in charge of the new fleet, with the *Dragon* as his flagship, to Christopher Newport, of Virginia fame, the successful leader of the Twelfth Voyage, was assigned the *Lion*, Walter Peyton, who had been master of Newport's ship in the same voyage, was

promoted to the charge of the *Expedition*, and Christopher Harris was appointed to command the *Peppercorn*.

The fleet was the finest and best-equipped that had yet been sent out by the Company, it had a leader who was second to none in all the qualifications for command and who was moreover, invested with powers such as had never been conferred on any of his predecessors. But it was to enjoy a still greater distinction, for it was to carry out to India an ambassador from King James himself. On September 7 when the preparations for the despatch of the fleet were in full swing the Governor of the Company Sir Thomas Smythe, brought forward a proposal which had probably been debated for some time in private by the principal members of the Court viz., the advisability of sending one of extraordinarye partes to reside at Agra to prevent any plottes that may be wrought by the Iesuites to circumvent our trade" and to obtain such a confirmation of trading privileges as would place the English commerce on a firm and enduring basis. One of the articles of Best's agreement stipulated that an English representative should be allowed to reside at the Mogul Court and the experience of the last few years had completely demonstrated the desirability that this representative should be someone of standing sent expressly from England. In November, 1613 Aldworth writing from Ahmadábád had expressed a hope that "their might a sufficient man be sent in your first shippes that may bee Resident in Agra withe the Kinge and sutch a one whose person may breade regarde, for they here looke much after greate men;" while another factor William Biddulph wrote from Surat to the same effect.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> I O Records O C., Nos. 116, 117. Neither of these letters had reached the Court at this date; but a letter from Aldworth to Best at Achin had been communicated to them, and doubtless it was of the same tenour. Of course, too, Best was aware of the general feeling among the factors on this subject.

The Governor was evidently in favour of the adoption of such a course, but when the matter came to be debated, considerable opposition was manifested. Some doubted the advisability of taking such a step until the results of Downton's expedition were known, others considered that "a meere merchaunt" (such had, in fact, been sent out in that fleet in the person of William Edwards) would be quite sufficient and less expensive, others again hinted a fear that his Majesty, who must necessarily be consulted if a royal ambassador were sent, would "putt vpon them" some courtier who would contemn their authority and deal with their men and goods at his pleasure. The question was anxiously debated at several meetings before a resolution was arrived at. At last, however (on October 7, 1614), "the former reasons were againe reiterated and amplyfied, and all inconueniences and obiections fullie considered and argued," and the despatch of "an Embassadour of extraordinarye Countenance and respect

was resolued of by erection of hanndes as most necessary" The next question—who should be chosen for the post—gave rise to another prolonged discussion. Sir John Brooke was proposed, but rejected on the ground of his weak health. "One Master Bailie" was next considered, and passed by. In the end "none were esteemed soe fittinge for that seruice as Sir Thomas Roe, yf hee may bee had," and the Governor, whose nominee he seems to have been, was requested to treat with him as to the terms on which he would accept employment.

A happier choice could not have been made. Roe was in the prime of life, "of a pregnant vnderstandinge, well spoken, learned, industrious, and of a comelie personage" (*Court Minutes*, September 7, 1614), his commanding presence and dignified bearing were useful qualifications for a mission to an Eastern court, while in the still more important matters of judgment and tact he was equally

well equipped. Sprung from a noted city family he combined the shrewdness, readiness of resource, and business ability which had raised his ancestors to fortune, with the culture and experience obtained by a varied training in most favourable circumstances. Of his earlier life there is not much to record. He was born at Leyton in 1580 or 1581 the son of Robert Roe,<sup>1</sup> and grandson of Sir Thomas Roe (lord mayor in 1568). In 1593 he was entered at Magdalen College Oxford. His father died while Roe was still a minor and his mother married into the Berkeley family. Probably by the influence of his new relatives after spending some time "in one of the inns of Court<sup>2</sup> or in France or both" (Wood's *Athenæ*), he was made an Esquire of the Body to Queen Elizabeth. Her Majesty's death did not hinder his advancement at court, for two years later he was knighted by her successor. The young courtier formed close friendships with Prince Henry and his sister Elizabeth (afterwards Electress Palatine and titular Queen of Bohemia), both seem to have been much attached to Roe and in after years the unhappy princess kept up a constant and intimate correspondence with "Honest Tom" (as she called him), and profited much by his devoted attention to her interests. Under the patronage of the Prince Roe sought experience of the adventurous sort which was then in fashion. Equipping a couple of pinnaces, he set sail in February 1610, on a voyage of discovery to Guiana in the course of which he is said to have penetrated three hundred miles up the little known river of the Amazons and to have examined

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Roe was the fourth son of Sir Thomas Roe, the eldest being John, who married a daughter of Secretary Wilson. According to a pedigree in the British Museum (*Hart MS 1174, f 89*), which purports to be a copy of one (verified by the heralds) in the possession of Sir Thomas the younger the latter was son of John—not of Robert but there seems to be little doubt that this is a mistake.

<sup>2</sup> In Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* (vol. iii, p. 1272), Roe is stated to have been entered as a student in the Middle Temple in 1597.

the coast from the mouth of that river to the Orinoco, reaching England again in July, 1611<sup>1</sup> Soon, however, a cloud came over his fortunes The Prince, from whose favour he might have hoped for much, died in November, 1612, and a few months later, the Princess's marriage took away his other patron After spending some months on the Continent, Roe resolved to enter public life, and in the "Addled Parliament" of 1614 he sat as member for Tamworth But though "he was one of those men who, if James had been well advised, would have been the very first to be selected for high office,"<sup>2</sup> his enlightened views were little likely to commend themselves to that monarch, and thus left with no prospect at home of reconciling his loyalty and affection for the royal family with his duty to the nation, it was to foreign service alone that Roe could look for a career of usefulness

There were other reasons also why he was glad to accept employment of this nature His fortune, which was probably in the first instance but moderate, seems to have been by this time seriously impaired "I esteeme it an infinite mercy of God," he wrote later from India,<sup>3</sup> "that when I had fully ended and wasted my patrimony and saw no way but scorne (the reward of folly), before I suffred disgrace hee vndertooke mee, and, beeing as it were new borne, hee restored mee to a new Inheritance and sett me right, for I doubt not but to equall my wastes" Further, he had contracted a secret marriage with a lady of good social position (see p 254 *n*) a step which made it all the more prudent for him to take a post which offered a comfortable salary, together with a chance of displaying his diplomatic talents

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<sup>1</sup> Howes' continuation of Stow's *Annals*, p 946, and Mr Martin Hume's life of Sir Walter Raleigh, p 302

<sup>2</sup> Dr Gardiner, in his *History of England* (ed 1889), vol II, p 311

<sup>3</sup> Brit. Mus. *Harl MS* 1576, f. 514

and of thus recommending himself to the notice of the government.

The offer of the East India Company came therefore in good season and no difficulty was experienced in arriving at an agreement. Roe's salary was fixed at six hundred pounds a year of which one half was, at his request, to be put into the Company's stock. For the expenses of his outfit the Court bestowed upon him five hundred marks—a similar sum was advanced from his first year's salary "to satisfie some debtes which he oweth abroad" and 100*l* was lent for the purchase of plate for his table. Except a chaplain and a chirurgion whom the Company provided at the cost of 50*l* and 24*l* per annum respectively Roe was to engage his own retinue receiving for their wages an allowance of 100*l* a year with a grant of 30*l* towards the cost of their livenes. Diet and other household expenses were to be charged to the Company unless the Mogul should make an allowance for this purpose. Finally Roe was strictly bound to forbear all private trade himself and to hinder it as much as possible in others also to abstain from interference with the Company's factors in matters of merchandise.<sup>1</sup>

All that now remained to be done was to obtain the royal sanction. This was readily given King James approving both the Company's choice of an ambassador and the arrangements made for his mission "houlding yt a good ground for him to worke vpon yf occasion should be to treat with the Spanyards concerning the East Indies, or else with the Flemynges." Roe was accordingly furnished with letters of credence a royal missive to the Great Mogul, and detailed instructions for his guidance. The latter, it may be mentioned included directions as to

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<sup>1</sup> The agreement will be found in Appendix B. The other particulars here given are from the *Court Minutes* (i O Records).



the reply he was to give if asked why the Portuguese aggressions in Asia were not actively resented ; and also a recommendation to impress upon the Asiatic monarch, " by way of discourse," the greatness of King James and the naval strength of his kingdom, which " Maketh vs even a Terroure to all other Nations , Concluding all with this happines, that Wee be not onlie absolutelie obeyed but vniversally beloued and admyred of all our People " <sup>1</sup>

All being ready, on February 2, 1615, Roe embarked with fifteen followers in the *Lion* at Tilbury Hope<sup>2</sup> Some time was spent in the Downs, and again at Portland, waiting for a wind, so that it was March 6 before they lost sight of the Lizard The six months' voyage to Surat was uneventful, and to Roe exceedingly tedious Apparently, in order to satisfy some of the wiseacres of the Court, the commanders had been warned not to allow Roe to encroach upon their authority, and he found himself, therefore, excluded carefully from their deliberations. " I liue to myselve, as an Alion among the Tribes, as if the water were not my element," he wrote to the Governor of the Company (*Addl MS* 6115, f 52) Roe could not help feeling and resenting this suspicious attitude, and he was consequently in a critical mood for the greater part of the voyage He amused himself, however, by taking observations on his own account, and making notes of such tidings as came to his ears, " as poore men build their howses of reeds and canes for want of timber " The situation was, in fact, a delicate one , and with men less tactful than Roe and Keeling it might easily have brought about a quarrel The latter, however, showed the ambassador every consideration consistent with obedience to his

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<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B According to a note among the Bodleian manuscripts (*Carte* 103, f 289) Roe also took with him a scroll on which was emblazoned his pedigree

<sup>2</sup> Peyton's Journal (Brit. Mus *Addl MS* 19276 , and *Purchas His Pilgrimes*, vol 1, p 528)

instructions and he acknowledged in handsome terms his correct behaviour.

The ships touched at the Cape at the Comoro Islands and at Socotra. At the first of these stopping places they fell in with the *Merchant's Hope*, one of the vessels of Downyn's fleet of the preceding year now on her way back from Surat to England with a lading of chintzes and indigo. She brought news of important events as well on the Indian coast as at the Mogul Court. Soon after Best's departure from Surat as already recorded Canning started upon his mission to the Court. He reached Agra on April 9, 1613 and delivered the presents and royal letters of which he was the bearer. Not the influence of the Jesuits and of the anti-English party among the nobles proved paramount the Mogul and his minister declined to treat with one who by his own confession was merely a merchant, and Canning found himself slighted and his petitions for a grant of privileges and an answer to King James's missive ignored. Six weeks later he was carried off by sickness, and Thomas Kerridge was despatched from Surat to take his place. He experienced an equally unfavourable reception. Mukarrab Khan the former Viceroy of Gujarât to whom he was referred met his representations with complaints of Middleton's exactions in the Red Sea and with demands for compensation. The Portuguese agents spent freely and backed up their presents by threats of retaliation should the English be permitted access to the trade. "For good successe," wrote Kerridge to Aldworth, in September, 1613 "I have smale hope exceptt shippinge come this yeaere as well to curbe the Portingals as to affright this people, whome nothinge butt feare will make honest,"<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> O. C., No. 110 (printed in *Letters Received by the East India Co.* vol. i p. 281).

and he waited only for orders from his superior to abandon his fruitless mission. Suddenly, however, when the prospect appeared most hopeless, an ill-advised move on the part of the Portuguese brought about a complete change. A native vessel returning from the Red Sea with a rich freight was met off Surat by a Portuguese fleet, and, in spite of the fact that she was provided with the usual pass, she was captured and carried off. Apparently this was intended to frighten the Mogul into dismissing the English intruders, but it was presuming too much upon his patience, and the incensed monarch at once imprisoned all the Portuguese in his dominions and despatched Mukarrab Khán to besiege Damán. At this juncture (October, 1614) Downton arrived in Swally Road with his fleet—"four gallant shippes with four hundred gallant men," as Aldworth wrote joyfully to Kerridge (*O C*, No 170). Mukarrab Khán at once applied to the English commander for his co-operation against the common enemy. His credit was involved in the speedy capture of Damán, on the fortifications of which his clumsy artillery could make no impression, and he was anxious, therefore, that the English ships should go "batter the castle." He was willing to promise, in return, any concessions the English might desire, and he urged with much force that the quarrel was really due to the presence of their vessels. The situation was a difficult one. On the one hand, the triumph of the Portuguese would undoubtedly mean the exclusion of the English from the Mogul's dominions, while their previous attack upon Best's fleet seemed a sufficient justification for measures of reprisal. On the other, Downton's errand was a peaceful one, and he knew that his employers would disapprove of his risking their ships and goods by any warlike operations which were not absolutely necessary, moreover, his commission from the king strictly forbade

acts of unprovoked aggression against the Portuguese, and should he aid the infidels to capture one of their fortresses, he must expect that bitter complaints would be made by the Spanish Court, so that alike in the event of success or failure his position might well become serious. Downton though a capable seaman and a painstaking and reliable commander was naturally diffident in matters of this kind while his feeble health probably had its influence in preventing him from adopting a bold policy. A refusal was therefore returned to Mukarrab Khán's demand and Downton made it understood that he should confine himself strictly to standing on the defensive. Mukarrab Khán indignant at this reply, put for a time every obstacle in the way of the English trade and made overtures to the Dutch at Masulipatam. Soon however the intelligence that the Viceroy of Goa was preparing an armament to attack Surat convinced him of the impolicy of driving away his only friends, and he therefore made Aldworth "large promises of future good respect," and paid a visit to Downton to whom he was very gracious. A fortnight later a score of small vessels—the advance guard of the Portuguese flotilla—arrived and these were followed shortly after (January 1615) by the Viceroy himself with a formidable array. Mukarrab Khán intimidated by these forces, and feeling little reliance on English help made overtures for peace but fortunately the Viceroy convinced that victory was within his grasp rejected the proffered terms as insufficient. The fight that followed has been several times narrated. The English position amongst the sandbanks of the roadstead though it had many drawbacks, neutralised to some extent the superiority in numbers of the Portuguese. An attempt to carry the *Merchant's Hope* by boarding was repulsed with great loss and subsequent endeavours to destroy the English vessels by means of

fireships were frustrated by Downton's vigilance and adroit manœuvring. Finding at last that he could make no impression upon his opponent's fleet, and not daring to leave his ships exposed to their attacks while he sent his men up the river to attack Surat, the Viceroy was forced to abandon the attempt and to retire baffled. Downton remained until March 2, when the fleet set sail the *Hope* for England, and the rest for Bantam. Meanwhile, William Edwards, the chief of the newly-arrived factors, had been despatched to Court with a new letter from King James and a fresh batch of presents, in the hope that, under altered circumstances, he would succeed in obtaining the formal grant of privileges for which Kerridge had pleaded in vain.

Such was the intelligence received by Roe at Table Bay. There was little more to learn when the ships cast anchor in Swally Road (September 18, 1615). Edwards was still at Court, where, owing partly to the Mogul's gratification at the presents he brought and partly to the impression produced by Downton's victory, he had met with a very promising reception. No peace had been concluded, though a preliminary agreement between Mukarrab Khán and a Portuguese representative had been submitted to the Mogul for ratification, and hostilities were for the present suspended. Surat was now nominally under the rule of Prince Khurram, the Mogul's favourite son, who had committed its government and the care of its rising revenues to one of his confidants, named Zúlfikár Khán. The latter, however, was not more favourably inclined towards the English than his predecessors, while a powerful party at Court, including the Prince and Mukarrab Khán, made no secret of their preference for the Portuguese.

There was thus ample scope for the abilities of the ambassador, whose difficulties commenced from the moment of his landing. He had wisely determined to

take a high tone from the first and to insist upon being received with the respect due to his office. This was the more necessary, as hitherto the English representatives had made no attempt to assert their dignity; indeed the latest, Edwards, had "suffered blowes of the porters base *Prons* and beene thrust out by them with much scorne by head and shoulders without seeking satisfaction and        carried himselfe with such Complacency that hath bredd a low reputation of our Nation" (*Roe to Smythe* January 24 1616). Small wonder was it that upon the announcement of the arrival of yet another "ambassador," making high claim to respect the natives "laught one upon another" (p. 45), or that the Governor of Surat felt himself at liberty to flout the new-comer and rifle the merchants goods at his pleasure, regardless of protests and threats. Finding that no offer was made to bribe him into civility, he threw manifold obstacles in the way of the ambassador, and employed every artifice to humiliate and embarrass him. The story of the contest between the two furnishes most amusing reading. The victory rested with the Englishman whose cool and resolute fence proved more than a match for the Oriental cunning of his adversary and when Roe set out on his journey to the Court, the Governor humbly desired his friendship, and offered him "anything he would demand."

The situation of the English had, in fact, been changed by Roe's arrival in a way that completely justified the despatch of the embassy. Never, perhaps, were his countrymen so near expulsion from this, their only foothold in the Moguls dominions—and expulsion would have meant reprisals which might well have made an irreparable breach. The draft treaty which was being pressed upon Jahángír by the advocates of the Portuguese stipulated for the absolute exclusion of the English from all parts of

his empire On October 18 arrived a *farman* from the Prince, ordering "that the English should discharge one ship and haue a Monthes staye, in trade, but no residences in the Towne," and although it was afterwards found expedient to disavow these instructions, there can be no doubt that they were issued, and would in other circumstances have been obeyed Roe, nothing daunted, resolved to hasten his journey to Court, and to ascertain from the king himself whether he was disposed to meet the reasonable demands of the English If not, Roe would "returne to our shipes with expedition, having aduertised the Mogull That as he was Lord of his owne land and might doe his pleasure, and had forsaken the amytye of a Prince who had desired yt in faire and Honorable tearmes, for the Portugalls who made him tributary, to his eternall dishonor,<sup>1</sup> So he would fynd by experience the king my Master would be lord of all these seas and Ports to the prejudice of his subjects, in spight of those in whom he now trusted" (p 75) Fortunately, this extreme measure was not required The news that a real ambassador from the English king had arrived with presents roused the curiosity and cupidity of Jahángír himself, and a letter of reproof to the Governor was followed by a safe-conduct for Roe, "in all things very fauourable (except chardges)," which made his opponent look "very blancke" and enabled the ambassador to quit Surat in triumph

He arrived at Ajmere on December 23, 1615, the journey having taken close upon two months On his way up country, he paid a visit at Burhánpur to Sultan Parwíz, the Mogul's second son, who was nominally in command of the army operating against the forces of the Deccan kings, and from him Roe obtained a *farman* authorising the English to establish a factory in that city

<sup>1</sup> See note on p 472

The journey was made in much discomfort. At Burhánpur fever laid hold of the ambassador and shortly after his departure thence, for two nights (he wrote) "I was soe neere death that my owne company gaue me ouer but God rayseed me a little" (*Rec to Accling Addl MS* 6115 L 64). Even when he had reached the Court ("with as much dainger of dayly death as euer any man did being carried all the way of my Iourny and soe layed in my bed"), for a whole week he lay prostrate, and it was not until January 10, 1616 that he was able to present himself at the *darbār*<sup>1</sup>

The monarch to whom he was now introduced is known to history by the high sounding title of Jahángír ("World Grasper," or "Conqueror of the World"). He had been on the throne of Hindustán a little more than ten years having succeeded his father the great Akbar in 1605. Some characteristics were common to both father and son—the love of hunting and other sports, the painstaking administration of justice, the considerate bearing towards strangers—but in other respects there was a great contrast between them. Of Akbar's administrative ability as of his military skill Jahángír had not a trace. Both monarchs interested themselves in religious discussions, but while Akbar had been actuated by a sincere desire to find a faith which should reconcile the clashing tenets of the creeds around him—"a temple neither pagod mosque nor church"—Jahángír though even in drink he would "dispute of the lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomett," felt but a

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<sup>1</sup> This illness was but the forerunner of many others that afflicted him during his stay in India. Little is said upon the subject in the Journal, but it is mentioned from time to time in his private letters, and the many vexations of his mission were seriously aggravated by this constant ill-health. Few more melancholy sentences were ever written than that quoted on p. 343. "I was not borne to a life smooth and easy; all my actions have beene mingled with crosses and rubbes, that I might rather say I wrestled then walked toward my Graue."



languid interest in such questions, and his tolerance was the outcome not of reason but of indifference. What in the father had been the eager workings of a mind desirous of embracing and utilising information of all kinds, became in the son a childish curiosity which (as evinced in his extraordinary diary) found as much satisfaction in watching the birds of his aviary, or counting the number of cups of wine he drank, as in hearing of the weightiest matters of state. But, on the whole, despite his drunkenness, his occasional lapses into cruelty, his weak-minded submission to the influence of his wife and of his favourite son, the portrait of Jahángír drawn by Roe is not unfavourable. He was uniformly kind and courteous to the ambassador, and his gracious behaviour on this occasion greatly pleased and encouraged Roe, who notes exultantly that he was treated "with more fauour and outward grace than euer was showed to any Ambassador, cyther of the Turke or Persian or other whatsoeuer." It is evident that the king was favourably impressed by Roe's demeanour, and, indeed, his attitude during the whole period of the latter's stay in the country showed his personal esteem and liking for the ambassador, combined, it must be owned, with a total indifference to the objects of his mission.

But however well-disposed the monarch himself might be, Roe soon found that there were other persons to be reckoned with whose good-will it was not so easy to secure. The Conqueror of the World was the slave of a woman—his consort, Núr Mahál, or Núr Jahán, as she was afterwards styled. Her father, Itimád-uddaula, and her brother, Asaf Khán, had a large share in the administration of affairs, while her niece (Ásaf Khán's daughter) was the wife of Sultán Khurram, the Mogul's favourite son, who afterwards succeeded to the throne under the title of Sháh Jahán. All these personages were at this time in close alliance, their special aim being to strengthen the

prince's influence and advance his interests against those of his elder brothers—Sultán Khusru who since his rebellion (1606) had been kept a close prisoner, and Sultán Parwáz, who (as already stated) was nominally in command of the army in the Deccan.<sup>1</sup> Unfortunately Roe did not at first perceive or else failed to estimate correctly, the strength of the power behind the throne. Confident in the good will of the king he hoped to override, if necessary, all opposition and the parsimony exercised by the Court in his stock of presents contrasting with the lavish supply sent with his predecessor, effectually prevented him from making friends in the only way friends could be made at the Mogul Court. Even for the king himself Roe had to draw upon his own slender store, and he was absolutely destitute of presents fit to be offered to the Queen or sufficient to satisfy the inordinate expectations of her brother<sup>2</sup>.

To the Prince he paid a visit of compliment and delivered a present, though "not in the name of his Majestic, it beeing too meane," but at the first interview he hinted an intention of appealing to the Mogul if speedy satisfaction were not given for the wrongs suffered at Surat. The veiled

<sup>1</sup> "Asaph Chan did expect some great present for him selfe and the Queene, as I vnderstood; and as he is the Cheefest man with the King soe is he in faction with Sultan Coronne (who hath married his daughter), and Normall the betoued wife of the King is sister to Asaph Chan. So they are locked together gouerne the King and carry busines that no Complaynt should be made wherby the King might be angry with Sultan Coronne."—*Roe to the Company* January 25, 1616 (*Add. MS* 6115 f. 71).

<sup>2</sup> "For presents, I haue none, or so meane that they are woorse then none so that I haue resolved to giue none, for the last years liberaltye and prouision of the Company was such as I can no way equal. Therefore I answer all the Great ones t come from King to King not to present euery man, but to demand Iustice for the Injuries and insolencies offered his Majesties subjects (*Roe to Keeling* January 13, 1616: *Add. MS* 6115, f. 65).

In an earlier letter (January 1, 1616 *Ibid.*), Roe told Keeling that he had sent Asaf Khan "a ringe to make aquayntance (not as a present, but in loue)," but it had been returned "as too poore of value; yett did the Kings stone Cutter rate it at 400 *rupyes*."

threat was hardly likely to be palatable to the Prince, whose "proud nature" is especially noted by Roe, and whose prepossession against the English mission had probably been increased by the representations of Zúlfikár Khán, and the complaints from the Surat officials, not only of the loss of trade caused by the exclusion of the Portuguese, but also of the riotous behaviour of the English seamen

For the present, however, no animosity was shown, and Roe set about his negotiations with great hope of success. One of the earliest objects of his solicitude had been the attitude of the Portuguese. As long as such attacks as those of 1612 and 1615 were possible, it was necessary to keep the whole of the English fleet at Surat for one ship's lading, at an expense of time and money which seriously reduced the profits of the trade. Could Roe have had his way, the challenge of the past year at Swally would have been answered at Goa, for "the offensive (he wrote to the Company) is both the nobler and the safer part" (p. 99). But his present errand was one of peace, and he had therefore, while still at Surat, addressed a letter to the Viceroy (couched, it is true, in somewhat imperious terms) offering him "comprisure" in the intended treaty with the Mogul, and threatening reprisals if the Portuguese persisted in their hostility. The letter was ignored, but gradually the question lost its urgency. The conclusion of peace (in a very informal fashion) between the natives and the Portuguese and the resumption of commerce dissipated Roe's dream of joint action against the Viceroy's forces, the latter, crippled by want of supplies from home, attacked in the West by the Persians, in the East by the Dutch, could initiate no vigorous action against the intruders at Surat, while the English had gained all that was pressingly wanted, when they were no longer actively molested. For past

offences, they revenged themselves on the Portuguese shipping whenever an opportunity occurred, and perhaps they were not altogether sorry that "the warr was left open for both at sea" (p. 96), and thus a legitimate excuse provided for prize taking.

As already stated, the authorities at Goa made no response to Roe's peremptory summons, but he had still to feel their influence at Court. At his first interview with the Prince, the latter had promised him "a *firmaen* for Suratt effectually" when however, the document was received it was found to be contingent on Roe's signature of an undertaking to allow the Portuguese vessels to trade at that port without molestation. To this the ambassador refused to agree partly because he feared a treacherous attack if the Portuguese ships were allowed to ride among the English and partly because he deemed it dishonouring to give such an undertaking unless a similar assurance was required from the Viceroy. To the refusal it was answered he "should then have no *firmaen* for Suratt;" and an appeal to the good offices of Ásaf Khán led to the discovery that he was "the author of this deulce and an earnest disputer for the reasonableness therof." Roe was for a while irresolute as to his best course of action, but after waiting some time, and making several ineffectual attempts to obtain his desire he determined to bring the matter to the notice of the King. The result was not altogether fortunate. A preliminary conversation regarding the curiosities which the English could bring excited the Mogul's cupidity, and on hearing the ambassador's vague reference to wrongs which, if unremedied would force them to quit the trade, he "grew suddenly into Choler pressing to know who had wronged vs, with such show of fury that I was loath to follow yt." Roe attempted to appease him by saying (through his bungling Interpreter) that he would seek justice from the Prince. That Jahángír conceived that

he was accusing the latter, and, calling for his son, rated him soundly in the presence of the Court. With the aid of a Persian nobleman, Roe succeeded in making his meaning clear, and an animated discussion then took place between him and "the Portugalles syde," in which (he says) "I explainned myselfe fully concerning them, and wee wear very warme." At last Ásaf Khán interposed to quiet the dispute, and it was agreed that the ambassador should submit his demands in writing, "and if they were found reasonable the king would firme them."

This arrangement opened the way to a proposal by which Roe hoped to place the position of his countrymen on a safe and lasting basis, and at the same time to avoid these dangerous controversies with the Prince, by obtaining a general concession, which would apply to Surat as to any other ports where the English might settle, and which, as emanating from the Mogul himself, could not be overridden by any lesser authority. *Farmáns*, however favourable, were of little use, they were partial in their application, being, in most cases, a definite order to some particular official, and they were liable to be superseded at any moment by fresh commands in a contrary sense. What the ambassador desired was something of a more permanent nature—a solemn treaty between his royal master and the Great Mogul, securing definite privileges to the English merchants, and binding "the high and mighty king of India" to the due and faithful performance of its conditions. Such a treaty—intended, in fact, to be on a par with the "capitulations" obtained by the European nations in Turkey—Roe now drew up and presented for consideration. It provided for the free access of the English to all ports belonging to the Great Mogul, including those of Bengal and Sind, and the free passage of their goods without payment of any duty beyond the usual customs, they were to be allowed to buy and sell

freely to rent factories, to hire boats and carts, and to buy provisions at the usual rates, while other articles were directed against the confiscation of the effects of deceased factors, the obnoxious claim to search the persons of the merchants on going ashore the opening of presents intended for the king delays in the custom house, and other similar abuses. On the part of the English Roe was willing to engage that they should not molest the ships of other nations "except the enemyes of the said English, or any other that shall seeke to Injure them" and that their factors, while residing ashore, should "behave themselves peaceably and Ciuilly," that they should do their best to procure rancies for the Great Mogul and should furnish him (upon payment) with any goods or "furniture of warr" that he could reasonably desire and that they should assist him against "any Enemy to the Common Peace." The Portuguese were to be admitted to "enter into the said Peace and leauge" should they be willing, but if they did not do so within six months the English were to be permitted to treat them as enemies and make war upon them at sea "without any offence to the said great King of India."

This scheme for "a good and perfect loue, leauge and peace to endure for euer" was referred by the Mogul to Ásaf Khán through whom all business relating to the English had to pass. After some demur he appeared to approve the draft, at least with some verbal amendments, and meeting the English envoy one day at the *darbâr* he told him that the articles "were ready for the seale."

Meanwhile fresh matter for controversy had arrived in the shape of the long-expected particulars from Surat of the sums extorted by the local officials, especially by the Governor Zulfikár Khán who had been recalled to Court in consequence of Roe's complaints, but "with our goodes extorted by force [had] made his Peace" (p. 157). These

statements were sent to Ásaf Khán, who as usual promised complete satisfaction. Seeing, however, no sign of progress, Roe took the Prince "some powrfull wyne and in the strength therof desired Iustice." He received "an open promise for effectual satisfaction" upon all points, except the infliction of personal punishment on the Governor, a demand which he found it would be wiser to forgo; and so he went home "well Content with this, it beeing the best Morning that euer wee had in India." Within a few days the Prince had signed two *farmáns*, one authorising the residence of the English at Surat and their free passage inland, the other ordering redress for the abuses they had suffered. These Roe gladly received, and despatched to Surat.

Matters went on quietly for another month, which was passed for the most part in negotiations over the sum claimed by Roe from Zúlfikár Khán in repayment of his exactions. After much haggling, the latter offered 17,000 *mamlúds* in full discharge but Roe, acting on the information supplied to him from Surat, rejected this as insufficient. Later on he was mortified to discover that the account sent up by the factors was incorrect, and that the amount offered in settlement was after all a reasonable one. No opportunity was lost, either, of pressing Ásaf Khán for the signature of Roe's "articles from the King, which were of most consequence" but the minister, while full of promises and artful excuses, seemed determined to delay matters indefinitely.

Soon Roe's prospects grew still more gloomy. The Mogul, finding that no more presents were forthcoming, had lost interest in the demands of his foreign visitor, the Prince, already irritated by the relentless way in which his favourite was being pursued, was still more angered by some scenes at Court over an English runaway, in which he had been entirely discomfited; and, to crown

all some Portuguese merchants who had arrived "with many rarieties to sell the king and with rich Presents from the Vizeroy of Goa," had made handsome gifts to Ásaf Khán and other influential persons, and were consequently in high favour. The English "were for a tyme eclipsed" and the general attitude of the courtiers towards the new-comers gave Roe food for deep reflection. On June 1 he was informed by a message from Ásaf Khán that, upon the complaint of the Prince the King had forbidden him to present himself at Court, and hints were not wanting that some of the Prince's turbulent soldiery might take occasion to revenge his open braving of their chief. Nothing daunted Roe assumed a careless attitude. The threat of violence he treated with scorn, while to Ásaf Khán's offers of help provided he would compound with Zulfikár Khán, he replied that he would not "give away the Companyes Monny for good looks. The world was wyde enough we gott not soe much by this trade as wee would buy it with too much Iniurye," he would await the kings answer a few days longer, "and accordingly cyther resolute of longer residence or prepare to retyre myselfe and my Nation toward our Port to seeke better entertaynement."

Roe was, in fact, seriously considering the advisability of thus bringing matters to a decisive issue, when the solution of the deadlock came from an unexpected quarter. Mukarrab Khán hitherto an enemy of the English thinking he saw a chance of currying favour with them "in hope of the first sight of rareties from England" took an opportunity of telling the Mogul the reason why the English envoy came no more to Court. Jahángír promptly denied having issued any order for his exclusion and desired Mukarrab Khán to inform him to that effect. Roe's new friend was most anxious that he should rely upon him rather than upon Ásaf Khán, but the ambassador know



ing the power of the latter, judged it unwise to break with him, and accordingly accepted with seeming cordiality the assurances of friendship which Ásaf Khán made to him on hearing of Mukarrab Khán's overtures. The mourning caused by the death of a favourite granddaughter of the Mogul delayed Roe's audience, but on June 25 he presented himself at Court, and "was received by the King after the ould manner, no difference, without taking any Notice of my absence." Negotiations were resumed, all the more urgently because Zúlfikár Khán was soon to depart with the Prince for the Deccan war. By July 9 an agreement had been reached, but this was followed by fresh evasions and delays, and it was not until August 5 that Roe was able to record that "this long and troublesome busines is finished." The full amount demanded had not been obtained, but the loss was trifling, and to have forced the favourite of the all-powerful Prince to disgorge his exactions was a notable success for English diplomacy, and a salutary warning to other Governors. The Prince seemed to have forgotten his rêsentment, and treated the ambassador with reasonable civility. Even the "propositions for priuiledges" were said to have been acceded to, and a fresh proposal from Roe that the English should pay a yearly sum of Rs 12,000 in satisfaction of all customs due from them at Surat (p 210) was courteously debated, though in the end it was allowed to drop. From the King himself he "neuer received so much grace and fauour . . . as at this tyme, which all men tooke notice off and accordingly altered their fashions toward" him (p 212), and Ásaf Khán was full of "complements of frendship and loue."

A characteristic incident lightens the pages of the Journal at this point. Roe had presented to Jahángír a choice miniature, painted by Isaac Oliver, which gave him "extreame content," and, "confident that noe man in

India could equal it" the ambassador had agreed to a wager that he would be able to distinguish it from any copies the Court painters could produce. When however, the matter came to the test he found that the native artists had succeeded beyond expectation and it was only with difficulty that he was able "to discern which was which." The King was "very merry and joyfull and craked like a Northern man" (p. 225). He insisted on the ambassador presenting the painter with a suitable reward gave Roe his choice of the copies that had been made, "to shewe in England wee are not so vnskillfull as you esteeme vs," and, as a further mark of favour presented him with his portrait.

August brought fresh matter for the exercise of Roe's diplomacy for news came that a Dutch ship had arrived at Surat, and that her crew spoke of a further fleet expected from Holland. It was clearly to the interest of the English to get rid of these troublesome competitors "who would both out present out bribe, and out buy vs in all things" (p. 228) yet Roe was unwilling for many reasons to show open hostility more especially as the arguments he had used against the Portuguese monopoly would then be turned against himself. Ingeniously if somewhat disingenuously he endeavoured to compass his object by instilling into the minds of Asaf Khán and the Prince a suspicion that the real object of the Dutch was to plunder native shipping in revenge for injuries previously sustained at Surat and Hurhánpur that in any case they would be disorderly and unruly "so that if his highnes could be quietly ridd of them it were a happines and ease to him" (p. 236). The intrigue was not entirely successful. The fear that if repulsed the Dutch would retaliate by capturing the ships then due from the Red Sea induced the native authorities to permit them to leave a few factors, with a stock of merchandise, at Surat "until the Princes answere and resolution were

knowne;" and the footing thus obtained was made good in January, 1618, when a deputation waited upon Jahángir and the Prince at Ahmadábád, and obtained a grant of privileges "vpon as good tearmes almost as wee" (pp. 459, 469).

Five months had now passed since Roe had presented for consideration the details of his proposed treaty. He had made every effort to obtain its ratification, yet no answer—either yea or nay—had been returned. Urged to action by the approach of the new fleet from England, he resolved to wait no longer for this general concession, but to secure at least a temporary grant from the Prince, "whose Port wee were att. and with whom was our greatest busines." His overtures were well received. Stipulating only that "whatsoever toyes came to bee sould might be first showed to him," the Prince agreed to all the privileges demanded, and a *farmán* embodying these was ordered to be drawn and sealed without delay. Thus the immediate necessities of the English were provided for, and the incoming fleet might safely land their goods and drive their trade without fear of the hindrances and abuses which their predecessors had suffered.

Meanwhile, renewed tokens of the Mogul's esteem had roused fresh hopes in Roe's breast. At the beginning of September, Jahángir celebrated his birthday with great pomp. With his usual considerateness he had ordered that the English envoy should be invited to witness the ceremony of weighing the monarch against gold and other things; but, owing to a mistake of the messenger, Roe attended at the wrong time, "and soe missed the sight." In the evening, however, after he had retired to rest, he was sent for in great haste. A few days previously, he had incautiously shown the King's painter, "for the arts sake," a miniature he had, depicting—if we guess rightly—the lady whom he had espoused prior to

his departure from England. The news had reached the Moguls ears, and he was all agog to see the miniature, thinking probably, that it had been purposely kept from his sight lest he should expect to be presented with it. Roe found him "sitting crosse leggd on a little throne, all eladd in diamondes Pearles and rubyes his Nobilitye about him in their best equipage, whom hee Commanded to drinck froliquely, seuerall wy nes standing by in great flagons." The miniature was no sooner seen than coveted and the ambassador, after a faint resistance, was forced to present it.<sup>1</sup> He was then asked to join in celebrating the anniversary, and, after he had pledged the monarch in some wine, was invited to accept the gold cup, with cover and stand, in which it had been served. Jahángír's gracious demeanour on this occasion (he "sent me woord hee more esteemed mee than euer any Francke which his Publique and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobilitye") encouraged Roe to press Ásaf Khán for the signature of the desired "articles," "assuring him his Maiestie could giue mee no present so acceptable;" and Ásaf Khán promised to meet his wishes without delay.

Two days later the answer arrived, but it was far from being the one he expected. "I receiued my Articles back from Asaph chan who tooke now att last many exceptions, and margined them with his Pen in most Insolent sort, scorning that any man should article att all, saying it was sufficient for mee to receiue a *firman* from the Prince, who was lord of Suratt, and for lycence to trade at any other Port, of Bengala or Syndu it should neuer be granted, but in Conclusion pretended the length and forme to be such as would offend the king. Some Articles hee con

<sup>1</sup> Jahángír declared that, as Roe so valued the miniature, it should be returned after copies had been taken; but there is nothing to show that this was done.

sented too, and to them, beeing reduced to the forme of a *firmaen*, hee would procure yt sealed" This reply appears to have taken Roe by surprise, yet, after all, there was small cause for astonishment. Quite apart from the fact that a concession of the kind desired was quite repugnant to Oriental ideas of sovereignty,<sup>1</sup> there were other reasons which placed it out of the question. As Roe at once saw, the main objection was that the articles were so drawn "that I should nott much neede the Prince, and if wee disliked wee might refuse his Gouverment" It was a point of honour with Khurram that his administration of Surat should not be interfered with, and he and his supporters were resolved that nothing should be granted which would in any way lessen his authority. As for the English demand for leave to frequent other ports, this, it was feared, would involve a diminution of the customs of Surat, and it threatened, besides, to extend to Bengal and Sind the dissensions between the rival European nations which had already worked so much mischief in Gujarât. Perhaps, too, we may add a further consideration—that it was held to be derogatory that the Mogul should sign a treaty with the representative of an obscure and distant country, especially on matters relating almost entirely to trade. "Neyther will this overgrowne Eliphant," wrote the ambassador bitterly, "descend to Article or bynde himselfe reciprocally to any Prince vpon terms of Equalety, but only by way of fauour admitt our stay so long as it either likes him or those that Gouverne

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<sup>1</sup> "The Mogul," says Terry, 'sometimes by his Firmauns or letters patent will grant some particular thing unto single or diuers persons and presently after will contradict those grants by other letters, excusing himself thus that he is a great and an absolute King, and therefore must not be tied unto any thing, which if he were, he said that he was a slave, and not a free man. Yet what he promised was usually enjoyed, altho he would not be tied to a certain performance of his promise. Therefore, there can be no dealing with this King upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny'

him" (*Letter to the English Ambassador at Constantinople August 21, 1617 Addl MS 6115 f 207*). Indeed there is nothing more striking to a present-day reader than the indifference towards Europeans displayed by the King and his ministers. Jahāngīr's memoirs while duly chronicling the arrival of missions from Persia and other neighbouring countries, and minutely noting many trivial details make no direct allusion to the English ambassador. Though Jahāngīr himself was courteous and considerate his son did not conceal his contempt for the foreign traders while Āsāf Khān's masterful insolence—as here exemplified—was equally hard to endure. In point of fact, to the sovereign of Hindustān there were only two other monarchs who could even pretend to an equality with himself—the Persian Shāh and the still more distant ruler of Constantinople and its dependencies.<sup>1</sup> The kings of the Deccan may be left out of the account for they were looked upon as little more than revolted vassals of the throne of Delhi. That the Franks should send an ambassador to the Imperial Court was by no means unwelcome as a tribute to its splendour and fame but that they should seriously claim to treat on terms of equality with the Great Mogul was not to be thought of. Moreover it must not be forgotten that the Portuguese and their agents had systematically belittled the English monarch and his representatives and thanks to them it was perfectly understood at the Mogul Court that Roe was working in the interests of a handful of English traders—a profession which the Moguls held in great contempt, and had there been any doubt in the

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<sup>1</sup> One day at Mandū Jahāngīr asked to be shown, in an atlas presented by Roe, the representation of his own dominions; but finding it by no means correspondent to his expectations, "he seemed to be a little troubled, and returned the volume to the ambassador (p. 417).

matter, it would have been dissipated by the continual representations which the ambassador's position forced him to make to secure the payment of debts due to the merchants. Bearing these considerations in mind, we shall have little difficulty in comprehending the reasons of Roe's failure. He had, indeed, been plainly warned by Ásaf Khán, only eight days after he had presented them, that his demands "were vnreasonable and Could not be signed," but his confidence in the King's favour had buoyed him up with hopes of success. For a time the minister—partly on account of Jahángír's partiality towards his visitor, partly in hopes of personal profit—seems to have avoided undeceiving him, and, with all the cunning of Oriental statecraft, he repeatedly led the ambassador to believe that his demands were on the point of being granted. Now, at last, when apparently Roe had brought himself to solicit the desired privileges from the Prince, Ásaf Khán endeavoured to clench the matter by plainly showing him that only in that quarter could his desires be obtained, and that his only course was to "depend wholly" on the favour of Khurram.

For a moment, Roe was at a loss what to do. Though filled with anger at Ásaf Khán's duplicity, he "durst not yet leaue him, nor take notice of his falshood." He felt that he "had a woolfe by the eares," and that there was no alternative but submission, at least for the present. Pretending to be unaware of the true reasons of the minister's behaviour, he "seemed only to apprehend his dislike of the lenght and Phrase." So he re-drew his demands—not, be it noted, in the form of a treaty, but in that of a *farmán* to be accorded by the king—in shorter and more general terms, omitting, too, all mention of the Portuguese. But all was to no purpose. Ásaf Khán returned answer "that absolutly hee would procure nothing sealed that any way Concerned the Princes Gouverment that I

should only expect from him what wee desired, whose *firmness* were sufficient." Temporarily, at all events it was necessary to be content with the Prince's grant which met the present needs. For a general concession Roe notes, "I am resolved to use the Prince, and doubt not to effect that by him which himselfe hath Crossed and resisted."

For the present therefore, the English envoy was forced to fall back on the *role* of spectator and certainly there was no lack of interesting sights. All the city was in a stir at the prospect of the early removal of the Court. Sultán Parwíz, whose want of success against the Deccan forces had led to his recall approached Ajmere only to be ordered to Bengal in disgrace, after a vain attempt (frustrated by Nur Mahál) to see his father in the hope of reconciliation and Prince Khurram was preparing with all pomp to take his place. The destination of the King himself was kept a profound secret but it was guessed and (as the event proved) guessed correctly that his intention was to move southwards to Mandú to countenance his son's operations in the Deccan. In the early part of October Abdalá Khán the late viceroy of Gujarát, arrived at Court as a prisoner "in Counterfeit humiliation" but was pardoned and taken again into favour at the intercession of the Prince, to whom his military abilities promised to be of great assistance. On the same day came two ambassadors from the Deccan Princes to treat of peace, at the instigation (it was rumoured) of the Mogul general, who had no wish to see Khurram take command of his forces. Jahángír however, referred them to his son who, anxious that he should not lose "the honor of finishing that warr" refused to listen to any overtures until he had taken the field. To set the seal upon the Mogul's exaltation of Khurram at the expense of his brothers, the unfortunate Khusru, after a little difficulty was made



over to the custody of Ásaf Khán—a transfer which was looked upon as a presage of his speedy death. Shortly afterwards, an ambassador from Persia arrived in great state, with an equipage and an array of presents beside which those brought by Roe seemed indescribably scanty and mean. The English envoy consoled himself, however, with the reflection that the new-comer did not experience so favourable a reception, and “had in nothing more grace, in many things not so much” as he had had. In himself the Persian “appeared rather a Iester or Iugler then a Person of any grauity, running vp and downe” when presenting his master’s gifts, “and acting all his woordes like a mimick Player.” His servility much disgusted Roe, but it pleased the Mogul, who gave him 20,000 rupees to defray his expenses, and treated him with great favour.

In the meantime, news had arrived that the English fleet, under the command of Captain Pepwell, had cast anchor at Swally. On the way out, a return blow had been dealt at the Portuguese for their attacks upon Best and Downton. Near the Comoro Islands a large carrack bound for Goa was overtaken and drawn into a conflict. After a hot fight, in which the English commander, Captain Joseph, was slain, and his successor (Pepwell) dangerously wounded, the Portuguese vessel was forced ashore, where her crew abandoned and burnt her. This news Roe lost no time in conveying to the Mogul, who seemed to rejoice at the English victory “and to applaud the valor of our Nation, but fell off to ‘What hath the king sent mee?’” Roe assured him that “many Curious toyes” had been brought for presentation to His Majesty, and asked to be furnished with letters “for the Comming of these presentes without search, and for the good vsadg of our People.” Jahángír replied that “the Port was his sonns,” but he directed the latter to give the requisite orders, and Khurram “professed and promised all

reasonable Content." "This," commented the ambassador, "is the strength of New Presentes."

One incident should not be omitted. The letters newly received directed Roe to obtain, if possible the cession of a safe port with permission to fortify. Upon his arrival he had quite concurred in the advantage of such a plan (p. 94) but a year's experience had made him change his opinion. He was "sure of refusall" and was equally confident "that to be denyed yt is for our advantage." Still he felt bound not only to prefer the request but to do so in the way most likely to procure a compliance with it. He addressed himself therefore, to the Prince, pretending a fear that the Portuguese would retaliate upon both English and natives for their late disaster, and offering if the grant were made, to undertake the naval defence of the coast and of the Red Sea traffic. As he expected his proposal was instantly rejected. Khurram "answered with scorne that his father nor hee needed not our assistance he ment not warr with the Portugall for our sakes neyther would euer deliuer any fort to vs;" and when Roe attempted to prefer the same request to the King Ásaf Khán absolutely refused to put the matter to his master.

Writing to the Company at this time (p. 342), Roe reviewed his year's work and its results. "For the settling your trafique here," he said, "I doubt not to affect any reasonable desier. My Creditt is sufficient with the King, and your force will alway bynd him to Constancy. Articles of treaty on equall tearmes I cannot effect want of Presents disgraced mee. But yet by Peices I haue gotten as much as I desired at once. I haue recouered all bribes, extortions, debts made and taken before my tyme till this day or at least an Honorable composition. But when I deliuer the Next gistes to the Mogoll, in the Princes absence, I will sett on anew for a formall contract

I will settle your trade here secure with the King, and reduce it to order if I may be heard " But, this done, it would be unnecessary to keep an English representative at Court "An Ambassador liues not in fitt honor," he wrote, "I could sooner dye then be subiect to the slauerye the Persian is content with A meaner Agent would among these proud Moores better effect your busines . . . I haue moderated it according to my discretion, but with a swolne hart," and a native agent with a salary of a thousand rupees a year, with a subordinate at Surat, would "effect all" Projects of "ayding the Mogoll or waffing his subiects into the Redd Sea," of obtaining the grant of a fortified port, and of increasing the number of English settlements, were set aside as impracticable, "it is not Number of Ports, factoryes and residences that will profitt you, they will encrease chardge, but not recompence it" Against an extravagant and aggressive policy he solemnly warned the Company "A warr and trafique are incompatible By my consent, you shall no way engage your selues but at sea, wher you are like to gayne as often as to loose It is the beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territories, that hee keepes souldiers that spendes it, yet his garrisons are meane He neuer Profited by the Indyees, since hee defended them Obserue this well It hath beene also the error of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Swoord They turne a woonderfull stocke, they proule in all Places, they Posses some of the best, yet ther dead Payes consume all the gayne Lett this bee receiued as a rule that if you will Profitt, seeke it at Sea, and in quiett trade, for without controuersy it is an error to affect Garrisons and Land warrs in India"

In the beginning of November, the Mogul with great pomp left Ajmere, and Roe, after a short delay, followed him. At first, Agra seemed to be the objective, but after

a time the King turned suddenly south and hunting as he went, pushed "thorough woodes and over Mountayns to Mandú, where stood the ruins of the old capital of Málwa. From this point of vantage, on a range of hills overlooking the Narbadá valley he could watch over and countenance the operations of Khurram whose headquarters were at Burhánpur, ninety miles away to the south-east. Early in March they reached this desolate spot, and remained there until late in October. Roe was fortunate enough to secure eligible quarters in a deserted mosque and having discovered a spring of water near was far better off than most of his fellow travellers. Amongst the camp-followers, however, the distress was very great and the ambassador says emphatically that "there was not a misery nor punishment which either the want of Gouvernment or the naturall disposition of the Clime gaue vs not" (p. 393).

Meanwhile, after much delay, the presents brought by the 1616 fleet had been despatched from Surat under the charge of the Reverend Edward Terry who was to fill the vacancy caused by the death of the chaplain whom Roe had brought out with him. On the way to the royal camp the party met the Prince proceeding to Burhánpur. The latter demanded to be shown the presents they were carrying to his father but this was quietly but firmly refused. Finding he could not prevail, and receiving an order from the Mogul (to whom Roe had at once complained) not to touch the presents, he sent them under escort to the King's encampment, where Jahángír unable to restrain his cupidity opened the packages and appropriated their contents before Roe could appear on the scene. The nicknacks provided for the Prince and the Queen, the reserve stock of presents, even a hat intended for Roe, and some velvets and silks sent up for sale at Court—all had gone. Roe was extremely angry and the interview

which followed between the greedy monarch and the mortified ambassador is described in one of the most entertaining passages in the Journal (p 383) The King promised everything that could be wished if he might only be allowed to retain his new acquisitions, and he was so lavish in his protestations that Roe consoled himself with the reflection that perhaps after all he was "happely robbd" In any case, he was saved a journey he had promised to make to the Prince's camp, for the presents intended for Khurram had been seized with the rest, and Jahángír, unwilling to disgorge any part of his booty, declared the visit unnecessary and wrote to his son to excuse it (p 396 *n*)

The summer and autumn of 1617 passed away without the occurrence of any incident of special importance The Deccan princes came to terms with the Prince, who returned in triumph to Mandú at the beginning of October He was received with extravagant marks of favour by his doting father, honours were showered upon him, including the title of Sháh Jahán, by which he was ever after known, and his ascendancy over the Emperor seemed for a time to be complete This boded ill for English hopes, for the Prince maintained his former attitude of arrogant enmity Roe himself had been looking forward to a speedy return to his native country, "My Master hath written most graciously," he said,<sup>1</sup> "but I Pine here while others are in the wayes of preferment" The 1617 fleet, however, which, under the command of Captain Martin Pring, arrived in September, brought an urgent entreaty from the Company that he would remain another year, and Roe, unwilling to go home without better results than had yet been obtained, consented

He was not without hopes that he would, after all,

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<sup>1</sup> Letter to Pring, October 8, 1617 *Addl MS 6115, f 273*

procure his desires owing to a fresh change in the political kaleidoscope. The alliance between Nur Mahál and Sháh Jahán had been weakening for some time, and the former jealous, it may be, of the increasing power of the latter had made advances first to Prince Khusrú and then to Prince Shariyár, who on his elder brother's refusal of her overtures became her son in law by marrying her daughter by her first husband (p. 404 n). In these circumstances neither Nur Mahál herself nor her obedient henchman Ásaf Khán saw any reason for continuing their unfriendly attitude towards the dispenser of good things from the West. Roe was quick to notice this opportunity and at once resolved to take advantage of it. A fine pearl which the factors of the newly arrived fleet had smuggled up to the ambassador was secretly sold to Ásaf Khán at considerably less than its cost<sup>1</sup> and by this and other favours of a similar nature, the minister and his sister were completely won over to the English side. By the mediation of Ásaf Khán an interview took place between Roe and the Prince, in which he was treated with some show of kindness, and the ambassador's new friend also undertook to obtain for him not only a *farmán* for Bengal (which he had previously solicited in vain) but also "a general command and grant of free Priviledges" in all the Mogul's dominions. Hopes were also held out that the Prince, who was about to take up the government of Gujarát, would surrender among other *jadgirs* that of Surat, and Ásaf Khán would then apply for its grant to himself and "make Englishmen content and happy." In the sequel, however, these fresh promises of the minister proved as untrustworthy as his previous ones.

Towards the close of October, 1617, Jahángír struck

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 456. Roe is generally stated to have *given* the pearl to Ásaf Khán; but this is a mistake.

his camp at Mandú and bent his steps towards Ahmad-ábád, the capital of Gujarát. Roe, who, during the later stages of the march, had posted on in advance, reached that city on December 15. As before, the presents from England, which it had been his special object to secure, became a bone of contention between him and the Prince. They had been sealed at Surat with the latter's seal, in order to make sure that they should not be opened except with his cognisance. Roe waited twenty days for the necessary permission, and this not arriving, he boldly cut the seals and took possession of the goods. It was a great affront, as the courtiers told him; and Ásaf Khán, though he seems to have assented beforehand, shrank from supporting the offender. The Prince complained vehemently, and Roe found himself virtually under arrest. For the first time the Mogul spoke roughly to his visitor, "set on it an angrie countenance told mee I had broken my word that he would trust me no more." The ambassador bore the storm unflinchingly, saying that he had done no wrong, and that if he had seemed to act offensively it had been done in ignorance. Before long, the Prince grew cool again, "offered his friendship and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large," and the distribution of the presents sealed the reconciliation. On the following day the Prince received the ambassador with all courtesy, gave him a handsome cloak, and "promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things."

In the middle of February, 1618, Roe made his yearly report to the Company (p. 466). By this time he had abandoned all hopes of securing the signature of a formal treaty, but he trusted to obtain all that was practically necessary. "You can neuer expect to trade here vpon Capitulations that shalbe permanent. Wee must serue the tyme. Some now I haue gotten, but by way of *firmaens* and Promise from the Kynge. All the Gouver-

ment dependes vpon the present will where appetite only gouerns the lordes of the kingdome. But their Justice is generallie good to strangers they are not rigorous except in seearching for thinges to please, and what trouble wee haue is for hope of them and by our owne disorders." "You shalbe sure," he added emphatically "of as much priuledge as any stranger and right when the subject dares not plead his" (p. 469). With the Prince now all powerful ("his father growes dull and suffers him to write all Commandes and to gouerne all his kingdomes") the ambassador was on much better terms. The policy of "aduenturing the seircnes of his wrath" had answered so well that Roe was resolved, if necessary, to push matters boldly to an issue. It was useless to attempt to win the friendship of the natives by kindly treatment, "they are weary of vs Wee haue empoucrished the Portes and wounded all their trades" (p. 468) the only dependence was upon "the same ground that wee began and by which wee subsist, feare" (p. 469). "Assure you" he wrote, "I knowe these People are best treated with the swoord in one hand and Caducean In the other" (p. 485) and if his demands were not complied with to his satisfaction he intended to seize the native shipping "and make those conditions bee offered which now I seecke with despayre."

Fortunately it was not in the end found necessary to push matters to extremity but at the time the adoption of a vigorous policy seemed the more necessary, as Roe feared that the Dutch might "doe it first and then hee wilbe the braue man. The prospect of their competition at Surat, Roe viewed with indignation and apprehension "They wrong you in all Parts," he said "and grow to insufferable insolencies. You must speedelye looke to this Maggat eis wee talke of the Portugall but these will eate a woorme in your sides If they



keepe you out of the Molluccoes by force, I would beat them from Surat to requite it" (p 481). As regards their other European rivals, there was not much to report. Father Corsi, the Jesuit at Court, had made some efforts to accommodate matters, and Roe, who knew that "want of a peace with them makes all these trades of Indya and hopes of Persia heauy and dangerous to the vnder-takers" (p 497), was willing, and even anxious, to conclude an arrangement if it could be done without loss of dignity, and with any assurance of permanence. The deputation of a Portuguese officer to 'Ahmadábád "to congratulate in the Name of the King of Spayne," appeared to afford an opportunity, but the Mogul refused to receive the envoy, "Principally because his Presents were not of great vawew," and the matter had perforce to be left in abeyance.

The diary having now come to an end, we are left dependent upon a few letters for information regarding the last year of Roe's stay in India. In February, 1618, the Mogul started for a short hunting tour, and this seems to have afforded the ambassador an opportunity for a flying visit to Burhánpur. He returned to Ahmadábád about the beginning of May, and in the same month an outbreak of plague in that city caused much alarm, with the exception of Roe himself, all the members of the English party took the infection, and seven died in little more than a week. In August, preparations commenced for the departure of the Mogul for Agra. Roe, "infinitely weary of this vnprofitable imployment," had no wish to accompany him, his continued presence at Court could do no good, and the ships which were to carry him home would shortly be arriving. He therefore took formal leave of the monarch to whom he had been accredited, receiving from him a letter to King James full of compliments and assurances of good usage of the English, and also a general

*farindn* "for our reception and Continuation in his domynyons" the exact terms of which are unknown (p. 516). He then addressed himself to the Prince in order to procure a special *farindn* for Surat. Fresh quarrels had occurred between the natives and the Portuguese. In the end these were amicably settled but meanwhile Roe endeavoured to make use of the opportunity by offering to protect the Gujarati shipping in return for the concessions desired. These demands were kept strictly within the bounds of moderation, in Roes own words (p. 508) "after almost three yeares experience of the pride and faishood of these people, that attended only aduantage and were gouerned by priuat interest and appetite, I was forced to relinquish many poynts often insisted vpon when I could gett nothing and to make offer of these few as the most necessarie to settie a trade and which might giue the least offence and might pass with ease, leauing the rest to the Generail order of the kyng" Even then he did not obtain all his demands, but at last, after a vigorous contest and the usual attempt to deceive him with an incomplete and ambiguously worded *farindn* he procured a grant which was reasonably satisfactory. The Princes amity towards the English was publicly acknowledged in case of an attack by the Portuguese the local authorities were ordered to assist them with boats or any other requisites they were to be allowed to trade freely and former abuses in the levying of customs were not to be repeated jewels were to be admitted free of duty no tolls were to be levied on goods passing to the port the factors were to be permitted under certain restrictions, to hire any house they pleased for a factory liberty was given them to govern themselves according to their own religion and laws, and any refugee was to be surrendered even if he had embraced Islám and the ever recurring difficulty about presents was provided

against Liberty to buy or build a permanent dwelling was, however, obstinately refused, and a determined attempt was made to limit the number of Englishmen permitted to wear arms in the city. On the latter point Roe was determined not to yield, and partly by threats, and partly by giving a written undertaking "that during the abode of the English at Suratt they shall do no wrong or hurt to any," he at last obtained the withdrawal of the obnoxious clause.

This grant procured, towards the close of September, 1618, the ambassador took his departure for Surat, where four months were spent awaiting the completion of the lading of the ships. At length all was in readiness, and on February 17, 1619, the fleet put to sea, Roe himself being on board the *Anne*. At the Cape he learned that negotiations were proceeding in London for a settlement of the differences between the English and Dutch Companies, and he thereupon wrote to Bantam earnestly deprecating any further hostilities. Towards the end of August the *Anne* reached Plymouth, and a fortnight later she anchored in the Downs. The ambassador's journey to London, attended from Gravesend by the leading members of the East India Company, his audience of the King at Hampton Court to report the result of his mission and to deliver the presents sent by the Great Mogul, and his subsequent interviews with the Company, will be found fully described in the extracts with which our text concludes. His employers appear to have been fully satisfied with his proceedings, and if they were not so liberal in rewarding his exertions as he had hoped, they were not unduly sparing. He was presented with a gratuity of 1500*l*, besides a further sum of 100*l* which had been lent to him to buy plate at his departure for India, and he was appointed for that year (and, it would seem, for the year following) an extra "committee" with an allowance of 200*l* per annum.

The question naturally arises What had Roe achieved? How far had he accomplished the task which he had been sent out to perform? Most writers have been content to answer vaguely that he obtained valuable concessions without specifying either their nature or their extent. Bruce however the Company's historiographer goes a step further. He gives a summary of the "articles" printed on p. 152 and says that soon after the ambassador's arrival he procured the signatures of Jahāngir and Khurram to this "phirmaund or treaty between the Mogul and the English nation" all further troubles Bruce puts down to the contumacy of the Governor of Surat, who (he says) refused to carry out the agreement entered into by his sovereign (*Annals of the East India Company*, vol. I pp 176 185 203). How far this is from the truth the foregoing summary will show. Roe's proposed treaty had in fact, been rejected with scorn and he had been obliged to content himself with *farmāns* although, soon after his arrival he had contemptuously said that "ordinary *firmanes* are not woorth a halfe penny." He himself was studiously moderate in his statements as to his success and chose rather to put in the forefront of his achievements the successful initiation of trade in the Red Sea. Yet, after all, he had effected a great deal, and where he had failed the failure was due to causes which were quite beyond his control. At his arrival he had found the English in a precarious position threatened by the Portuguese, plundered by the native officials, and in imminent danger of expulsion owing to the ill will of Prince Khurram. Local feeling which had been for a time in their favour was now against them, for their active competition injured the trade of the native merchants, while the unruliness of the sailors of the fleets together with the troubles caused by the hostilities between the Portuguese and the English,

estranged the great body of the inhabitants The coming of the ambassador stemmed the tide of reaction, it shifted the principal area of contention to the Court, where local feelings had little influence, and where, if "the King and Prince and great men . . . are pleased, the Crie of a Million of subiects would not bee heard" (p 480), the provincial authorities were restrained from acts of oppression by fear of representations at headquarters, and thus time was given for the English to root themselves firmly in the country and to accustom the natives to their presence By the time Roe left India, this had been accomplished, all danger from the Portuguese appeared to have passed away, concessions had been obtained, which "he thought as much in generall as he could expect or desire" (p 524), and a good understanding had been established with the Court. All this was largely due to Roe's energy and skill, and to the favourable impression he had made upon the Mogul and his son It was indeed a fortunate circumstance for the future of English influence in India, that while the Portuguese interests were in the charge merely of an ecclesiastic, amiable and clever though he was, England had for her representative one who was not only an able diplomatist, suave and ready, but also a man of resolute character, prepared indeed to yield in small matters, but firm as steel and utterly regardless of consequences where the honour of his king and nation was concerned Jahángír and Sháh Jáhán, with all their faults, could and did appreciate such qualities, and English prestige, already growing by the victories obtained over the Portuguese, was raised to a high pitch by Roe's gallant bearing and indomitable will "There can be," wrote Terry, "no dealing with this King upon very sure terms, who will say and unsay, promise and deny Yet we Englishmen did not at all suffer by that inconstancy of his, but there found a free trade, a peaceable residence, and

a very good esteem with that King and people, and much the better (as I conceive) by reason of the prudence of my Lord Ambassador who was there (in some sense) like Joseph in the Court of Pharaoh for whose sake all his nation there seemed to fare the better." Roe was in fact the first of the long line of remarkable Englishmen who by their ability, their force of character, their unselfish adherence to lofty aims, have built up the British dominion in India and looking down the ranks of his successors it is not too much to say that few have equalled none has surpassed him.

The value to the historical student of Roe's observations has been generally recognised. Nowhere else is to be found so full and so trustworthy an account of the events of the time at the Mogul Court the desultory war in the Deccan: the impending troubles in regard to the succession the waning of the hopes cherished by the partisans of Khusrû and Parwîz, and the rise to all but supreme power of Khurram strengthened at first by the steady support of Nur Mahâl and her family. Of all the principal personages concerned (except, of course, the Queen whom Roe never saw) we have vivid portraits of the weak but amiable Jahângîr of his unfortunate eldest son, whose long captivity and reported excellencies excited great pity in the breast of the ambassador of the drunken and worthless Parwîz of Âsaf Khân avaricious crafty and unscrupulous and finally of Khurram (Shâh Jahân) the coming emperor who cold and haughty moves through Roe's pages with a magnificence that suits well the future master builder of Agra and Delhi. With welcome minuteness Roe portrays Jahângîr's mode of living both at Ajmere, where the functions of government were discharged with the same

state as at Agra, and on the march, when all unnecessary parade was abandoned and sport was the order of the day. The splendours of the birthday reception, the vast yet orderly army that followed the emperor, the wealth of the royal treasury, astonished Roe. But he was too shrewd to allow this pomp and glitter to blind him to the real state of the country, and he brings out clearly in his Journal and letters the darker shades of the picture—the poverty and misery of the peasant, the general unrest and insecurity, the corruption and inefficiency of the local governors, and the looseness of the imperial control. He saw clearly, too, the forces which were making for disintegration, and though “the tyme when all in these kingdomes wilbe in combustion” (pp 283, 295) was not so near as he imagined, yet it was only postponed by the force of character of Sháh Jahán and his still more capable son. All these things are noted by one whose position gave him exceptional advantages for exercising his powers of observation, and the result is a picture of “Mogolls India” of supreme interest and importance.

There are many other attractive topics in Roe’s Journal and letters, but over most of them we must not linger. Two, however, bulk so largely in his pages, and are in themselves so important, that it is impossible to pass them by. These are the attempts made, largely under Roe’s direction, to open up commerce, first in the dominions of the Sháh of Persia, and secondly at the Turkish ports in the Red Sea.

Sháh Abbás of Persia, at the instigation probably of the famous adventurers, Thomas and Robert Sherley, had long been desirous of opening up communication with one or other of the Christian powers, partly in the hope of obtaining assistance in his perennial war against the Turks, but principally with the idea of finding purchasers for the silk of his country, the export of which (a royal

monopoly) he was desirous of diverting from its usual channel through the dominions of his enemy. With this end in view, he had in 1608, despatched Sir Robert Sherley to Europe as his ambassador. Travelling through Russia, Germany, and Italy, Sherley reached Madrid, where he did his best to induce Philip III (who it will be remembered was King of Portugal as well as of Spain) to enter into an arrangement by which the silk trade would be diverted to Ormus or some neighbouring port on the Persian Gulf. His proposals however were coldly received, and in disgust he crossed to England and in October 1611 presented himself to King James at Hampton Court. Here also nothing came of his negotiations. The East India merchants were not to be persuaded "the way is long and dangerous," they said "the trade uncertain and must quite cut off our traffic with the Turk" and insinuations were not wanting that Sherley had no valid commission to pledge his master to so far reaching a scheme. At the bidding of King James a ship was prepared to carry back the ambassador which landed him in September, 1613, at Larbandar, and thence he proceeded overland to Persia by way of Ajmere where he paid a visit to Jahángir. Roe, it may be noted had been present at the conferences which had been held in London upon Sherley's proposals, had heard both his arguments and the merchants objections, and had formed his own opinion as to Sherley's character and the feasibility of his plans.<sup>1</sup>

The next move was made by the factors at Surat. Induced mainly by the favourable report of trade

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<sup>1</sup> "I vnderstand that busines well, beeing present at all Sherlyes offers to his Majestie, who neuer would speake of bringing downe silke vnder halfe mony and such a quantetye" (*Roe to Surat Factors* June 19, 1616: *Add MS 6115 f 102*). In the same letter he says of Sherley "as hee is dishonest, soe is hee subtile."



prospects given by Richard Steel, who had crossed Persia from Aleppo in the preceding summer, they, in November, 1614, determined to despatch representatives to make investigations and to obtain the grant of privileges for trade. Steel himself and a factor named Crowder were chosen for this task. They reached Ispahan in September, 1615, and found there Sherley, to whom they carried letters soliciting his assistance. He was on the point of starting on a second mission to Spain, to make a fresh attempt to induce the King to accept the offers of the Sháh, but, with some reluctance, he procured for them three identical *farmáns*, ordering the governors of seaport towns to receive and assist any English vessels that might present themselves. One of these was sent to Jáshak (the port represented as most suitable for their purpose), Steel carried a second overland to England, and Crowder, as arranged before their departure, returned with the third to India, to report their proceedings to the agent at Surat.

Letters written by the two envoys, announcing their success and the hopes they had formed of a lucrative trade, reached Ajmere on February 10, 1616, addressed to Aldworth and Edwards. As the former was dead and the latter had left for England, these letters were opened by Roe, who lost no time in apprising the Company of their contents, at the same time giving his own views on the matter. The *farmán* which had been procured he thought "of no consequence," as no trade worth speaking of was to be had upon the coast and it was not to be expected that the Sháh would send down his silk until a formal agreement had been arrived at. To Roe it seemed that the dominant factor of the situation was Sherley's fresh mission to Europe. Already the Portuguese had an immense advantage in their possession of Ormus, and if the trade monopoly

which he was empowered to offer to Philip were accepted (and Roe felt certain it would be) all efforts of the English to obtain a footing would be unavailing. The only hope lay either in defeating Sherley's negotiations at Madrid or in effecting some amicable arrangement by which both nations should share in the trade. For the present, all that Roe considered it advisable to do was to write a respectful remonstrance to the Sháh pointing out the perils of allowing the Portuguese to become masters of his coast, and urging him to establish a free port and to throw open the trade to all comers. This done and the letter forwarded to the care of William Robbins an Englishman resident in Ispahan Roe turned his attention to other matters until further news should come from England.

Quite another view however was taken at Surat. The ambassador's action in opening and dealing with the letters from their delegates was warmly resented by Kerridge and his colleagues while his disparaging remarks upon the results of the expensive mission which they had set on foot could not but be felt as a rebuke. The question of trade with Persia was, they considered a matter purely commercial and therefore outside Roe's province and as soon as Pepwell's fleet brought in a further supply of men and goods, a consultation was held at which it was decided that a ship should be sent to Jásbak to test the value of the Sháh's *farnán* and to procure, if possible, whatever further concessions were necessary. Edward Coonock the chief merchant of the new fleet, undertook the management of this mission and sailed in the *James* early in November 1616 (p. 330 *n*).

As may be imagined, Roe was exceedingly angry when he found out what had been done. Not only had his authority been ignored and his purpose crossed but his opinions and counsels had been treated with contempt.

Both publicly to the Company, and privately to its Governor, he complained bitterly of the behaviour of the factors "You may now see their hast," he wrote, "and lack of respect to mee" Personal feeling, however, was never allowed by him to injure the public service, and however much he felt inclined to throw upon the factors the responsibility for further action, he determined to do what he could to set matters straight. "If I left them as they are, it were just," he said, "but I am to account to you, and therefore . I will looke out to mend their faults, and, like patient Job, pray and sacrifice for them, as he did for his sonnes whiles they banquetted" His hand been forced by the despatch of the *James*, and with Connock already on his way to the Persian Court, inaction was impossible After consulting the Sháh's ambassador at Ajmere, and enlisting his advocacy he wrote again to Ispahan The ship which had been sent, he told Robbins, was 'but to trye and settle our enterteynment," and he hoped the Sháh "will not judge vs by this beginning " if the necessary privileges were granted (a draft of which he enclosed) "wee will then roundly and duly fullfill his desire" (p 373) Roe strongly urged Robbins to endeavour to obtain the required concessions, and concluded by intimating that possibly he himself would receive by the next fleet instructions to proceed to Persia and bring matters to a conclusion

Meanwhile the Company at home, though of course unaware of the despatch of Connock to Jáshak, had had the advantages of the trade urged upon them by Steel, and had received Roe's first letter on the subject After due deliberation and an interview with the Lords of the Council, they decided to go forward in the matter, though cautiously, in view of the risks and the large capital required, much of which, it was feared, would have to be sent in specie (p 421 n) Their instructions to Roe (see Appendix B)

directed him to make careful inquiry into the prospects of trade, and if satisfied, to despatch a fit person to conclude, upon certain conditions, the requisite agreement with the Sháh. With these instructions came a letter from King James, approving of the measures already taken by Roe and authorising him to sign a treaty with the Persian monarch.

These letters, brought by Ping's fleet in the autumn of 1617 settled satisfactorily the question of control. It was now open to Roe, if he chose, to disavow Kerridge's nominee (of whose character he had grave suspicions), and either to make one of the other factors in Persia his representative or to despatch someone from India to take charge of the negotiations. But, having carried his point he acted with his usual moderation and good sense. The question whether a ship should be sent to Jáshak to obtain news of the previous year's mission he left to Ping and Kerridge to decide but in case they should determine to do so he forwarded a commission and instructions empowering Connock and his fellows to undertake the necessary negotiations with the Sháh.

The *Bee* was accordingly despatched to the Gulf and from the intelligence she brought back in January 1618 supplemented by letters which arrived overland a few weeks later Roe learned what had taken place since the landing of Connock and his companions in December 1616. From Jáshak the factors had made their way to Shiraz, whence their leader pushed on to Ispahan. On his arrival (May 1617) he found that the Sháh was with the army on the Turkish border and thither he determined to follow him but first he made friends with Robbins who handed over to him all the papers he had received from Roe, including the draft articles intended for presentation to the Sháh. Accompanied by Robbins and a factor named Tracy Connock set out for the Court about the

beginning of July They were well received by the Sháh, in spite of the efforts of a friar who was acting in the interests of Spain, and the English envoy obtained without difficulty the grant for which he asked<sup>1</sup> With this he returned to Ispahan, and thence started for the coast, to meet the shipping which he expected would be sent towards the close of the year But sickness had laid hold of him as of most of his comrades, and he died at a village near Jáshak, on December 24, 1617, a little more than a year from the date of his landing<sup>2</sup>

The concessions he had obtained did not cover all the points mentioned in the Company's instructions lately received, and this rendered it necessary that fresh negotiations should be undertaken On the return of the *Bee*, therefore, Roe drew up fresh directions for Thomas Barker (who was now the head of the factory in Persia) and Edward Monnox, empowering them to conclude and sign a fresh contract (p 462) These he had intended to send by the *Anne*, which was to call at Jáshak on her way to Mocha, but this course was found to be impracticable To the Company he wrote that, although if the trade could be managed without a great export of specie, "it is the best trade of all India and will yeild you most certeyne Profit," yet he could see "no way sure but a Composition in Spayne," and were this effected there would be no need of any special bargain with the Sháh (pp 474-5)

On the arrival of the 1618 fleet Roe despatched the

<sup>1</sup> No copy of this grant can be found among the contemporary English records at the India Office. What appears, however, to be a copy (in French, undated) forms No 117 of vol iii of the *Hague Transcripts* (Series 1)

<sup>2</sup> The climate proved equally fatal to his two immediate successors, Thomas Barker, who died at the end of November, 1619, and William Bell, who succumbed, at the early age of 33, in February, 1624 The tomb of the latter, in the Armenian burial-ground at Julfa, was still standing in 1865, when Sir Frederic Goldsmid copied the Latin inscription (*Telegraph and Travel*, p 562)

*Expedition* to Jāshak with a further supply of goods, but she brought back news that was far from satisfactory. The factors were quarrelling violently among themselves ("of all those I saw," wrote the commander of the ship "one cannot glue thother a good worde"). Barker had been to Court, but had failed to obtain any further concessions, the Shah had been forced by the Turks to a disadvantageous peace, and schemes for a monopoly of the silk trade, either to the English or the Portuguese had had perforce to be laid aside, he had expressed his willingness, however to exchange silk for any quantity of goods the English might bring though he would not sign any formal contract.

Thus matters stood at the time of Roe's departure, and thus he was forced to leave them. The results obtained had by no means answered the sanguine expectations which had first been formed yet he saw no reason to despair. There appeared to be a reasonable probability of finding in Persia a fresh outlet for English goods—a point which he regarded as of vital importance, for India itself could absorb but a small quantity—while silk was in Europe a most profitable commodity. The *Ann* in which he returned carried home a quantity of Persian silk which was sold at a high price, and estimates then laid before the Company (*Court Minutes* Nov 9, 1619) placed the profit to be made at from 50 to 90 per cent. per annum.

The trade to Persia, though a matter in which Roe took the closest interest, had practically been initiated by the Surat factors, of whose proceedings he could not always approve. There was however another development of the Company's commerce—that to Mocha—in which the position was reversed Roe urging and carrying it through, while Herdridge and his companions somewhat unwillingly acquiesced. Long before the English flag had waved in Indian waters, the merchants of Cambay and Surat had

carried on a profitable intercourse with the Red Sea ports. Not only was the pilgrim traffic large and important, but it was accompanied by a lucrative interchange of products. Merchants from Aleppo and Cairo bought eagerly all Eastern commodities, and paid for them partly in European goods, but mostly in gold and silver. The latter circumstance was, in Roe's eyes, a special recommendation. As already noted, the demand in India for English goods was comparatively small, and hence the trade involved a heavy drain of silver from home—a drain which had already seriously alarmed the economists of the time, and had excited an outcry against the Company (p 165 *n*). Roe, who honestly thought the export of silver from Europe a great evil, saw in the Red Sea trade a means of mitigating it. Let a ship be yearly sent, he argued, from Surat to the Red Sea ports, and she would not only get rid of some English goods which would not otherwise be sold, but in return for these and for spices, calicoes, etc., she would bring back specie enough to help materially towards lading the ships for home. And, besides this, the move would have a powerful political effect, for the Red Sea trade was the principal dependence of the Gujarát merchants. Roe was sanguine that they would be glad either to freight goods in the English vessels, or at least to pay for the protection afforded by their company, and in any case the power which the latter would possess of taking the native junks at their pleasure would be a powerful lever for securing proper treatment at Surat and elsewhere. To those who objected the treachery of which Sir Henry Middleton had been the victim when he visited Mocha on a similar errand in 1610, Roe replied that that was due to a misunderstanding, and he pointed to the success of the Dutch, who had since made a lucrative voyage to Mocha and had experienced handsome treatment. The *Anne* was accordingly fitted out, and despatched on March 17, 1618,

in company with a Surat junk (p. 495 n). In September she returned with a favourable account of her reception, and *farmans* and letters encouraging a renewal of the enterprise and to reply to those letters and to despatch his answer by a fresh ship the 11<sup>th</sup> was one of the last of Roe's acts before leaving Surat (p. 515 n). How much Roe hoped from this commerce will be seen from his report to the Company on his return (p. 523) and although, perhaps he had not made sufficient allowance for the resentment which was sure to be aroused at Surat by this unwelcome competition with the native merchants he is certainly entitled to count to his credit the establishment of what afterwards became an important branch of the Company's commerce.

The period of his employment in India was for Roe only the commencement of a long and honourable career. It would carry us too far to detail his subsequent history nor should it be necessary in the case of one who played so important a part in the politics of his time.<sup>1</sup> After a short period of service in Parliament he was again sent (1621) on a mission to the East this time to the Grand Signior. At Constantinople he repeated the success he had obtained in India by restoring English prestige and placing English commerce on a sounder footing while his influence at the Porte secured the conclusion of a treaty between Turkey and Poland and the rejection of proposals from Spain which he judged inimical to English interests. Another result of his embassy was the presentation to King James by Roe's friend the Greek Patriarch of the celebrated *Codex Alexandrinus* which is now one of the glories of the British Museum. His success was in

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<sup>1</sup> The best and most recent account is contained in Mr Stanley Lane Poole's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography*



fact, too complete for his own convenience, for in spite of his appeals to be allowed to return, his tenure of office was prolonged, and it was not until the spring of 1628 that he obtained his release. His next employment (June, 1629) was the negotiation of a truce between Sweden and Poland. This he successfully accomplished, and his intercourse with Gustavus Adolphus bore further fruit in the following year in that monarch's appearance in Germany as champion of the Protestant faith. Meanwhile, Roe had been warmly received on his return by his own sovereign, who presented him with a gold medal as a token of his approval, and when, early in 1632, the death occurred of his old friend Carleton (created Viscount Dorchester in 1626), Roe looked forward with some confidence to the vacant secretaryship. His opinions, however, were far too liberal to please King Charles and his advisers, and the post was given to Laud's friend, Windebank. Bitterly disappointed, Roe withdrew into the country, and for the next few years lived in retirement. In January, 1637, a tardy recognition of his services was made in his appointment to the Chancellorship of the Order of the Garter, to which a year later a pension was added. At the congress for peace negotiations which sat successively at Hamburg, Ratisbon, and Vienna, Roe represented England, and he is said to have made such an impression upon the Emperor that the latter exclaimed "I have met with many gallant persons of many nations, but I scarce ever met with an *ambassador* till now." In June, 1640, he was sworn of the Privy Council, and in the same year he re-entered Parliament as one of the members for Oxford. A fresh mission to Germany (1641), however, prevented him for some time from taking a very active part in the deliberations of the Commons, and when he was once more free to devote himself to parliamentary duties, events rapidly led up to a crisis which placed him in a position of great difficulty. Whatever

his convictions he could not fight against his sovereign the son of his old master the brother of his dearly loved patrons, and in July 1643 he obtained permission from the Commons to retire to Bath for the improvement of his health. This was almost his last journey. In the tender words of Anthony a Wood "at length this worthy person Sir Thomas Roe did after all his voyages and ramblings take a little breath but soon after seeing how untowardly things went between the king and his parliament, did willingly surrender it to Him that first gave it on the 6th day of November in 1644 and two days after that his body was buried privately in the church at Woodford near to Wansted in Essex" (*Athenæ* ed. Bliss vol. iii p. 114).

An admirable Latin epitaph was written by Dr Gerard Langbaine for inscription on his tomb, but though Roe's widow survived him over thirty years no monument was erected over his remains, and now the church having been rebuilt and enlarged in 1815-16, even the spot where they lie is uncertain. Nor has this omission been entirely made good by the more lasting memorial which can flow from the pen of the historian. Of late years however some efforts have been made to do justice to his memory notably by the greatest living authority on the history of those times Dr Samuel Gardiner and we are promised a biography by Mr Stanley Lane Poole, to which we may look forward with confidence that at last Roe's merits will receive their due meed of praise.

How great those merits were may be shown by the testimonies of three writers of a later day and with these we may fitly take our leave of him. Carte the historian after reading through Roe's papers wrote in March, 1737 "I cannot sufficiently admire his Rare Abilities, judgement and Integrity his Extraordinary Sagacity in discovering the views and designs of those with whom he treated, and

his admirable dexterity in guarding against their Measures and bringing them over to his purpose Wise, Experienced, penetrating and knowing, he was never to be surprized or deceived, and though no Minister ever had greater difficulties to struggle with or was employed by a Court that had less power to Support him, yet he Supported all his Employments with dignity and came out of them with Reputation and honour In all the honest Arts of Negociation he had few Equalls, (I dare say) no Superiors"<sup>1</sup> More than half-a-century before, David Lloyd had written in his *State Worthies* (London, 1670), pp 1036-37 "Sir Thomas Roe understood the dispositions of men so exactly, could suit their humours so fitly, observe opportunities and seasons of actions so punctually, keep correspondence so warily, wade through difficulties so handsomly, wave the pinch of a business so dexterously, contrive Interests so suitably, that he was advised with concerning the most important Affairs of the Kingdoms he resided in abroad, and admitted of the Privy Council while he lived at home—Where his speech against the debasing of the Coyn at the Council-Table will last as long as there is *reason of State* in the World His settlement of Trade as long as this is an Island and his Eastern MSS as long as there are Books to furnish Libraries, or Libraries to preserve Books" And finally we may quote the testimony of Anthony à Wood "Those that knew him well have said that there was nothing wanting in him towards the accomplishment of a scholar, gentleman, or courtier, that also, as he was learned, so was he a great encourager and promoter of learning and learned men His spirit was generous and public, and his heart faithful to his prince He was a great statesman, as good a commonwealth's man and as sound a Christian as our

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<sup>1</sup> Brit. Mus *Addl MS* 6190, f. 34

nation hath had in many ages" (*Athenæ* ed. Bliss vol. III p. 113).

It may be of interest to endeavour, before concluding to trace the history of Roe's manuscripts and to note briefly the bibliography of his Journal. On the first of these two points we have unfortunately but scanty evidence to go by. The original notes, we may suppose, were jotted down roughly from day to day possibly on loose sheets, which would naturally be destroyed when they had served their purpose. The next step would be to have a fair copy made for the ambassador's use and this seems to have been done in folio volumes, of which there must have been at least two (cp. p. 383). The first, containing the diary and letters to February 11, 1617 and further letters to October 9 of the same year<sup>1</sup> has survived and forms the basis of the present text. The remaining volume or volumes have disappeared. As apparently the first part was available to Purchas (who says he copied most of the letters he gives "from Sir Thomas Roe's own book"), while the rest was not, we may conjecture that Roe had taken all but the first section to Constantinople. The volumes thus separated were never it would seem reunited for when in 1629 Roe wanted to refer to his Journal for some purpose, he was obliged to borrow the East India Company's copies.<sup>2</sup> The first volume reappears for a short time at the beginning of the eighteenth century when the editor of Churchill's *Voyages* (1704) republished Roe's Journal

<sup>1</sup> Roe refers to this volume on p. 466.

<sup>2</sup> "Sir Thomas moved the Court that Master Ellam may be enordred to lend him for a short time certalne Journalls of his owne and bookes of the Coppies of Letters, because he hath at present speciall occasion to use them. The Court was Content that Master Ellam shold lend them to Sir Thomas accordinglie" (*Court Minutes*, February 4, 1629).

"with considerable additions" taken from his own original manuscript."<sup>1</sup> It is true that he refers also to "a vast multitude" of letters "still preserved *in two volumes*," and this might appear to imply that he had seen not only the first but also the missing second volume. An examination of his text, however, shows that for events subsequent to February, 1617, he depends entirely on Purchas's version of the Journal, he goes no further than Purchas, and says that the rest is lost, and the letters he gives are all contained in the extant volume. A possible explanation is that the latter was at that time in two separate books, which have since been bound together.

From this date all trace of the MS is lost for another century. In March, 1737, Richardson the novelist tendered to the newly-founded Society for the Encouragement of Learning the "original papers and letters of Sir Thomas Roe," offering to bear part of the expense of publishing them,<sup>2</sup> but it is expressly noted by Carte the historian (who was asked to report upon them) that "there is nothing therein about his Embassy to the Great Mogul, but two Letters of that Emperor and King James's Instructions and Letters of Credence to Sir Thomas Rowe," with three letters from King James, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and Secretary Winwood, all relating to the proposed trade with Persia, together with four long letters from the Earl of Totnes, giving Europe news<sup>3</sup>. At last,

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<sup>1</sup> The reference is vague, but the identification is rendered tolerably certain by the fact that, in the entry for November 3, 1615, where our two extant MSS differ, Churchill's version follows the wrong reading in *Addl MS 6115*.

<sup>2</sup> The correspondence is in the British Museum collection (*Addl MS 6190*). The papers offered by Richardson were to have been published in five volumes, but the scheme failed for want of support after the appearance, in 1740, of the first volume (*Negotiations with the Ottoman Porte*, 1621-28).

<sup>3</sup> Most of these are now in the Public Record Office. The first five have been printed in this edition. The newsletters from Lord Carew (he was not created Earl of Totnes until ten years later) were edited for the Camden Society by Mr Maclean in 1860.

however the first volume came again to light and found a final resting place in our great national collection. In a letter dated January 4, 1817 the Rev. J. Coltman curate of Beverley Minster without saying how he became possessed of it, presented it to the British Museum, where it is known as *Addl MS 6115*. It is a thick volume of about 288 folios beautifully written in a neat clerical hand<sup>1</sup> and is in excellent preservation.

Besides the fair copy made for his own use, Roe had others prepared from time to time to send to England. To Lord Carew, for instance he sent in January 1616 a copy extending to the date of his arrival at Burhānpur (p. 110) and later on a further portion. Neither of these is extant. To the Company he sent regular batches as the opportunity occurred. The despatch of several of these we can trace. Thus, one portion was sent home with Roe's letter of November 24 1615 (see p. 94) another continuing the story to November 19 1616 went a year later (p. 340) and a third was despatched in the middle of February 1618 (p. 466). The portion for the concluding year of his embassy Roe would naturally take home with him having no opportunity of sending it before, except perhaps by the uncertain route overland. Whether this last portion got beyond the stage of rough notes<sup>2</sup> and if so, whether Roe ever delivered a fair copy to the Company cannot now be determined but it is plain that the copy if it existed, had gone astray before Purchas came upon the scene.

<sup>1</sup> The official catalogue states that it is in Roe's own hand. This, however is a mistake; for a comparison of the writing shows that the scribe was Edward Heynes, Roe's secretary (see p. 491 *n*).

<sup>2</sup> It is quite possible that it did not, at all events while Roe remained in India. Even before Heynes's departure for Mocha, the ambassador could "find him worke day and Night" (cp. also p. 466) and after the loss of his services Roe had a difficulty even in keeping copies of his letters (p. 505).

It was in 1622 that the reverend geographer, in search of materials for his *Hakluytus Posthumus or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, applied to the Company for permission to use their collection of logs, and especially Roe's Journal<sup>1</sup> We have inferred that he already had access to the first part of the diary from Roe's own copy, and it was probably the later portions only that he needed He could not have seen, however, more than the three sections which we have already described as having been sent home in 1616-18, for he expressly states that he could find nothing later than January 22, 1618 He had inquired diligently for the rest, "but neither with the Honourable Company nor elsewhere could learn of it" This points strongly to the correctness of our surmise that Roe brought home the fourth section only in rough, and never found the opportunity to have it fairly copied for the Company, or perhaps for himself

The three sections which the Company did receive have long since vanished from their records Bruce does not appear to have seen them when compiling his *Annals*, early in the present century If we mistake not, however, the first of the three is now in the British Museum *Addl MS* 19277, purchased in 1852 at the Arley Castle sale, is a contemporary transcript of the

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<sup>1</sup> The entry in the *Court Minutes* (February 27, 1622) is worth quoting in full — "Master Deputie [Maurice Abbot] further acquainted the Courte that one Purchas that wrote of the Religions of all Nations hath now vndertaken a greate volume of all there voyages and did desire to haue a sight of some of the Companies Iournalls that might give him lighte for the settinge downe the Companies voyages into theast Indies, wherein he desires to see but the Historicall part and will medle with nothings elce, *Particularly he desires to see Sir Thomas Roes Iournall* As for the Broyles betweene the English and Dutch *he will sett them downe otherwise then they lie in the Iournalls* The Courte gaue waie to his desire, onely they ordered that Master Ellam and Master Lanman shall take care that nothings be taken out of their Iournalls but that which is proper to a History and not preiudiciall to the Companie, and they entreated Master Deputy that he would take paines to peruse the notes before they were carried out of the howse."

Diary from the beginning to the departure from Burhánpur, and both the character and handwriting of the marginal abstracts subsequently added, and the manner in which the volume is labelled, leave little doubt that the manuscript formed at one time part of the Company's records. Thus the only two contemporary manuscripts of Roes Journal known to be extant have found their way to the national collection.

As we have seen it was in *Purchas his Pilgrimes* (vol. i, p. 535) that Roes Journal, with a few letters or portions of letters, was first given to the world, and practically it is this version which has formed the basis of all succeeding accounts of the embassy. It is therefore all the more to be regretted that the materials available were handled in such an unsatisfactory manner. When one remembers the difficulties, monetary and otherwise, under which the reverend geographer laboured and the inestimable service he rendered by placing on record so much that would otherwise have perished one is little inclined to join in the sweeping condemnation often passed upon him. But, it must be confessed that his editing of this particular journal is a very bad piece of work. That he should cut it down to a third or less was perhaps to be expected in view of the restrictions of space imposed by his general plan, but that while leaving untouched many trivialities (such as "the copy is registered" when he does not print the letter in question), he should excise passages vital to the comprehension of others which were allowed to stand that his dates should often be wrong and that the carelessness of his copyist (or his printer) should be allowed to make nonsense of important passages, will scarcely admit of excuse. However as we have said the difficulties in which his work was produced may be pleaded in his defence, and we must at least be grateful to him for having preserved for us



extracts from nearly a full year of the Journal (1617-18), for which no manuscript account is now available

Purchas's collection contained also (vol II, p 1464) some notes by the Rev Edward Terry, who had acted as Roe's chaplain during the greater part of his embassy, and these were subsequently expanded into a small volume, which was published in 1655. The bibliography of this work is given on p 527, and nothing need be said here concerning it, except to note that it is frequently confused with Roe's own Journal, especially in the edition of 1665, where the name of the author is not given.

In 1656 a Dutch version of Roe's account, translated from Purchas, was published at Amsterdam in a small quarto of 126 pages, embellished with four quaint copperplates. The next appearance of the diary was in the first volume of Thevenot's *Divers Voyages Curieux* (1663), where it is stated to have been translated "du Recueil Anglois de Purchas". The editor has added a few notes, an extract from *Purchas his Pilgrimage*, three letters (also from Purchas), and Roe's geographical description of India, with the map.

In 1705 was published *Navigantium atque Itinerantium Bibliotheca, or a Compleat Collection of Voyages and Travels*, by John Harris, A M, F R S. In this (vol I, book II, ch xxx) is given an inaccurate and much compressed paraphrase of Roe's Journal, derived from Purchas. Great liberties are taken with the text, some of it being incorporated with Peyton's journal in ch xxviii, and other portions amalgamated with extracts from Terry and others to form ch xxvi. In Harris's second edition (1744) the narrative is entirely suppressed, and in lieu of it a short account of its contents is given in a chapter containing a general history of the Company's trade.

Meanwhile an attempt had been made to produce an entirely new edition. Having somehow procured, as already

related, the first volume of Roe's own MS. copy, Messrs. Awnsham and John Churchill in 1704 made the Journal a special feature of the first volume of their *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. Roe's work said the Preface had already appeared in part but "now he comes abroad again with considerable Additions not foisted in but taken from his own Original Manuscript which it is likely Purchas had not but some imperfect Copy of it. It is true the Additions are not great in bulk but they are valuable for the subject in fine here is all that is valuable of Sir Thomas Roe and nothing that may cloy the Reader." These are brave words but the performance is far from bearing out the promise. "After an attentive comparison of these two former editions," wrote a subsequent editor (Robert Kerr), "it obviously appears that the edition by Purchas in 1625 is in general more circumstantial and more satisfactory than that of Churchill's notwithstanding its superior pretensions," and this verdict is entirely borne out by an examination of the latter. It is a veritable piece of hack work performed in most careless fashion. The additions are chiefly the dates of Roe's arrival at or departure from various places, though a few incidents are recorded which had been passed over by Purchas. On the other hand the omissions (of which nothing is said in the Preface) are numerous and important. The events at Surat are told in eleven short lines, Roe's reception at Court is said to have been "very favourable but needs not particularizing" and all details of commercial matters and of Roe's negotiations are omitted. By these means the bulk of the narrative has been reduced to less than one-half of that of Purchas's version. The spelling has been modernised and not content with this, the editor has taken upon himself the task of improving Roe's diction. In the earlier portion of the work scarcely a sentence escapes alteration but later on the editor's energy

flags and changes are much less numerous. Dates are frequently given incorrectly, and the editor's knowledge is displayed by changing the Mogul's "shash" (turban-cloth, p 322) into "staff" Four letters of Roe's, written all before November, 1616, his geographical account of India, and a note of presents asked for by him, are also included in the volume

It is unnecessary to trouble the reader with a detailed account of subsequent versions, since they are all reproductions, more or less complete, of Purchas or Churchill It may suffice to mention that the Journal appears in the collections of the Abbé Prévost (*Histoire Générale des Voyages*, Amsterdam edition, vol xiii), Schwabe (*Allgemeine Historie der Reisen*, 1747 etc, vol xi), Knox (*New Collection of Voyages*, 1767, vol vi), Pinkerton (*General Collection of Voyages*, 1808-14, vol viii), Kerr (*General History and Collection of Voyages*, 1811-24, vol ix), and Laharpe (*Abrégé de l'Histoire Générale des Voyages* [Prévost's], 1816, vol iv) Finally, in our own day, Purchas's version of the Journal appeared in serial form, under the care of the late Mr Talboys Wheeler, in the *Calcutta Englishman*, and a small impression of this edition was issued in book form a few years later (1873), together with Dr Fryer's *New Account of East India*, by Messrs Trubner and Co.

The present edition, as already mentioned, is based upon the only portion of Roe's own copy which has survived, viz, *Addl MS 6115*, in the British Museum Collection This has been given in full, and consequently a large proportion (about two-thirds) appears now for the first time A diligent search having failed to discover the rest of the journal in any known collection, it has been necessary, when the manuscript comes to an end, to fall

back upon the mutilated version of Purchas which carries on the narrative to January 22, 1618. For the remaining year of Roës stay in India we are almost entirely dependent upon his letters and such scraps of information as can be gathered from contemporary documents. In the Journal we have interspersed a number of the more important of Roës letters, nearly all of which are now printed for the first time. It was impossible, within the space available, to include all that are extant nor was this necessary for many either deal with matters of detail which have now lost their interest or else repeat what has been said elsewhere. For the same reasons it has been judged advisable to cut down most of the letters for which we have been able to find room. Each letter has, however, been carefully examined, and it is believed that nothing of real importance has been omitted. In many cases, passages for which room has not been found in the text have been utilised in the notes or in this Introduction. *Add MS 19277*—the other contemporary copy of Roës manuscript to which we have already alluded—has, of course, been collated (so far as it goes) with our text and in a few cases its readings have been followed in preference to those of the principal manuscript. Where, also, two or more contemporary copies of the letters exist these have been carefully compared and any differences of importance noted. We may hope, therefore, that we have at least been able to present a text which may be accepted as trustworthy. The notes have been mainly devoted to giving additional particulars of the persons places, or events alluded to. For the necessary information the editor is indebted largely to manuscript sources, such as, in the India Office Records, the *Surat letterbooks* and the *Original Correspondence Series* (now in course of publication under the title of *Letters received by the East India Company*

*from their Servants in the East*), the *Court Minutes* of the East India Company, the logs of various voyages, and many miscellaneous documents, in the British Museum, Kerridge's letters (*Addl MS* 9366), and the journal kept by Walter Peyton, master of the *Expedition*, in the fleet which conveyed the ambassador to India (*Addl MS* 19276), have been of special service, and the Public Record Office has yielded several papers of importance, especially in the case of the documents grouped in Appendix B. Of printed books, the one most utilised has naturally been the *Voyage to East India*, by Edward Terry, Roe's chaplain, already mentioned. From this everything has been extracted that bears directly upon Roe's mission, as distinguished from the general disquisitions on things Indian which form the staple of that interesting work.





THE  
JOURNAL OF SIR THOMAS ROE  
DURING  
HIS EMBASSY TO INDIA

(Brit. Mus.—*Add MS.* 6115.)

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*Observations according to the Table of Course.<sup>1</sup>*



It is necessary that shipping be ready in the downes to take oportunity of wynd by the 20th of January that they may sale with the Cape of Good hope before the dead of wynter, wherby men may have some leasure of Refreshinges, and the sicke may recouer in the warme seaseone for in the wynter the ayre is sharpe and rawe, and those that daylie wade, and are often wett, endalnger their healths and if the Roote *Nangin*<sup>2</sup> be of valew it must be

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<sup>1</sup> The "table of course" which occupies the first nine pages of the manuscript, and shews in tabular form the course, variation, latitude, longitude, leagues run, etc., from the 6th March to 17th September has been omitted. It may be consulted in Churchill's *Collection of Voyages* 1704, vol. i. but it contains nothing of general importance.

<sup>2</sup> *Nangin*, or *Ningin*, appears to be the Japanese name (see Thevenot's *Relations de divers Voyages Curieux* 1696, i, pp. 11-12, and Cocks' *Diary* ii, p. 27) of a plant identical with, or allied to, the Chinese *ginseng* (*radix ninsi*, *Panax Schinseng*), a medicinal root highly esteemed in the East as a restorative, and possessing in consequence

gathered in that Season, for when the sapp returnes, the roote is withered in the ground, and dring up shrinkes and comes to nothing Besides, the Season wilbe better to gett aboute the Cape, subiecte to foule weather, and hereby they shall have tyme enough to staye at the Isles of Comoro, for new refreshing, which is neces-sarie, that men may come stronge and in health amongg their enemyes , for it is doubtfull that the Trade with the Mogull must be mayntayned with Armes I wish the Coast from the Cape as high as Mosambique were discovered It is veary probable ther is good matter, and doubtlesse braue Harbours The Portugall hath trade for Gould in a River<sup>1</sup> not far from Mosambique, and the people make fiers to any shipping they see, to invite them

a considerable commercial value Pieter Floris (Journal, in India Office Records, *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, 1, p. 319), who had been enjoined by the Company to seek it on his outward voyage, met at the Cape (May 1611) two Dutch ships "expressely come thether for the same purpose, being one of Japan that fyrste discovered the secret" Floris found the plant, but the root was decayed and useless, "the right time of gathering the same being in December, January and February" He adds that the native name is *Canna* Cocks (*Diary*, II, pp. 286-7) mentions (without naming the root) that he received a consignment of it from the Cape in 1616, and says that the true sort comes from Corea, and is worth its weight in silver

Peyton, in his journal (Brit. Mus. *Addl MS* 19276) of the present expedition, says that, on arrival at the Cape, "the contrye people brought vs downe of the roote Ningine, wherof wee bought one handfull for a pece copper qt. 1½ Inche broad and 2½ in length, alsoe our menn wear sent vpp to gather thearof, whoe brought downe a smal quantetie and not soe full nor rype as that of the contrye people. Of this roote wee procured but little, not being the season of the yeare at present, for being dried it shrinks vpp to nothing but a tuffe skinn, whearas contrarywise, yf it had the full perfection of ripnes, it would be boeth full tender and sweete as anisseeds" Keeling (*O C*, No 187 I O Records) reported to the Company that they had not been able to get together a peck of the root

Ovington, who was at the Cape in 1693, mentions this herb under the name of *Nisan*, and says that a German physician whom he met there had planted in the Dutch garden some roots which he had procured in China, "yet 'tis affirmed," he says, "that this soil was no stranger to this Root before that this was Planted here." He states that its value in China was two hundred and seventy dollars the pound

<sup>1</sup> The Zambezi Cp Linschoten's *Voyage*, II, p. 31 (Hakluyt Soc. ed.)

to Commerce. This were done easily by two plinnaces (who might with great hope leaue some men on that Coast) which after might goe into the Indies, and serue the Company to transport goods from harbor to harbor in Japan, Sumatra, Coromandell, or Jaua.

*March 6.*—This day wee lost sight of the Lizard and begann our Course for the Cape of Good Hope.

*March 26.*—On this day In the Morning wee saw the Mayne of Barberie making that for Fortaentura,<sup>1</sup> and then stood away SW by S. till Noone, and saw land NW for the Canarye 8 leauges off then wee steerd SSW all night.

*March 27*—At 6 In the Morning Cape Bugador bare E. by S. 4 leauges off wherby wee found 30 leagues error in westerly way. This Cape lyeth in 26 latitude 353 50' longitude, differing from the Meridian of the Lizard 6° 10 by Mercator's prolection but I suppose It is layd 20 leagues to much to the E. the Canarye Islands in the same error<sup>2</sup>. The land to the Sowthward trendeth SSW for steering SW by S. I could not Cleare the land in 24 howers. So that when on the 26 day wee tooke our selues to bee betweene the Island we were betweene the Mayne and Forteuentura, a sandy shoure 16 sadome, 4 leagues off, and steering that day 6 howers SW by S we could only discerne land In the Topp for the Canarye. Wheras had wee bene with the Islands, we should with that Course from Forteuentura haue shott faire out by the

<sup>1</sup> One of the Canary Islands. The *Expedition* nearly ran ashore, having "much ado to perceave the land, being but lowe" and the coast being wrongly laid in the charts (Peyton's Journal).

<sup>2</sup> Cape Bojador is about 9 17' W from the meridian of the Lizard. Roe is therefore right as to its incorrect position in the chart referred to. The latter was probably "the platte of John Danyells making (being Mercators projection)", which Peyton used, and censured as unreliable. Cp. also the Journal of the Eleventh Voyage in *Purchas* (4, p. 486).



canarye The 27th at Noone the Mayne bearing E in 26° 5 leaugs off, wee shaped our Course

*March 31* —From the Cape Bugador ther is a Current that settts swift S S W , for from the 28 day to the 31th of March we had little wynd, yet by obseruation we rayzed euery day aboue a degree , wherby I concludę the Current settts neare two leaugs a watch and more aboard the shoare

*April 5* —This day the sunne was in our Zenith, crossing the paralell at Midnight.

*April 10* —This night we meett the Turnados next hand in 2°, the wynd at E with a terrible Gust of Raine for two howers

*April 12* —This day a Counsell was held, wherin a Captain Complayned against his Master , the Playntiffe was satisfied, the accused aduanced, the inocent punished, all pleased<sup>1</sup>

With the hinder foote of the Centaure, ther is a blacke spott like a lozenge which neuer alters shape nor motion from that part of the Constellation, but because it is inuironed with *Galaxia*, I suppose it is the skie, only darkened with much neighbouring brightnes

*April 14.*—This night I passd the line , Cape de Golinus,<sup>2</sup> the next land, bearing N.N E half E 158 leaugs off In this course from Cape Bugador, the Current settts with the trending off the shoare, which forsaking the Coast is weaker, yet we felt yt in our reckoning vntill the 13th day, some dayes 10 leauges, and soe 8, 6, 4 & 2 leauges, as wee stood off Whence I conclud it a good Course to hale in

<sup>1</sup> "This daye Tho Barwicke, maister of the *Peppercorne*, was displaced, or rather remoued (vpon complainte made against him by his captaine) into the Shipp *Lyon*, and Jno Curtis remoued into the *Peppercorne* in his roome" (Peyton's Journal) See also *Letters Received by the E I Company*, 11, pp 184, 185, etc

<sup>2</sup> Probably a Cabo das Gallinhas Several old maps have a Rio das Gallinhas just north of Cape Mount, in Liberia

betweene 20 and 30 leagues of the shoare till within five or six degrees of the line soe you shall haue helpe of the Currant or less subject to calmes for the wynd wilbe off the land, when it is calme without and you shall make the shorter way, rayse the faster to passe the Equinoctiall and the Turnados in 356 degrees of longitud and come sonner and to more aduantage in the generall wyndes way which blowes betweene the N.E. and S.E. For you may goe the lardger and again shorten the southerly course with all aduantage to the E. provided that you make not soe much Easterly way though you could as to bring the Cape of Good Hope to the Southward of S.I. by L. till you haue raised 16 or 17 Then you may shorten the easterly way as you rayse the latitude for if you doe meete with westerly wyndes you shall by soe much lesse neede them

May 2.—This day the South Tropique.

May 3.—The *Magellan* cloudes<sup>1</sup> first appeare and they keepe their course with the Polar Starre about the pole alway equidistant 11 or 12 the most southermost They are streamy and glaring whyte like the *Galina*

May 14.—From the 9th to the 13th much wynd and stormy that I neither could obserue sunne nor starr but plying near in a Paralell the Variation altered little.

June 5.—P'engyn<sup>2</sup> Island at one in the Morning 4 leagues E. This day at 9 a Clocke I came to Anchor in the bay of Soldania in 5 fadom water from P'engyn bearing E. 4 leagues steering S.E. for the bay fine shoaling hard sand from 15 fadom to 5 bringinge the ledge of Rocks at the poynt of the bay N.W. by W. the table S by E. is the best roade In Comminge in it is better to hale in

<sup>1</sup> "A popular term for the two Nebulae or great cloudy looking spots in the Southern heavens, which are found to consist of a vast number of nebulae and clusters of stars (Smyth's *Sailor's Word Book*). See also Hues *Traictus de Globis* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), p. 66.

<sup>2</sup> Now Robben Island. The bay of Soldania is of course Table Bay not the modern Saldanha Bay.

with the Sowth then the North Shoare, for the flatts and sandes and breaches of Pengyn

The 4th of June I was by reckoning 28 leagues off  $33^{\circ} 35'$ , soe that, the wynd standing, I did expect to be near land the first night watch. Most of our fleete, all except Iohn Hatch,<sup>1</sup> who kept the same manner of Reckoning, havinge looked for land 2 and 3 dayes before, their Accounts out. Besides, they made sure to see it within 12 howers after the variation was lessened to one degree, but this alsoe deceiued them and is an error I was open and confident on my deed reckoninge, the rather because the longitude of the Cape by Mercator's proiection is rectefyed in  $28^{\circ} 30'$  from the Meridian of the Lizard, and is, I suppose, truly proiected, and though the variation be an excellent evidence in the whole course of nearing land, yet it deliuereth no other certainty But warninge to looke out, for it lessens not in the same proportion near land, but by a much slower, for which I could give a perspicuous reason, but to learge for this place Nor can any Judgment att all be made to 20 leaugs therby that shalbe infallible, the Magneticall amplitude being soe difficult to obserue truly, by the shipp's Motion and the Needles quicknes, that a degree is scarce an error This consideration made me confident that wee should see noe land untill the 5th day early in the morninge The wynd at N N W and fresh, wee steering E to the sowthward, at one aclock after midnight the Admirall<sup>2</sup> tacked, and sawe land faier bye, & heaving the dipsall we had 35 fadome Standing off in two glasses we deepned to 60 fadom Nowe to this hower from Noone the 4th day we had runn 27 leaugs, and my reckoning was the day before 28 leauges,

<sup>1</sup> Master's mate on the *Lion* We shall hear of him again later

<sup>2</sup> It is scarcely necessary to say that at this period the commander of a fleet was usually called the *General*, while the ship which carried his flag was the *Admiral*, cp Drake's *World Encompassed*, p 8 "the admirall, wherein our generall himself went"

soe that In tyme I salld not an hower, In distance but one leauge, If wee had not stooode off In the night. At breake of day the 5th day we stood In and sawe Pengwin Island East and steering away S E. for the baye came to Anchor

It<sup>1</sup> Is an opinlon begotten by chance and Mayntaind by error which our Pilotts hould and defend that It Is neces sarye from the line to make a south way Into the latitude of the Cape of Good hope to meete with West or S.W wynds, to runn in a Parallell whereby they loose In Easteringe by the advantage of the largnes of the generall wyndes sometymes 200 or 300 leauges, and become distant, in the Paralell of the Cape, some 600 some 700 leauges, which course Is most obsurd. First, it Is contrary to a Principall in Naulpatton to direct the shipes way next hand to the Porte desired provided they goe lardge enough to runn thorough the sea and fall not Into any certaine and experienced Inconveniency of contrary wynds or Currents. Now admitt It be true that In the lattitude of the Cape you shall meete with West or South west wyndes yet It Is most obsurd that therefore you will make more westerly way then you neede by 200 leauges or a due south to meete with that wynd which will doe you the same good 200, yea 500, leauges more to the East or none at all for If It forsake you before It bring you In it had beene better to haue been soe far as It will bring you without it. If It be sald you shall haue it sooner I answer

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<sup>1</sup> This excursus is explained by a passage in a letter written by Roe to Smythe from the Cape (*MS.*, f. 53). After passing the line, some differences arose as to the exact course to be taken. Roe freely expressed the views here laid down; and this seems to have been resented as an interference in matters beyond his province. Partly, therefore, in his own defence and partly because of the importance of the subject, he set down in writing his "reasons and directions" and interpolated them here, as the most suitable place for them. Several of the officers and factors wrote to the Company on the same subject (see the abstracts in *O. C.*, No. 187. *I. O. Records*).

some few howers, for the wynd crosseth from his rising (if it raigne soe farr) halfe the earth in soe much of a day and therefore it is said, for expression of swiftnes, that God sitteth on the wynges of the wynd And to feare any Calmes, especially without the Tropique, is a pannique terror and voyd of reason, and Contrary to the only ground layd of this course. For if they feare it from the rule of Calmes betweene two wyndes, then they doe confesse the west wyndes expected betweene the longitud they seek it in and the Cape doe loose themselves, and then I say they goe out of their way to find that frennd which forsakes them in their greatest neede, and leaues them in the calmes they feare But grannting it for true (as it is) that the west wyndes supposed are vncertaine, then they runn this danger, that a North wynd will not fetch the Cape, which is to great a hazard For the variation being  $17^{\circ}$  to the East of the North makes your waye so much to the Sowth of the East, and when you shall hale your tackes close aboard for that then the Lewarly way wilbe as much as the Variation, and in a head sea more, wherby you shall beate your ships, aduance little, and can make your true way noe better then E and by Sowth, and soe ouershoote the roade But these ar suppositions and discources of Admittance on bothe sides, when the truth is aproueable by Nature and reason, that without the Tropique of Capricorne the wynds are variable as in our deuision of the world and, if any wynds be more frequent then others, they are betweene that and the Cape in Aperill and May N and N E<sup>ly</sup> wynds, as in our Tropique, corresponding in latitude and season, S and S Westerly, First because the sunne beeing Clome to the North, both exhales the wyndes and disperseth them, besides the greatest lands and nearest as you stand in (and all wyndes are made at lande) veare E and N But the Conclusion is the wyndes are variable and subiect to blowe (if any way) contrary to the wyndes

most ordinary in our October and Nouember, being the opposite season and Climat to us. Therefore I say it is best to make use of the Generall wyndes from the lyne, soe far as they raigne, haling as much E. ns they will suffer you to goe large through the sea with a sadome or two of the sheate flowne. So shall you be alsoe in n N and N E. wyndes way, and may stand large soe longe as you borowe on the Sowth<sup>1</sup> to rayse at pleasur and if these prophecyed wyndes at W doe blow you are alsoe so much more in their waye by how much lesse you neede them. And if any man object to me his experience, I reply he knowes not the force of that woord for experience ariseth from a frequent and often approbation in one course of the same truth and had neede of the authoritie of 100 tryalls and not of two or 3 vloydges which is the moste any of our great Masters can bragg off. And I affirm reason grounded on good principies shall proue their experience the resolutions of leuitie and of men affected to their owne wayes and it is noe good argument "I have found it soe therefore it will euer be soe" but from Causes to effects is the iodgique of wise men "thus In reason it ought to be, and therefore it is most probable it Is soe" Yet, to sett Game against Game (for all the former courses are grounded on chance) I oppose the trial of Sir Henry Middelton<sup>2</sup> who beate it off in the Latitud of the Cape many dayes, with much E. wynd. The *Hector* with Captain Towerson<sup>3</sup> gott in with N wyndes little westerly or at largest N N W Captain Newport<sup>4</sup> with the Persian Ambassador held it up East as nere as he Could and neuer had breath of W wyndes, but keeping the Sowth to frend went lardge in with a N wynd. Dauis gave instructions to the flecte with

<sup>1</sup> To borrow is "to approach closely either to land or wind (Smyth's *Sailer's Word Book*).

<sup>2</sup> In the East India Company's Second Voyage (1604-6).

<sup>3</sup> Eighth Voyage (1611-14).

<sup>4</sup> Twelfth Voyage (1613-14).

Captain Beast<sup>1</sup> not to hale Easterly until 28°, but soe soone as the wynds fauoured him in 23° he stood E S E. himselfe Being asked why hee did contrary to his owne directions, though he answered "it was for his pleasur", any man may discerne that hee would not teache other men to goe out of a beaten path (all bye wayes requiring the best guide), and that if they had parted company by weather, he would haue made them woonder at him getting in long before them that followed his directions Soe that which was an abuse to them would have apered skill in him Lastly I oppose my owne tryall in the *Lyon* with Captaine Newport, when I went His Majesties Ambassador to the Great Mogull,<sup>2</sup> we troad in this high Sowtheren way, and though often the wynds were soe lardge that wee might have made a Sowth and by East and S S E way or between them in the whole we made it all from the line next hand Sowth only to rayse the latitud, which if it had been advantage for us and the west wyndes expected in a bagg, yet was the Course ill, for a Poynte and halfe to the East of the Sowth in raysing 33° had aduantaged us 200 leaugs to the East and shortned the Sowth way not aboue 35 leaugs or a degree and  $\frac{2}{3}$ , and soe in proportion as the wynd might haue lardged When wee were in the latitude the wynd was scanter than euer & veary feirce at E & E S E and S E, wherby we were forced to make a S Westerly way most opposits to our port till wee raysed 35° 30' Then the wynds Rainginge to the N of the E and betweene them, to late we beleued it reasonable to stand back to the N or as near it as we could to fetch Frenship of that wynd which was most Vsual Thus wee plyed it 9 or 10 dayes, with foule stormie weather, at the end wheroff the wynd veering to the North and N N W

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<sup>1</sup> The fleet of the Tenth Voyage, which left England in 1612 John Davis (Davis of Limehouse, *not* the Arctic navigator) was master of the *James*, and apparently pilot of the fleet

<sup>2</sup> *I e*, in the present expedition

with our tacks close aboard the variation and lewaly way Considered, we had labor enough to make our true way E. by N. to recouer the Cape. Our Pilotts and masters rather found their error then confeste it, yet made vse of my opinione and reasons, for a Counsell beeing called at the Cape concerning the Course past, the most voyces enclining this way it was resolved on as their owne. And because my advise nor counsell was neuer desired I made noe secrett of their Ignorannce on the other syde they doubted not their element to be aboue myne, that had to doe only at land. But hee that stands on the advantage of a hill doth see and iudge both valleyes and seas and all belowe him and will say *Nihil ignorantia nudatus et cæca experientia nixu fetulantius*<sup>1</sup>

Soldanya is as I suppose, an Island<sup>2</sup> on the South end wherof is the Cape of Good hope, devided from the Mayne by a deepe Bay on the S.E. side and due E. by a riuer which wee discern e vpon the table.<sup>3</sup> The land is fructfull bearing short thicke grasse. The Mayne is devided with most high and steepe rocky Mountaynes couered with snow and vnaccessable, except it be searched by the riuer of Dulce,<sup>4</sup> which doubtlesse is vearly great falling into the Bay on the East syde. There is on the Island 5 or 600 people, the most barberous In the world eating Carnone, wearing the gutts of sheepe about their Necks for health, and rubbing their heads (curled like Negroos) with dung of beasts and durte. They have noe other Cloathing then

<sup>1</sup> "Nothing is bolder than ignorance; no one more headstrong than the man who relies upon blind experience. *Cæca experientia* should apparently be *cæca experientia*. The source of the quotation has not been discovered.

<sup>2</sup> The Cape peninsula has this appearance from the sea, and is so represented in old maps.

<sup>3</sup> During the stay of the ships, Roe spent some time on land, one of the five tents erected being set aside for his use (Peyton's Journal). A letter from one of the factors mentions that while at the Cape Roe "set up a pillar with an inscription of his embassy" (*O.C.*, No. 187).

<sup>4</sup> The "Sweet River" (cp. *Leo Africanus* Hakluyt Soc. ed., i p. 66 and Herbert's *Travels*, 1638, p. 15).



beastes skins wrapt on their shoulders, the skinne next the body in heate, in could the hairy syde Theyr howses are but one matt concaued like an Ouen, into which they Creepe, and turne them about as the wynde Chainges, for they haue no doores to keepe it out. They have lefte their stealinge by trading with vs, and by signes make showe their harte is good They knowe noe kind of God or religion The ayer and water is vearly wholesome, and both of them subtile and searching There is on the Island Bulls, Cowes, Antelops, Babones, Mowles of great bignes, Fezants, partriches, larckes, wildgoose, duckes, Pascer flamingos and many others On Pengwyn there is a foule soe Called that goes vpright, his winges without feathers hanging downe like sleues faced with whyte, they fley not but walk in Pathes and keepe their diuisions and quarters orderly, they are a strange fowle or rather a *Miscclanius* creator of beast, bird, and Fishe, but most of bird, confuting that definition of man to be *Animall bipes implume*<sup>1</sup>, which is nearer to a discription of this Creature The Comodities here are, first, reasonable refreshings with Cattell (soe that a season be Chosen when they are not leane, a Month after the sunn is departed from them Northward), *Nangin*<sup>2</sup> rootes, Arras,<sup>3</sup> if our Merchants be not deceued, and I doe strongly suppose that I found a Rocke yeelding quick-siluer and virmillion,<sup>4</sup> the stone being spotted all without with a most pure redd Coulor, equall to any paynting, and that will come off vpon paper or other fitt matter, by the description of John Acosta<sup>5</sup> it cannot fayle to be the

<sup>1</sup> The well-known definition of man (ζῷον διπουν ἄπτερον) ascribed to Plato—"that unfeathered two-legged thing", as Dryden renders it

<sup>2</sup> See p 1, n

<sup>3</sup> Orris root Several varieties of *Iris* are found at the Cape.

<sup>4</sup> On the strength of Roe's opinion, "30 or 40 lbs" were sent home in the *Hope* "for a trial" (*O C*, No 187) As nothing more is said on the subject, it is probable that the results were unsatisfactory

<sup>5</sup> *The Natural and Moral History of the Indies* (Hakluyt Soc ed), p 214 "John" is a mistake (probably due to the original copyist) for "Joseph"

same, it is alsoe vearly heauie, full of Marquisate and minnerail apperannees. The Table, or high rocke soe Called by a streight lyne from the water syde is 11853 foote high.<sup>1</sup> The bay is full of whales and scales. The dutch haue fished on Pengwyn for them. The lattitud is 33° 45', the longitude 28 30 from the lizard, the variation doubtfull whyther to the East or West, but my opinion is that the variation is West 30°. The cause of variation beeing in the Mayne, as apperes euidently by the many lynes and changes towards the Cape E. and after Westerly. If any shipping (hauling tym enough) fall but 100 leaugs more to the North with the Mayne (which may be done with saftye no wyndes forblidding It), I assure myselfe they shall haue good trade for Cattle and other Comodoties, and may by leauing some men discover the land and perhapes gett knowledge of the People that trade with the Spaniardes on the East syde in 21° for gould after the Manner of the Moores in Barbary to Gago<sup>2</sup>. These ieste at the Cape<sup>3</sup> will goe no further but attend

<sup>1</sup> Herbert (1638) says 11 860 feet. It is really about 3,550 feet.

<sup>2</sup> See *The Historie of Barbary*, by Ro. C. (London, 1609), sig. K 3.

<sup>3</sup> The reference is to the "condemned men from Newgate" whom the Company as a charitable deed, had begged of the King upon the understanding that they would be left at the Cape. This anticipation of the transportation system (which was not unusual in voyages of the period) was attended by very poor success. In two letters to Sir Thomas Smythe, Roe pointed out the mischievous influence exercised by these malefactors upon the crews of the ships, and the futility of expecting that they would either settle at the Cape or make any attempt to discover the interior and when the time came for quitting the Bay he protested warmly against their abandonment. Keeling, however considered that he had no option though as a courtesy to the ambassador he spared two, one of whom, named Duffield, was taken into Roe's service, and rewarded his benefactor upon their return to England, by absconding with some of his plate. The remaining ten were set ashore, with a few provisions and tools; and Cross, a former yeoman of the royal guard, who had been sentenced to death for killing several men in duels, was, with their consent, constituted the captain. Shortly after, one man was killed and two were wounded in a skirmish with the natives; whereupon the *Hope* before departing gave them four muskets and a boat, in order that they might find a safe dwelling place upon Penguin Island. Eight months later the *New Year's Gift*, on her homeward voyage, took off three of the survivors and

opportunity of passage, and thear can doe noe great good, beeing amounge the basest banished people, that knowe nothing sauoring of man, nor are no other way men, But as they speake and walke like men

*June 17* — This night the *Hope*<sup>1</sup> came to an Anchor in the Bay from Suratt, laden with Indicoes.

*June 20* — Wee weighed at 4 in the morning, the wynd at E S E, and stood off 5 leaugs N W by N, keeping the bay open. Then wee sawe a headland S by E 6 leaugs off, so steering S E by S, by Morning the 21th day, the Cape of Good Hope bearing from that headland S E and N.W, and from the Cape of Good Hope Cape Falso bearing E by S  $\frac{1}{2}$  S and W. by N  $\frac{1}{2}$  N and from the ship N by E 7 leaugs off I proceeded towards Santa Lawrance<sup>2</sup>

*June 25* — Wee sawe the land, which I suppose was Cape Fernoso, N by E. We sounded at 65 fadom 8 leauges off, and being Calme by an Eddy currant we draue to the N 2 leaugs a watch

I found by falling with the land that the Currant kept us both from raysing and Eastering, so that notwithstanding

the rest are said to have found a passage in a Portuguese ship. The three brought back to England deserted in the Downs, "took a purse" within three hours, were captured, and ordered for execution on their old sentence

Three more condemned men were carried out in the fleet of 1616. On reaching the Cape and learning the fate of their predecessors, they besought the commander on their knees to hang them outright rather than leave them. He refused to depart from his instructions, and they were put ashore accordingly, but the *Swan*, the last ship of his fleet to leave the Bay, took them on board and carried them to Bantam. The experiment seems then to have been abandoned (See Terry's *Voyage*, Court Minutes and Dodsworth's Journal, in I O Records, Peyton's Journal, *ut supra*, Pring's narrative in *Purchas*, 1, p. 631)

<sup>1</sup> The *Merchants' Hope*, one of the vessels of Downton's fleet of the preceding year. "June 17, aryved the Shipp *Hope* homeward, in her Master Dodsworth, by whome wee understood at lardge the many iniuries and abuses offred our nation at Suratt by the Portugalls, and howe their malitious proiectes and fyre deuises weare with Gods assistance withstood" (Peyton's Journal)

<sup>2</sup> Madagascar

ing the ships way by the passing of the water gaue soe many leauges as the table of Course mentions, yet the error was great and must be corrected in the whole course. For at sower in the afternoone the 25th day we sawe land bearing from W to N E. by E. all along whereas by reckoning I was more then 40 leauges off so that two errors are here discovered one of the Cardes that lay the land away E. N E. and W. S. W., the true bearing beeing from Cape des Agullas to Cape Araciso E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  N., W  $\frac{1}{2}$  S., and from thence it begins to trend more North the other, that wee were kept back by the Current in this Course 50 leauges at least wherby we dayly mistooke our longitude, Judging it only by our Easterly way From the last of June till the 5 of July we raysed more then course and variation did bring out by 4 5 and 6 leauges in 24 howers, right before the wynd, another Current setting alsoe to the North besides which helped me to the N I alwayes made two or 3° more variation then all the fleete, for my needle beeing touched afresh once in 10 dayes I suppose it was more animated and fixed then those that beeing long touchd must daylie somewhat weaken, the Needles I touchd for others performing the same difference.

*July 8.*—I was ashore by reckoning on Santa Lawrance in 22 30' latitude 51 10 longitude the fleete having by account looked for land 24 howers, but we could not make the Cape Augustine, the wynd hanginge off the land. But wee found that wee were hindered of Eastering by the first Currents at Capedes Agullas 50 leauges and by the Current setting after to the North we made more N way then wee Could alowe, and by Consequence lesse E., the Current setting N N W betweene the latitude of 30 and longitude of 46 and the latitude 24 and longitude 29 [39?]. For we wanted, as I suppose, 20 leauges off Santa Lawrance notwithstanding wee had runn over him 80 leauges. But of this I dare affirme on good reason that the Cape Augus-

tine must be layed in the E 40 leaugs more then it is in Mercators plott, being there in  $51^{\circ} 10'$ , truly in  $53^{\circ}$  The land alsoe at the foote of Affrica is more in longitude then it lyeth for Seeing in 3 dayes we could not gett into the land, and beeing put to the N, the 12th day, the wynd at NE, we stood away for Molalia, iudging myselfe to be 20 leaugs from Saint Lawrance W in  $21^{\circ} 10'$  It is Necessary to see the Cape of Augustine, to Correct the errors of the Currents, else hee that shall shape his Course by reckoninge may be deceiued in Longitude 50 or 60 leaugs, which is vearly daingerous because of the shoales of Iudia<sup>1</sup> near 21, and the Currents soe variable that it wilbe hard to coniecture on which hand you leave them Therefore I advise (if weather be faier at the Cape of Good Hope) to make Aracifo in  $33^{\circ} 30'$ , so you shall Correct the fierst currents Then to runn large away E neare to the longitude of the Island before you hale to the North, for you will rayse apace both by the Current and variation, into the latitude of Cape Augustine If it be foule weather getting about the Cape of Good Hope, stand into  $37^{\circ}$  before you hale to the East, and then runn in a Paralell, or little to the N, aloweing by Coniecture for the Currents, but not soe much as if you stood nearer into the shoare, wher they are more violent, but are soone lost in the sea From Cape Augustine a NW by N Course will goe Cleare both of the shoales of Iudia and the shoales of Saint Lawrance in  $20^{\circ}$  These shoales are bould, and as a Pilott of Magadoxa tould me<sup>2</sup> haue fine shoalinge 12 and 15 fadome to the shoare I thinke I lefte Iudia 20 leaugs W, because at Molalia my reckoninge came well out

*July 21*—At two in the Afternoone wee made lande NE by N 7 leaugs off, taking it for Molalia, in  $12^{\circ} 57'$ , and stood in with it till 5 at night, when wee sawe another

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<sup>1</sup> Now known as the Europa Shoals

<sup>2</sup> See p 22

Island bearing N W by W, the true Molalia which beare N of vs at Noone (when we made Juanny for it) both by reckoning and the truth. Then vanding W off and W by S till 7 in the Morning the 22th seeing Molalia playn N N W we stood away N W and N about the west end of the Is and and Came to Anchor on the North syde in a little Bay in 24 sadome water the Loynt to the West having a ledge of Rocks W S W and the other pynt E by S the soundings vary deepe as we came alonge the shoare vnto the Rea<sup>le</sup>

Molalia is one of the 4 Islands of Comoro<sup>1</sup> Angaresia Juanny and Mayetta beinge the other three. They lye E and W near in a lare<sup>le</sup>ll one of another except Angaresia, which lyeth somewhat more N. Molalia is 20 South latitude in the same Meridian with Cape Augustine the variatione being 16 40. Angaresia beare from it by the Compass N by W 7 leaugs off the Sowerthmont<sup>2</sup> end in a 11 55 extending it selfe North to a 11 6 as I observed within 5 leaugs therof bearing south from me. It is the highest land I ever sawe inhabited by Moores trading with the Mayne and the other three Eastern Islands with their Cattle and fructs for Callicoes or other Linnen to Cover them. It is gouerned by ten Petty kings and is sufficiently fructifull of kine, faire goates, Cocors orrenges and lemons. They made us siers as we passed by being desierous of trade at the first hand which nowe they fetch by Cannoes at Molalia, whear our ships ride. They are helde a false and an vnfaithfull people having betrayd some of Sir James Lancasters men long sithence,<sup>3</sup> but nowe havinge experience of vs at other Islandes I doubt not they would repayne theyr Creditts

<sup>1</sup> The Comoro group.

<sup>2</sup> "Furthermost" in *Purchas*, where the succeeding sentence is with equal carelessness turned into "extending it selfe North eleven degrees six minutes."

<sup>3</sup> In 1591. See *Joyages of Sir James Lancaster* pp. 6, 26.

Juanny lyes from Molalia East, and Mayotta in the same Course The Coast betweene them is euery way bould These three Islands are veary full of good refreeshinges, but Principally Mayotta, as I was enformed by the Arabs trading in Molalia, and the Dutch stoppe thear The next in goodnes is Juanny, whear lues an ould woeman Sultanness of them all, to whom they repayre for Justice both in Ciuill and Criminall causes Molalia hath on yt three Subsultans, Children of the ould woeman, two men, one daughter, who Gouverne seuerall parts of the Island The Sultan in whose quarter we Anchored hath such authoritie that his subjects dare not sell a Nutt untill leaue obtayned To which end Captaine Keeling<sup>1</sup> sent four boates to his towne, desiring libertye to trade, wher they were receued by a Gouvernor or rather an Admirall or Commander of the Porte, lyeing some 4 leauges to the Eastward

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<sup>1</sup> William Keeling, the "General" of the fleet He was at some time or other Groom of the Chaniber to King James, probably before he entered the Company's service In their employment he was captain, first of the *Susan* and then of the *Hector*, in the First Voyage, and held the chief command in the Third He was now going out with a special commission to pass from port to port in the Indies, and regulate the Company's affairs in all the factories As he was to remain five years abroad, he had pleaded very hard to take his wife with him For a short time the Committees were inclined to agree, as "some approved of the motion as very fitting for the quiet of his mind and the good of his soul, and as a curse befalleth those that keep man and wife asunder", but finally they determined to refuse the request At the last moment, however, they found that he had secretly smuggled his wife aboard, and it was only on a threat of dismissal that he was induced to leave her behind Writing from the Cape, he implored the Company to send her out to him, and as this was not done, he hurried home in 1617 By 1618 he had been appointed captain of Cowes Castle, two years later he died, and was buried at Carisbrook, at the early age of forty-two His quaint epitaph, still to be seen in the church there, calls him "a merchant fortunate, a captain bould, a courtier gracious", and that he was a man of real merit and capacity is evident from the terms in which Roe speaks of him Although there was a coolness between them at first, this left no real hostility, and, writing to Pepwell on the 30th December 1616, Roe says emphatically that Keeling "did vse his authoritie with more moderation and better judgment and integritie then most men would, and will not be easely matched for sufficiency euery way, & did as well deserue the trust as any, I beleeeue, they [the Company] can euer employ"

of our roade where havinge obtained leave to come ashore we landed some 40 Men with Captaine Newport.<sup>1</sup> The Gouvernor they found sitting upon a Matt of Strawe under the side of a Junck which was a building accompanied with about 50 Men. His apparell was a Mantell of blew and red l ynen wrapte about him to his knees his legges and feete bare on his head a close cape of checker woorke. The Interpreters were certaine Magaloxians that spake Arabique and broken Portuguese. Capaine Newport presenting him with a Peece and a sword blade from Captain Keeling received a welcome and [the Gouverneur] Commanded 4 Bullocks to be returned in requitall and with Grautie enough entertayned them pvinge free libertye to buy and sell and signifyinge soe much by a Messenger to the Inhabitants round about, and promised to send downe his owne cattel but professed he had nix Power to Compell or make price for others but lesse the trade open to evenc mans will. He sent for Cocore Nuts to give the Company himselve Chawelup Hittle and lyme of burnt Oystershells with a kernell of a Nutt called Arraca like an Ackorne. It lytt in the Mouth avoydes Rume Cooles

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<sup>1</sup> Christopher Newport (1565-1617), captain of Roe's ship, the *Lion*. It had first been intended that he should command the fleet, and he was by no means pleased to find Keeling placed above him. He had had a distinguished career. In 1592 he swept the Spanish possessions in the West Indies and ended by attempting to capture the great carrack *Madre de Dios*. Later he made five voyages to the New World, and shared with Somers in the re-discovery of the Bermudas. His first voyage in the service of the East India Company was in January 1612, when he carried out Sir Robert Sherley in the *Fafraden* to Lark Island, went on to Bantam for a cargo of pepper and was back in England by July 1614, a record passage ("I thinke", wrote one of the Company's factors a little later alluding to an old superstition "Captain Newport Carryeth a Fly in a box with him"). His next voyage was the one in which we now find him engaged. Returning with the *Lion* in the autumn of 1616, he was sent with a fresh ship to Bantam and reached that port on the 15th August 1617. He died not long after but the exact date is not known. There is a good notice of him by Professor Laughton in the *Dictionary of National Biography*; and a few additional particulars of his home life will be found in *Stepney Registers* p. 25.



the head, strengthens the teeth, and is all their phisicke, it makes one vnused to it giddy, and makes a mans spittle redd, and in tyme Coullers the teeth, which is esteemed a beawty This is vsd by all men howerly From the Gouvernor they were leadd to a Carpenters howse, a Cheefe man of that towne, the howse builde of lyme and stone, Playstered with Morter or whyt lime, lowe, and little, Roofte with rafters of woode couered with Cocor leaues, the outsides watled with Canes They are kept Cleanly and their poore househould stuff neate, their gardens paid with Canes, enclosinge some Tobacco and Plantan trees For dinner a boorde was sett vpon tressells couered with a fine new Matt, benches of stone about yt likewise couered, on which they scatt. First water was brought to euerie man in a Cocor shell, powered out into a wooden Platter, and instead of a towell the rinds of Cocor Then was sett boyld rise and rosted Plantens, upon the rice quarters of henns and Peeces of goate broyld After grace said, they fell to their meate, with bread made of Cuscus, beaten and mingled with honny and soe fryed, and Palmeto wyne and Cocor milke for drinke I sent a gentellman and my Chaplen to see the Sultan himselfe, who lues three miles vp in the land from Fambone, the towne of the Gouvernor, but they found him by Chance there He vsed them Curteously and made them dyne with him, differing little from the former entertaynment, only the Gouvernor and all others gaue him much respect, kissing his hand His Name is Sultan Amar-Adell, akinne to Mahomette,<sup>1</sup> not vnlike to be descended of such an imposturous race, his Cloathes not vnlike the Gouvernors but somewhat better stuffe, his manners differing much, being with less grauitie and state, somewhat a light foole, and veary hastie to be druncke with wyne Carried by the English The other

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, a *Sharif*, a descendant of the Prophet.

Vize Sultan his brother in whose quarter we wear not I sawe, being Come downe to our roade with three slaues to trade. Hee brought a Certificate from Captain Sayers that hee had vsd the English well in his dominion.<sup>1</sup> He is as well *Veriff*<sup>2</sup> as Sultan which is high Priest. He kept a kinde of state in place but otherwike a poore beare footed roauge. He offered to trade for quicksiluer and being asked what quantitie he would buy replied to 4 or 5 rialis of eight. When this Marchandice faild him hee fell to begginge of shooes then I left him

All the Peopie are strickt Mahometans obseruing much much of the ould Lawe and at this tyme beeing the preparation to their *Ramdam*, or lent<sup>3</sup> vnwilling to drink wyne. They are vearj Jelous to let their woemen or *Moschees*<sup>4</sup> be scene of which we had experience by an alarm of one of their Priests who espied one of ours comming toward a village who shutt vp all the woemen and cried out if we came neare them or their church they would kill vs but by the authoritie of the *Veriff*, the stone (*sic*) preist was appeased and suffered it with more patience. Many of them speake and writt the Arabique in a fair Character and some few Portuguese, trading to Mosombique in junks of 40 touns made of Cocor sowed instead of Pinns Cawked tackied and wholly fitted victualled and fraughted with that Vniuersall tree.

Here our fleete refreshed with Oxen and Cowes, smale as two-yearling but good flesh with goates vearj fatt and large Arabian sheepe henns, Cocors oranges, lemons

<sup>1</sup> Eighth Voyage (1611-14). See Saris's narrative in *Purchas* I p. 336.

<sup>2</sup> See the note on the previous page.

<sup>3</sup> *Ramazan*, the ninth month of the Muhammadan year observed as a strict fast, because in it began the revelation of the Koran.

<sup>4</sup> Mosques (from the Arabic *masjid* probably through the Spanish *mezquita*). The English form was originally dissyllabic, as is here shown; its present-day pronunciation being due to the misleading influence of other words ending in -que. The English translation (1669) of Olearius's account of the Holstein embassy to Persia gives throughout the form "mosquey"

lymes in great abundance, which we bought for Callicoës, hollands, or other lynnens, sword blads, and rialles of Eight, and their fruicts for glasses, knives, and trifles Whatsoever is bought for money is bought dearest

Here was in trade a Iunke of Madagascar<sup>1</sup> with Slaues The Pilott of the Iunke, called Malim-Abrimme,<sup>2</sup> spake Portuguse, and toulde me on the Sowth side of St Lawrance ther was store of Amber greese, and Cokar of the Sea.<sup>3</sup> Hee was skillfull in the Coast and in the lyeing and bearing of landes both in Course and distance Hee had a good partchment Carde, lyned and graduated orderly, which I sent to see He founde faulte with many things in my Carde at sight, which I mended by his direction, and with reason, as the distannce from Socatra from the Mayne, and Razinge quite out certaine Islands to the Sowthward of Molalia, affirming thear are non such His Cuntrie lyes from 1° 50' to 4°, the Port in 2° 10' N latitude, gouerned by one King Hee assured me of trade enough at his Porte to loade one ship with Marfill,<sup>4</sup> Ambre, and *Tinta Roxa*<sup>5</sup> He promised to bring me his Plott and soundings and a sample of *Tinta Roxa*, but some other Cause diuerted him that hee would Come no more at me, notwithstanding I dealt liberally with him, in present and in promises To the sowth of Magadoxo all the Ports are Gouerned by Moorish Petty Kings, even to Mosambique

<sup>1</sup> "From Gangamora in Madagascar" (Peyton's Journal)

<sup>2</sup> See p 16, *n* *Malim* is the Arabic *mu'allim*, the "instructor," hence the pilot or sailing master of a vessel Peyton mentions this man as "one of theis pylotts named Bram (which is as much to saye Abram)", and says that he tried hard to persuade the English commander to send one of the ships to the eastern coast of Africa, offering his own services as pilot. A consultation was held, at which this proposal found some support; but in the end it was judged unwise to divide the fleet, as they might need all their force to repel a Portuguese attack at Surat, and time would not allow of the whole fleet going round by that coast

<sup>3</sup> Coco-de-mer.

<sup>4</sup> Ivory (Sp *marfil*)

<sup>5</sup> Probably orchilla weed, a lichen which grows on rocks and trees near the sea-coast, and yields a purple dye

He perswaded me that wee might In many Places trade for gould and siluer, that in Magadoxo the howses roofes were guilt, and that they had gould in Sand and mingled with earth which they esteem not, off the Inland hee knew little, only naming some Places or regions between Magadoxo and Prester Jhon as Odola Maheza, Rehamy and Gala;<sup>1</sup> of which Odola and Gala are *Chapharris* which signifieth misbeleuers (I knowe not whether he means gentiles or christians<sup>2</sup> vsing the same promiscuously as well to Prester Jhon as to other gentiles) Off Prester Jhon he knoweth noe more then that he is a great Prince and a *Capkarr* From Magadoxo to Cambaya he was expert. His brother, who Came with him to me, was in fight against the *Hope*<sup>3</sup> in a Portugall shipp pressed from Damon, in which 45 were slayne, more he knewe not, hut that 3 shippes were burned and the rest runne away Hee said the king of Dabull tooke courage on this victory and surprised Chaul, Damon and other the Portugalls port townes and was Marching to Goa That the Portugalls was in great distresse of victualls. I hoped to have stored myselfe with more discourse from him but I was, I knowe not howe, prevented. It were tyme well bestowed to see this Coast, and I spake to some of it, but it fared the woorse for the fater

The Road of Molalia lyes in 12 10 and for the first 6 dayes the Current setts two leauges a watch S.W the Moone increasinge. At the full we wounde up N.E. the other way, but vearly easilly, for the most parte riding

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<sup>1</sup> These are unrecognisable; though perhaps Odola is the "Adel of Alvarez (part of Somaliland), and Gala the land of the Galla tribes. By Prester John is meant Abyssinia, which was by this time generally recognised as the realm of this mysterious potentate.

<sup>2</sup> Of course he meant *Idols*. To Muhammadans all outside Islam are *Kafirs*.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 14, # The reports of the capture of Chaul, &c., proved to be untrue.

upon the Current. The Magadoxians made some<sup>1</sup> absurdly beleue that the Current sett 15 dayes one waye, and 15 another, and 15 dayes still, which, because of the first 6 dayes it sett S W. and after wee wounde up N E, it begott the opinione of a wonder. Butt the Current settis constantly S W, and before the full of the Moone it had such Power on the ebbe and flood that wee neuer wound vp, but at the full Moone and springe tydes we rode vpon the flood against the Current, it runninge vnder and the tyde aboue, highinge 16 foote water, and the Ebbe wynding back with the Current, soe that the supposed Chainge of the Current was only strong tydes at the full Moone ouercomminge it aboue. For at sea, when the springe was Past, I found the same Current, and though we weare sett to the Eastward the first day we weighed, and to the westward the Next, the cause was the Eddies off Juanny one day and Angazesia the other, but being Clear of them, it sett his dew Course, that I raised litle and did Westward much

*August 2.*—Wee weighed from Molalia and stood our Course for Socatra.

*August 4.*—At night Angazesia bare by Compasse S S E. 6 leaugs off, we steering N E by E

*August 5*—Till noone the 5th day wee did not alter yt, yet we runn 16 leaugs, but rayسد not aboue 10 Minnits, wherby I gather we had a tyde setting 6 howers W S W and backe E N E, by which wee rayسد and altered litle

*August 10*—In the Morning we repast the Equinoctiall

*August 14.*—In the Morninge wee saw the Coast of Magadoxo in 4° N latitude 4 leagues off, sounding had 18 fadome of Lowe Land, whyte sandye bankes. Then wee stood off E N E. The difference of longitude betweene the

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<sup>1</sup> Peyton was one of these. He notes "they tould me of the strange course of the currant, which ranne 15 dayes westerly, 15 daves easterly, and 15 dayes noe way" (Journal, p 14)

mayne and Molalia in Mercators projection agreeing with our Account and alsoe by course hauinge found the longitude of Cape Santa Augustine and Molalia to be one I conclude that Saint Lawrance ought to be layde to the E. 39 or 40 leaugs according to my first opinion and all the Coast of the Mayne beinge broader then it is layde in the Carde must be also sett In proportion to the Eastward because the distance of Longitude is right from one to the other though all their longitude false In themselves. From Molalia to sail with Cape de Bussos<sup>1</sup> N N E.  $\frac{1}{2}$  E. way is the best Course it beinge necessarie to see the Mayne aboute the latitude. In this course since we lost the westerly current at Angaresia I found none or very little, contrary to all Iornalls. Our Mariners In this Course are off as many opinions as poynts In the Compasse, both for Currents distances, and bearings according to Compasse or variation. But I obserued the truth in the later end of this S W Monson which I confess may alter In the hart of a Contrary Monzon, the settlednes of the wynd causing much chainge In Currents of which noe rule can be gotten.

*August 16.*—At 8 in the Morning having stood N E. [N W ?] from 6 to make the Mayne, we heaued the dipsall and had no ground. At 7 a Clock at night, standing in still with much wynd wee had suddenly whyte water as whyte as milke, soe that wee Could not discerne the flory of the sea.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dos Baixos, *i.e.* Ras Awath.

<sup>2</sup> "This evening at 8 clocke passed over a white glareing watter (like liting) but noe ground in 80 fadoms lyne" (Peyton's Journal, p. 18). In Pring's voyage (1617) the English ships in 4 S. came into "exceedinge white and shyning water, which at first sight was very terrible to behould" (Monnox to the Company, 28 Dec., 1617—*O. C.*, No. 386). The phenomenon was probably due to the presence of animalculæ.

Flory is no doubt flurry *i.e.*, the agitation of the sea breaking over rocks, as they expected to find. Saris, in his diary 1611-13 (*I O Marine Records*, xiv), speaking of a shoal, says "you shall see the sea *flur* one it yf there be anye wynd."

Fearing we were near land, we heaved and had noe ground at 70 fadome, and by and by, discerning a black miste on our lee bowe, They cried out "land!" bringing the shipp too, to stand off East. A New alarume of land ahead and on both bowes, this made much Confusion amoung vs with all the babell language of the sea, stumbling almost aboard one another with more danger then of Rocks But it vanished like a mist, and wee stood of N E 18 leaugs till 4 in the Morning, and then stood in againe N.W 19 leaugs, with a high sea and much wynd This night wee crost the Paralell of the sunne Northward

*August 17*—At Noone we made Cape Guardefuy, 8 leaugs off west, being the Cape of the Enterance of the Red Sea At this hower I was 5 leaugs ashore vpon the Mayne,<sup>1</sup> some others keeping me company, the rest out of reckoning, fearing wee could not fetch the Mayne till we should ouershoot Socatra. Hence I obserue that, seeing after we made the land the 14th day and standing off N E by N and N E the variation alowed (as appears protracted in the table of Course) and the land lying in our Plotts but N E and by North, wee could not have beene farr off, yet we stood 16 leaugs North and sawe noe land, but I suppose wee weare veary neare yt in the whyte water the 16 day, and then standing off that night 18 leaugs N E. wee stood in againe 19 leaugs N W before we made it 8 leaugs off west. Hence I say I obserue that we had both some Current setting to the N E, for we had rayased more then we could allowe by our way and wear farther off then we expected, and alsoe the land from Cape De Bussos in 4° to Cape Alabana<sup>2</sup> in 11° trendeth N N E and S S W a poynt more to the Northward then it lyes in the Cardes Soe that it is as much in the falce bearing of the land as in any Current which makes all men stand off too Eastwardly

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<sup>1</sup> By reckoning

<sup>2</sup> Probably Ras Hafun

and looke for the lande soe soone. But the right and surest Course is to sail with the Mayne In 4 and soe to stand alonge the shoare within 7 or 8 leaugs, soe to see the land once In 4 howers If you please. The Coast is bould, as the Magadoxian Pilott did assure me. From Cape Alabana In 11 to Cape Guardafuy In 12 the land lyes N and S. You may ride vnder the Cape<sup>1</sup> and bringe a high sandie Cliffe South East and the Northwardmost land you can see N W by W by the Compasse, in 12 sadome water safer whyte sandy groundes. The poynte bearing W.S.W as we stood in is a downerighte sharpe rocke with two Notches making a Baye, lying In W.S.W Thence it ryseth round and higher land and lyes away towards the red sea N W  $\frac{1}{2}$  W by the Compass. We had sounding 56 sadome 5 leaugs off and soe 40, 30, 20 and 15 till we Anchored In 12 sadome, In a little baye, wher we stayed the 18th day and sawe some people In Turbants but they would not Come near vs. Ashoare ther was a Tombe of whyte stone with a Pillar at each end, neare the water syde, in a sandy Baye.<sup>2</sup> The latitude is 11 55, the variation 17

*August 19.*—At 3 In the Morning we wayed and steered for Abdalacora<sup>3</sup> E. and E. by S. and E.S.E., having the sea on our starboard side, 17° variation, making an E. by N waye 15 leaugs, and then we sawe Abdalacora E. by N 3 leaugs off lying 12° 20' the bodye of the Island. Vpon the West poynt there lyes a dalngerous ledge of rocks.

<sup>1</sup> Guardafui.

<sup>2</sup> "Our boats went ashore with saynes to take some fishe and to speak with the contry people, whearof 10 or 12 came downe, but (they soe fearfull of vs) would not come near but made for one of our menn to come to them. Soe wee onely tooke a fewe freshe fish and returned aboard, not speaking with them. We could not diserne any bowser or place of habitacon neare to the sea side; yet there was a monument built of a reasonable height, of lime and stone, whearvnder, as it seemed, was entered some great mann late deceased" (Peyton's Journal, p. 18).

<sup>3</sup> Abd-el-Kuri, between C. Guardafui and Socotra.



The true Course and distance from Cape Guardefuy to Abdalacora being E by N. 18 leaugs. From the Wester end therof N N E by the Compasse, 4 leaugs off, ther lyes a smale Island,<sup>1</sup> showeing 3 whyte bankes We stood alonge to the Eastward end of this Island from the West end, lowe ragged barren land but showeing higher and higher till we saw two high hills toward the Eastward end About the middle theroff there are fine sandy bayes and I suppose good riding, we hauing had in the openings 12 & 14 fadome water, sandy ground. But the *Dragon* standing off we stood alongest till they tooke in all their sayles, and had an Anchor a Pike, but it seemes Could gett no ground, and supposing shee intended to Anchor, the fleete loofte vp Close aboard the shoare vnder the Eastermost high land, wher wee had ground in 18 fadome, shelly and foule But all our Anchors tript, soe that wee were putt off twice apeece, except the *Dragon*, whose Anchor when shee Came into vs helde by a Rocke, and wee stood it off and on, with much foule weather all that night But in the Morninge, having loste sight one of another, and beeing putt to leeward of the Island wee steered away E S E

At 6 a Clock the 20th day by 8 wee had sight of the *Peppercorne*, who had shippt a sea into her Mainetopp, and filled her betweene the decks that shee was in great perill By 9 we sawe the *Expedition* alsoe ahead steering for Socatra, a Mightie sea on our starboord syde The variation and all allowed wee made our way E  $\frac{3}{4}$  N 10 leaugs, being to the Northward of Abdalacora in the Morninge, when we stood off 3 leaugs, the wynd at S by W At 12 at Noone wee sawe the W end of Socatra E by the Compasse 3 leaugs off, soe that the true course and distance betweene them is E N E 13 leaugs From the W end of Socatra 2 leaugs off N W by N there shoves a Rock like

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<sup>1</sup> One of the two islands called "The Brothers"

a saile or a Ruyned Church. At 5 of the Clock in the afternoone we Anchored In the second bay<sup>1</sup> from the W end of the island wher we rode in 6 sadome water grosse sand and brought the Poynts the one East the other West, being a mightie highe Cliffe. This is in 12° 30, variation 17 30 At 8 at night the wynd Powred downe the hills with such violence that we droue into 15 sadome, our Anchor beinge broken and having lett fall another our Cable broke, and then wee were forced to bend our sheate Anchor and lett it goe and Ride by a whole shott, having strooke all our yeads and topmasts. We had much adoe to ride it out, havinge a wyndward shoar within a mile, but soe much wynd till morning as noe ould seaman in our fleete ever sawe or felt.

*August 21*—This day at 4 In the Afternoone the Admirall<sup>2</sup> came into the Roade with soe much wynd that shee splitt her foresaile, wherby shee was putt to leeward and Anchored in a baye at the East end of the bay wee rodd in against lowe whyte sand hills in 19 sadome water shee having stayed at Abdala [cora] the 20th day hopinge we had been able to recover againe the Island

*August 22.*—We weyed with much adoe, having had the same violence of wynd the night past as wee had the first night, and Came to Anchor in the little baye by the Admirall in 13 sadome water, sandye ground where we rode at ease this night, the wynd being dispersed by the lesser hills and valey betweene vs and the high land. Here we spake one wth another and bemoaned our losses, the Admirall having spent a Mayne and a fore Course, and bent a sheate Anchor streight out, we brake an Anchor and a Cable and bent another, and almost wore asunder a wholie shott, the *Peppercorne* lost 3 Anchors and 2 Cables and

<sup>1</sup> Peyton calls it the road of Calencia, *fr* Gollonsir

<sup>2</sup> The *Dragon*.

fretted another, the *Expedition* lost 4 Cables and Anchors ; for both at Abdalacora and those high lands of Socatra the wyndes Power down with such impetuousnes and the Ground soe Rockye, that I advise all men to forbear to Anchor vnder them, for if they be putt from their Anchors in the night they shall fall soe farr to Leward that they cannot recouer the Island but must loose Company But if night or weather force them to Anchor, lett them Choose to ride where some lower land breakes the violence of the wynde from the hills Wee Rodd in the second quarter of the encreasing Moone, which rose then aboue the Horizon about 12 at Noone and sett at Midnight, at which tym these wyndes beginn to rage soe long as shee is vnder the earth, and rising againe it becomes temperate The Moone is a great ladie of weather in these parts and requires much obseruation

*August 23* —We weyed together, and Came to Anchor afore Tamara, the kings towne, bringinge the lowe Poynte to the East of the high sandy hill without itt E by N, in 10 fadome water, a Mile from the Towne Here the Sultan sent vs woord the wynds were from the hills so forceable that we should hardly ride, but advised vs to goe to Baya Delicea,<sup>1</sup> 2 leaugs to the East, where he would meete vs It is a veary good Roade, deseruinge the name of delightful for the Peaceablenes thereof in respect of others It is a valley of much lower hills, betweene the water and the Raggid Mountaines of Tamara You may bringe the two little hamocks that lye on the lowe poynt without the high land to the Eastward, SE and the lowe land that was E by N in Tamara Road NW by W, and ride in 10 fadome within  $\frac{3}{4}$  of a mile of the shoare The latitude is  $13^{\circ} 5'$ , the variation  $18^{\circ} 20'$  The Ground is whyte sand but Rockye, soe that you must wotch or boye your Cables<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Delishi

<sup>2</sup> To keep them from rubbing

*August 24.*—We came to Anchor by 9 in the Morninge in Baya Delicia where the Sultan Mett vs with all his Pompe.

Socatra is an Island in the Mouth of the Red Sea, called Anciently Dioscuria or Dioscorida, standing in 12 55, governed by a Sultan called Amar ben Seid, borne in the Island the sonne of the king of Fartaque in Arabia Felix, called Sultan Seid ben Seid who was Sultan of Socatra in the tyme of his grandfather as this shalbe king after his father of Fartaque, and his sonne leste at Socatra. The kingdom of Fartaque lies from 15 to 18 alonge the Coast of Arabia, and to the North to the Mountayns. Hee is at Peace with the Turke (who houldes all Arabia in Tribute, except this Cuntrie) on this Condition to send 5000 Menn in ayde of the Turke, if he requir it, to be paid by the Turke, without other acknowledgment. Thear lyes neare the sea a Petty king about Dofar with whom he dare not Meddle being in the Grandsigniors protection. This is the relation of Amar Ben Seid of Socatra. The Sultan of Socatra mett our fleete with 300 or thereabouts havinge sett vp a tent at Baya Delecia. He rode vpon a horse, and 3 of his Chiefe seruants on two horses and one Camell, the People Marching before and behinde him shouttinge after the Turkish manner with two Guardes one of souldiers which are his Cuntrimen and 12 of his priuat Guard, hired Gusratts some with Turkish bowes some with Pistolls, some with Musketts all with good swoordes. He had a few kettell drums and one Trumpett. When the Generall went ashoar he receiued him with state and Curtesie. Hee is a subtille man, of good vnderstanding as appeares by his gouernment and diuers answers. He Raignes soe absolutely that noe man can sell any thing but him selfe. His People sitt aboute him with great respect, his officers standing by who take account of trade, and receiue and paye. His

Clothes are of Suratt stuffs, after the Arabes Manner, with a Cassocke of wrought velvett, red and whytt, and another the ground gould, a very good Turbant, but barefooted Euery night at sunne sett they stand or kneele all toward the sunn and pray, the *Xeriff* throweing water on their heades Their Religion is Mahometan The Kings Towne of Tamara is built of lyme and stone whyted ouer, Battled and Pinnaced, the howses being flatt at the top It shoves faire in the Road, but when one is there, is but poore. Master Boughton<sup>1</sup> borrowed the kings horse, and obtayned leaue to see his house, the king sendinge a *Sheck* with him Hee found it not answerable to the apperances, yet such as an ordinary gentellman might make a shifte with in England His lower roomes were vsd as ware-houses, one as a wardrope, wher hung along the walls some Changes of robes and 25 bookes of their law, religion, story, and Saints liues (of which I could obteyne non), but aboue noe man may Come, to see his wives, which are 3, nor other weomen (but the ordinary are seene in the Townes, with their ears full of siluer rings) In the Church the Preist was at seruice, butt seeing Master Boughton take out his watch he soone finished, and Came and woondred Ther was prouided 3 henns for their dinner with rise, and for drink water and Cohu,<sup>2</sup> blake liquor taken as hotte as may

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<sup>1</sup> Master Humphrey Boughton, "one of His Majestie's pentioners", applied to the Company in Dec., 1614, for leave to go in the fleet as a passenger, "his desire beeing to spend some tyme and his owne meanes in traualinge into remote kingdomes" His request was at first refused, but afterwards, finding that he was determined to go if necessary in a Dutch ship, and fearing, too, that he would carry the matter to the king, the Court decided to accede to the application, and room was accordingly found for him on the *Peppercorn*. A further motive for granting his request was that he proposed to make his way to China, and it was thought that "yf a lettre may be procured from his maiestie vnto the Emperor of China good vse may bee made thereof" The letter seems to have been obtained, but Boughton was not destined to make use of it, for he died at Burhánpúr, within two months of his landing at Surat

<sup>2</sup> Coffee (Arabic *kahwa*)

be endured At his returne the king in Complement said hee had seene a poore Place, but desired him to accept it. Ther is a Castell four square on a hill a Mile from Tamara, but hee could not gett licence to see it. The People are of 4 sorts Arabs his cuntrymen who it seemes are his strength and such as are not the Ancient Inhabitants but Come in with the Conquest of his Ancesters and these obey him and dare not speake without lycence (as appeared when one seemed of quality spake he asked him how he durst open his Mouth in his presence) but aprochng kisse his hand A second sort are slaues who when they Come to him kisse his foote, and those doe all his worke and make his Aloese. A theird sort are as I suppose, the ould inhabitants of the Country (but not the eldest) called Bedwynes,<sup>1</sup> the same which other hlistorians haue called Jacobits Christians that have longe dwelt there with these he hath had a warr (as the Arabs report), and dwell in the Mountayns, very Populus, but are now at Peace, on condition to llyue quietly and to breed their Children Mahometans which I perceiue they doe not, having noe manner of conuersation with the Arabs. The reason why I take them to be the ould Jacobite Christians mentioned by Maginus<sup>2</sup> Purchase<sup>3</sup> and others, is because Master Boughton sawe an ould Church of theirs in the way to Tamara, left desolate, the doore shutt but only tyde. Beeing deslerous to enter yt, the *Shecke* his gulde tould him it was full of spiritts, yet hee adventured in, and found an Alter with Images and a Crosse vpon yt which he brought out. Then the *Shecke* tould him they were a people of another religion but very loath to haue them much enquired after as I suspect (knoweing them to be a kind of Christians) doubting wee would eyther wish

<sup>1</sup> Bedawin.

<sup>2</sup> Giovanni Antonio Magini, the Paduan geographer (1556-1618).

<sup>3</sup> See the second edition (1614) of the *Pilgrimage* p 708.

them better, or not suffer them to be oppressed The 4 sortt are a Sauage People, poore, leane, naked, with long hayer, eating nothing but rootes, hidinge in Bushes, conuersing with none, afrayd of all, without howses, and almost as Sauadge as beasts, and by conjecture the true ancient naturalls of this Island<sup>1</sup>

This Island is very mountaynous and barren, havinge some beefes, goates and sheepe, a few dates and oranges, a little rice, and nothing else for sustenance Of Comodytie they have Aleos, which is the Juyce of a leaue like Semperviuue.<sup>2</sup> They make a poore Cloth of their woole for the slaues The king had Sanguis Draconis and Indico of Lahor, but held it deare, many small Ciutt Catts and Ciutt All is either the kings, or passes his handes and price He hath a handsome Gally and Junk of Suratt, with Marriners that serue him to transport his goodes for wages by the yeare The king hath some knowledge of Prester John, confessing him the greatest Prince in the world, above the Turke and Persian, giuinge faire reasons for his opinione Hee hath amonge his slaues diuers Abbassines Hearing our hoeboyes in the Generall's boate, he asked if they were the Psalms of David, and beeing

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<sup>1</sup> This account of Socotra and its inhabitants may be compared with those given by Barbosa (Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 29), John Pory (*Leo Africanus*, Hakluyt Soc. ed., 1, p. 86), William Finch (*Purchas*, 1, 414), and Thomas Love (*Voyages of Lancaster*, p. 165) See also for a recent description the late Mr J. F. Bent's article in the *Nineteenth Century* for June, 1897 The Christianity of the islanders is dealt with in *Cosmas Indicopleustes* (Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 119), *Cathay and the Way Thither* (1, pp. clxxi, 168, n), Yule's *Marco Polo* (1, p. 342), *Travels of Varthema* (p. 290, n), and Herbert's *Travels* (p. 31) A curious reference to the subject in Montaigne's *Essays* (Book 1, ch. 56) may also be noticed

<sup>2</sup> "I vnderstood of the making Alois Suckatrina which is onelye of the leaues of Semperviuues (lyke those in Spaine, Portugall and other places in Christendom) They cutt the topps and rootes awaye, and press the Juce out of the best leaues and boyle it to a certaine height, then being putt into earthen pottes and stopt verry close from the ayre (in which manner it standeth eight whole months) is become perfect Alois Suckatrina and is put into smale skinns merchantable to sell" (Peyton's Journal, p. 23)

answered "yes", he replied it was the Invention of the diuell whn did Invent yt for king David who before prayed God with his lippes and hart in deuotion hut after it was leste to senclesse Instruments.<sup>1</sup> They burye their dead all in Tombes, and haue In great reuerance the Monuments of their Saints, wherof there haue been many But of most accoont Seldy Hachlm buried at Tamara who being slaine 100 years since by the Portugalls once inhabiting bere, apperes to them and warnes them of dangers to ensue. They Impute the violence of wyndes to his walking and haue him in wonderfull reuerance. I never went ashoar not knoweing what entertainment I should find in respect of the qualety I bare but gleand up the most probable reports. If I had gone myselfe, and conferd with the king or could haue spoken with any of his people of vnderstanding I had enquired further to satisfie the Curious. But all the Interpreters followed the Generall, that I had noe oportunitie. The Generall delluered him a lettre from the king which hee receiued with soe much seeming Content as If hee knewe himselfe not worthy such a fauour and alsoe a Present from the Company for which he returned 10 Beefes, 30 Goates, and 20 hens,<sup>2</sup> and at his departure some particular presents, which I vnderstand not their qualitee.

Seeing by many experiences the wyndes are in August soe violent about Abdalacora, Socatra, and betweene them and the Cape Guardfoe—as is evident by Sir Henry Middleton who stood for Socatra from Cape Guardafue the 26th of August and with much hazard of beeing putt to Leeward did in fetchfog the Island of Socatra spend his topesalles and both his Courses, the *Peppercorne* brake

<sup>1</sup> The use of musical instruments for religious purposes is held by Muhammadans to be contrary to the teaching of the Prophet.

<sup>2</sup> Peyton says twenty goats, twenty hens, three bullocks, and a quantity of fruit, tobacco, butter and rice (Journal, p. 23).



her Mayneyard and came not in two dayes after,<sup>1</sup> and the *Darling* escaped not without damage—And if it be Considered what losse our fleete susteyned this yeare in Cables, anchors, and Sailes to the valew of 500*l* at least, besides the hazard of not Meeting againe, beeing soe dispersed as we had all loste sighte one of another, and after beeing Meett, of being putt from our Anchors without hope to recouer the Island , and, which is the greatest feare and of most Consequence, that if any ship misse eyther Abdalacora from the Cape, or Socatra from Abdalacora and fall to the Sowthward, beeing then a Lee shoare, in such extremities of wynd, ther wilbe noe Possibilitye to Claw it off, and the loss of one shipp will not be Counteruayled by Aloes in 20 yeares, nor the Gayne any yeare doe more then answer the ordinary losses of such weather as eyther Sir Henry Middleton or our fleet Mett with, And that ther is noe certaintye of fetching Socatra, except the Mayne or Cape Guardafuy be made, and that outwardbound you must Come in this Monnth or sooner (which is somuch the woorse) or not at all, because the Monthsone will else be spent before you can gett Suratt Therefore I giue my aduice that the fleete stop not at all outwarde bound at Socatra , But, from Molalia having made Cape Guardafuy and there rested a Convenient tyme for refreshing, or attending the later end of the Monthsone if it be soone in the yeare, shape theyr Course right for Suratt If it be objected that they shall want their vsuall refreshings, I answer At Socatra the victualls is both Carrion and as deare as in England, goodnes Considered, the water farr to fetch and dangerous, soe that euerie fleete hath lost some men in rowling it downe a stream full of deepe holes ,<sup>2</sup> At

<sup>1</sup> See *Voyages of Lancaster*, p 185

<sup>2</sup> The *Expedition* lost a man from this cause “the watering place is full of deape pittes and holes, ouer which the caske, being filled, must be rowled, which hee vndertooke, vnable to swimme, aduentured past his deapth and sanke downe with the caske, soe drowned” (Peyton’s Journal, p 22)

Cape Guardafuy you shall ride at Ease and without doubt trade plentifully and Cheape and fishe at Pleasure, and though wee made noe experience of trade, yet we sawe People In Turbants and Clothed, who assuredly if we had stayd mought haue beenn drawne to bringe downe Cattle for not farr to the west of that place Sir Henry Middleton and some other shipes had excellent goats and sheepe for trifles, as both his Iournall<sup>1</sup> and Master Barrett<sup>2</sup> of his owne experience haue enformed me.

When the fleete is arriued at Suratt, the shipp appoynted to returne must haue her lading prouided ready that shee may not staye past December to keepe the other shippes to Attend her safety which they must doe or expose her to the Portugalls, and soe they may stand off to sea and she come for Socatra with the N.E. Monsone when the season is Calme and shee may ride by a hazer<sup>3</sup> and buy Aloes both oulder dryer and Cheaper for out of doubt (if it were insisted vpon) they would be had for halfe mony halfe goodes. My reason is groundd on this experience that although this yeare the king said hee would haue all Mony yet after he had sould for mony he bought sword blads at great rates with the same Monny and diuers other Comodities. And besides all the Cloth he and his people weare are stufes and Callicoes of Suratt which Guseratts bring and fetch his Monny Therfor I see noe reason why hee should not as well take them of vs, with halfe mony for his goodes as of them for all mony. He is vnderstanding enough and Frendly to our Nation, and wilbe drawne vnto this Course vpon the former reasons if not yet hee will honestly part with Mony for swordes, stufes, and some 2 or 3 Peeeces of alluerd veluetts, or such trifles as may be fitted in England for he bought two

<sup>1</sup> See *Purchas*, i p. 260 *Letters Received* i, p. 57

<sup>2</sup> Barwick is meant (see p. 4 n.).

<sup>3</sup> Hawser

watches at great rates He hath all the year Aloes ready, and in great quantities Our earnestnes hinders our owne Markett By this Course you shall saue the hazard of a whole fleete to stop in the violence of weather, for that one ship with noe hazard may dispatch, returning in that Monsone before the wynd and riding at Tamara roade smooth and Calme , from thence to Molalia for refreshing, and soe to the Cape , whereby men shall come in health and in sommer vpon our Coaste , for our late returnes, few refreshings (by reason of hast) kills vp our Men, hazardes your goodes, and discreditts the voyadge

*August 31*—At night we weighed and stood off our Course for Suratt.

*September 13*—This night I was by reckoning from the W end of Diu 6 leaugs off, it bearing E  $\frac{1}{2}$  N We sounded, and had 36 fadome, Oazy ground Then wee shortned saile till Midnight, sounding euery two howers , and, shoalinge easily, at midnight we lay a Trye

*September 14*—At fower in the Morning we sett Saile and stood N.E by N to make the land of Diu, which by 6 we sawe, a round homock 6 leaugs off. Beeing shott somewhat in, in 20 fadome water wee steered ouer E S E to make E  $\frac{1}{2}$  S way with little wynde , a pretty tyde.

*September 15*—We steerd away E S E. for the mayne, euerie two howers sounding in 17 fadome water, havinge the Ebbs and floudes on our broadside both wayes, Northering as much one way as we Sowthered the other Towards Morning we had the shoaling of a sand to the North 12 fadome water At 7 a Clocke, the wynde beeing veary weake and the Ebb hard bent, we came to Anchor in 13 fadome, all softe ground At Noone, the wynde Comminge vp at N E, at the begininge of the floud we weighed and stood away S E by E, being able to lye noe Nearer The floud running N E, we droue soe to the North that at 4 a Clock wee had a shoaling hard sand 10

sadome North Looseling up E. It shoald againe, and then we stood close vp Sowth the wynd beeing veered to the W.S.W., but wee were enclosed with a hooke of the same sand In 8 sadome water Then we bare vp into 10 sadome and came to Anchor resolving to ride all night and to turne It out S.W. with the Next Ebb It highed here 3 sadome water Latitude 20 28'

September 16.—At 6 In the Morning at the first of Ebb we weighed and turnd out S.W lyeing one way Sowth (till wee came into 6 sadome and a halfe a short board right vpon the sand) the other way N.W deepning by the edge to 14 sadom. At 10 a clock we found deeper water S S E 17 18 and 19 sadom Our boates and the *Expedition* gott over the end of the sand in the Morning in 6 sadom and a halfe, beeing butt narrow But wee durst not come Neare yt, but turning out gott about the poynt, and when the Ebb was donn came to an Anchor in 20 sadom softe ground latitude 20 24 Wee durst not stand away vpon the flood, because we were vncertalne whether we were over the Eastermost sand or betweene that and the other we felte the day before being Newly Come out with much trouble. At 3 1 Clock In the Afternoone we sawe the land, beeing hidden before In a fogg bearing from E. by S to E.N.E. along 8 leaugs off, wherby wee found we were gott about the Eastermoste sande Into the Channell betweene that and the Mayne. Then we weighed with the rest of the floud and stood away S.E., inaking by reason of the variation and the floud an E. way some 3 leaugs and then the Ebb being come and litle wynd we came to Anchor in the same depth 20 sadom water soft ground Damon bearing E.N.E. 5 leaugs off and the Poynt of the sand W.N.W. and from Damon W by S. In the latitude of 20 25

Soe that I will giue this generall rule to all men that come for Suratt that If they desire to make the land of

Diu, and being 6 leaugs off, about 20 fadom water, they must stand off to the Sowthward S S E., the variation considered, to make a S E way to goe Cleare of all the shoales, and in that Course they neede not stop Ebb nor fload, having any gale, prouided they take as many Ebbes as floodes, soe they shall haue fine shoaling, neuer vnder 20 fadome, till they make the Mayne, toward which they may stand bouldly into 12 fadome, and after, the fload will lead them alonge the land, borroweing vpon the shoaling of the Mayne and of the Eastermost sand, to keepe the Channell, both the sandes lye N E and S W & an indifferent Channell betweene them, but it is veary daingerous for those that knowe it not to fall amonge them, and veary difficult to gett out, beeing hooked in 3 wayes, though ther is 6 or 7 fadom water ouer the Southermost end of them But I am of opinione it is better and safer not to make Diu at all, but, being gotten into  $20^{\circ}$  or  $20^{\circ} 10'$  at the most, to stand away E S E to make an E Sowtherly way to the Mayne, for the shoaling of the Mayne is as good and as bould as at Diu, from 10 fadom to 20, and soe in sight of land shoaling to 12 fadom 3 leaugs off, wherby you shall goe out of all dainger of the shoales, and noe aduise from Diu by frigatts shall prevent your Comminge in Off Damon ther lyes a shoale 2 leaugs off the shoare

*September 17*—At Noone we weighed with the flood and stood in E by N 19, 18, and 17 fadom, the wynd at W S W, and Nearing the land, we stood N E by N and N N E 16, 15, 14, and 13 fadom some 9 leaugs, the Coast trending from Damon to Suratt N N E The fload setting N E., it being spent we came to Anchor in 13 fadome 6 leaugs shortt of Suratt.

The land at Damon is high To the sowthward ther is a round hill much higher, to the Northward somewhat lower land then Damon, showeing diuers round hommockes,

and the most Northerwardmost high land scene is some what ragged with little Copped hillis vpon it and betweene it and the water lowe land the trees seeminge to stand in the sea. The Towne of Damon shoves 3 whyte towers or Castelles.

*September 18.*—In the Morning at flood we weighed and stood N N E. some 3 howers along the Coaste, being all lowe land discerning only the trees and some Juncks and frigetts standing in, and came to anchor in 9 fadom water 3 leaugs short of the barr of Suratt bearing N E. Our deepthes were from 13 fadom 12, 11 10 and 9.

At Noone with the flood wee stood away N N E. along the shoare 9 and 10 fadome water some 3 leaugs to seaward of the riuier of Suratt. On the Sowthside theroff in a tufft of trees ther standes a whyte house like a Tower<sup>1</sup> from whence discerning Swally<sup>2</sup> edging in as the Channell laye, we had 15 16 and 17 fadom and beeing shott a litle to the Northward we came to Anchor in 8 fadom water, soft ground close by the edge of a sand. The *Peffercorne* and *Expedition* beeing two Cables lenght ahead Anchored in 6 fadom. At lowe water the *Peffercorne* being somewhat nearer came aground, but tooke noe hurt. It highes here 3 fadom flood.

*September 19.*—In the Mornings a frigatt Came to the W of vs, which we supposing It had benn a Portugails spie, made some fewe shott to fetch her in but shee stood away for Cambaya, beinge one of the Cuntrie. At 8 a Clocke

<sup>1</sup> "A highe white buylding called a pagode or church" (Peyton's Journal, p. 28).

<sup>2</sup> A roadstead situated a few miles north of the mouth of the Tapti River. The English ships usually anchored here as the river entrance was too shallow to permit of large vessels entering it. In after years, the beach during the stay of the fleet presented the aspect of a fair being lined with booths and stall, as Fryer says, "of two sorts of Vermin, the Fleas and Banyans." In his time the Company's servants had a house at the waterside, where they superintended the landing and lading of cargoes, Surat itself being ten miles distant by road.

we mand our fower long boates, and sent ashoare, wher wee found ready one Bidolph<sup>1</sup> a factor, and one Robart that had liued long with the Portugalls They came presently aboard the Generall, and after to me, relating that ther was not one Portingall frigatt on the Coast, but that they labored a Peace with the Mogull on condition to Bannish the English, but had yet effected nothing,<sup>2</sup> The new viceroy vnheard of at Goa, some of the factors sicke, and Master Edwardes<sup>3</sup> aboue with the King, but noe Newes of extraordinarie fauoure, Mochrebchan<sup>4</sup> remoued to the Court, and a New Gouvernor for the Prince<sup>5</sup> sent to Suratt, for whose Mayntaynance that Prouince is lately dessigned, he bears a faire countenance to the English, but effects little Ther was noe lading come downe for a ship, nor any Newes of those gone vp to prouid yt, But Bidolf tould me in 15 dayes they Could prouide to lade one ship with Indico—his performance I knowe not

<sup>1</sup> William Biddulph, who had gone out with Captain Best in 1612. Keeling placed him in charge of the factory at the Mogul court, and he was consequently with Roe nearly the whole of the latter's stay in the country. He returned to England in 1623. Roe thought him "faithfull but a little opiniastre, and of good ordinary abilitye"

<sup>2</sup> See Roe's letter of the 24th November, 1615 (given later)

<sup>3</sup> William Edwards, the English representative at the Mogul court, had been sent out in Downton's fleet (1614) as cape merchant. On his arrival at Surat he was despatched to court as the English representative, but, though painstaking and conscientious, he was not at all a success in that position. The factors complained of his dilatoriness, while his mild character induced him to put up with slights in a way which by no means smoothed the path of his energetic successor. After Roe's arrival at Ajmere, Edwards proceeded to Surat, where he was censured by the other factors in consultation, and sent home in disgrace. There is no further record of him.

<sup>4</sup> Mukarrab Khán, who, as viceroy of Gujaráť, had been the persistent enemy of the English. His name was Hassú, and the title by which he is always known was given him for his skill in surgery. Jahángír in his memoirs speaks of him as "one of my most confidential officers." As mentioned later, he soon resumed his post in Gujaráť, and retained it until displaced by Prince Khurram. Mukarrab Khán then received the government of Behar, whence, three years later, he was transferred to that of Agra. He was pensioned off at the beginning of Sháh Jahán's reign, and died some years later at the age of ninety.

<sup>5</sup> Prince Khurram, third and favourite son of Jahángír, and afterwards the Emperor Sháh Jahán.

*September 20*—In the Morning the Generall dispatched Bidolf ashore with a letter signed by the Generall to the Gouvernor of Suratt to signifie my arriuall the Coppie I keepe in my boock<sup>1</sup>. At two a Clocke wee weighed, having sounded the barr 3 foote at lowe water and with the last quarter ebb stood back two mile to the edge of the barr and some what nearer the land and Came to Anchor at 5 fadom and a halfe at Low water bringing the lowe smooth poynte with the two highe Palmeto trees S by E. and the Northwardmost land showeing like an Island N N E.

*September 21*—The Generall sent ashore but had no returne. The *Expediti* n gott over the Barr<sup>1</sup>.

*September 22*.—A Messenger came from the Gouvernor of Suratt with answer of the letter a Complement that I should be welcome, and if I would desigine the daye he would send 30 horse for my traine and his Commanders to meette me and in all things studdie to give me that Contentment his power or the means of the Place did affoord and If the Merchants could find a house emptie, he would Command it for me. But because hee offered me none I sent to take one.

*September 23*.—I sent ashore about my house, and with a Complement to the Gouvernor this Message that vnder

<sup>1</sup> See folio 56 of the MS. It announces that in consequence of the friendly reception of former messengers and the agreement made with Captain Best, the King of England, "for the better establishment and Confirmation of the said happy amitie and love" has sent a noble man of his Court and Chamber with letters of Credence and rich Presents authorized with full Commission vnder the Great Seale of England and firma of his Majestic as his Ambassador as well to Congratulate the said mighty King the Great Mogull as to propound, treat, and conclude of sundry Matters of Consequence;" and it gives notice that the envoy proposes to land and repair to some town of rest (having been long at sea) until the pleasure of the Emperor is known as to his journey to the Court.

<sup>2</sup> "Soe that I could commaund boeth sea and land round me with my ordnance, by which meanes our boates going and returning from the shoare weare secured from pillsering vessells & friggoes, which otherwise would have intercepted them, as in former voyadges (Peyton's Journal, p. 29).



standing the Custome of the Kings officers to search euerie thing that came ashoare, euen to the Pocketts of mens Cloathes on their backs, for Custome, I, beeing an Ambassador from a Mightie King, did expect to haue all things appertaynynge to myselfe and my Followers free by priuiledg, giuinge him the woord of one of my qualetye that there should not be landed vnder that protection one penny woorth of Marchandize, and that if any such affront were offered me, I would returne to the shipes, vntill I had order from the King his Master

This day I dispatched a lettre to Master Edwardes at Adiumere the Mogulles Court, which the Generall signed with me, the Coppie whereof I keepe<sup>1</sup>

*September 24*.—Answer was returned that it was the Custome of this Cuntrie that nothing could passe but by the Custome house, and thear to be searched, but, because they would doe me as much fauour as they could answere, the Gouvernor would send an officer to the waterside to take note of those things belonging to me and seale them, and they should goe without stopp to my house, wher the Customer should Come and visitt them, but not in the nature of a search, but only to be able to answere they had seene what I landed, for myselfe and my followers, they should be free from all offer of affront After some dispute with the Messenger, I yeeilded to yt, and returned answer that on the morow, the 25, I would land my Chests and on the 26 come ashoare in expectation of the horses and Company offered and the Honorable reception promised by the Gouvernor

*September 25*.—I landed my Chests and prouitions, with directions to suffer them to be sealed, but not opened, and to deliuer them at my house and to prepare yt next day This day came a handsome frigatt from Cambaya with a

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<sup>1</sup> See f 56 of the MS. It announces Roe's arrival and directs Edwards to acquaint the King therewith

principall Seruant of the Gouvernour aboard the Generall and with Complements of Friendship and desire of trade to theyr towne as a head City. He gaue the Generall a Present of sweetmeates and some fewe stuffs in the Name of the Gouvernour and desiring to buy some varietyes or toyes for theyr Master especially enquiring for English Swyne for the Mogull In which beast hee takes Infinite delight having had two from one ship the last yere, telling the Generall he should find the new Gouvernour of Suratt a Clowne and a friend of our enemyes, but that if wee would make our residence at Cambaya we should receiue notable Content. The Generall tould them ther was an Ambassador sent by the king of England that was the next Morning to land a man of qualetye and vntill he sawe what reception he should synd and how theyr busines stood with the factory with the Principalls wher off he had nnt spoken, he could resolute nothing, but in other Complements gaue them Content. At this name of an Ambassador they laughd one vpon another, it beeing become ridiculous so many hauing assumed that title, and not performed the offices and though the Generall did endeauiour to make them better vnderstand yt, they would not, and so did neuer offer to vsitt me. Besides, when the Generall dealt with the *Makadour*<sup>1</sup> of Swally (a friend to the English) that they must not esteeme me in the qualetye of my forerunners with all the right he Could doe to honor his Majestie, yet he when he was ashore answered he could not tell nor any else, but that I might be an Imposture as well as the rest, and this was dayley objected unto vs euen from the Cheefe of Suratt. I mention these only to lett the Company vnderstand how meanly an Ambassador was esteemed at my landing how they subiected them selues to all searches and barbarous Customes, and became

<sup>1</sup> Hindustani *mukaddam* from the Arabic *mukaddam*, a head man.

sutors to the Gouvernors and great men, who, as appears by the discourse Following, sufficiently vnderstand the rights belonging to that qualetye, and that therefore, if it seeme to any that shall heare of my first carriadge that I was eyther too stiff, to Punctuall, too high, or to Prodigall, lett them Consider I was to repayre a ruynd house and to make streight that which was crooked If I had beene the first that euer landed vnder that title, I would haue done noe less, and I best know that see yt, these men triumph ouer such as yeeld, and are humble enough when they are held vp The Kings Honor was engaged more deeply then I did expect, and I was resolu'd eyther to rectifye all or lay my life and fortune both in the ground

*September 26* —A sine beeing made from land that the Suratts were come ready to receiue me, I landed, accompanied with the Generall and the Captaines and the Principall Merchannts, The Generall having first sent 100 shott by Captaine Harris to make me a Court of Guard, and the shippes in their best Equipage giuing me their ordinance as I passed, with his trumpetts and Musique ahead my boate in the best manner he Could, which I only signify for acknowledgment vnto him<sup>1</sup> At my landing the cheefe officers of Suratt with about 30 Companions wer sitting vnder an open Tent vpon good Carpetts, in graue order Comming almost to them and they not rising, I stayd and sent them woord I would not come farthur if they satte still, whervpon they all rose, and I entered the tent and went streight vp and tooke my place in the middest of them, turning my face toward the Generall

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<sup>1</sup> "The Lorde Ambassador landed, being accompanied by the generall, captains, and merchants of the fleet (on shoare), for his Lordships better grace, alsoe fower score menn in armes with shott and pyke redye ordred vpon the sand in rancks against his landing for guard, and 48 peeces great ordnance discharged from our flete, this daye our shippes were all hansomlye fitted with their waistclothes, ensignes, flagges, pendentes and streamiers" (Peyton's Journal, p 29)

and the English who stood right before vs. They by an enterpreter bade me welcome with a long Complement, which was payd in the same mettie. And I added to yt that the Kings Majestie hauing receiued assurance from the 'great Mogull of the good affection borne to his Majestie and our Nation and vnder Confidence of the *firma*<sup>1</sup> sent by Captain Best, to receiue his Ambassador in the behaiffe of the Merchants trading in his Dominions, had sent me with full commission as his Ambassador as well to congratulate the happy frendship begunn betweene too soe Mighty Princes and their subiects, as also to assure a readines in the Kings Majestie on his part to Continew the same inuoliably, and to propound vnto the great Mogull many other matters of great Consequence both for the mayntenance and securitye of the leauge already treated on and for the Mutuall good of the Subiects of both the kings That I did receiue yt as an assurance of the good affection of the Great Mogull and off his Commanders and ministers in these parts that they did soe much Honor the King my Master to meete me in so respectiue manner and furnishe mee with horses to theyre towne, for which I gaue them thancks, and did not doubt that my Comming would proue beneficiall and acceptable to them and that I was ready to take horse and accompany them to Suratt to repose my selfe vntill I could be prepared to aduance toward the Court. Then they begann a new tune, that I would be pleasd to be Content that all my Company might be searched, according to the Custome of the Cuntrye. I replyed it was strange to me to heare any motion from them contrary to the promise of the Gouvernor whervpon only I sett my foote ashore That I was the Ambassador of a Mightie and free Prince that I would neuer dishonour my

<sup>1</sup> This word is familiar as signifying an order patent, or passport (Pers. *farman*). As noted in Yule and Burnell's *Hobson Jobson*, Roe sometimes writes it *firma*, as if suggestive of the Italian for "signature"

Master so much, whose Person I bare, as to subiect mysele to so much slavery I would engage my Honor (which I esteemed as my life) that no follower of myne had the worth of a *Pice*<sup>1</sup> of trade or Marchandice and that in Europe and most Parts of Asia all Ambassadors and theyr traynes were so far priuiledged as not to be subiect to Common and barbarous vsage that seeing I found so little assurance in that woord which had drawne me ashore, I would retyre to the shipes, to attend the Mogulles pleasure for that I could not answere it with my head to loose the right and freedome due to the Ambassador of a Christian king They answered it was also more then the Gouvernor could avow to let them passe vnsearched it was a great curtesy don to my person, and sufficient acknowledgment of me, all others pretending my place having neuer had so much honor<sup>2</sup> that it was absolutely the Custome of this Cuntry, and they Could not breake it I replyed I had thought that they had vnderstood that free kyngs and theyre Ambassadors had beene aboue ordinary customes, which since they would not take notice off, I would not perswade them to breake theyrs, and I was resolued I would not dishonor my selfe, but I would send to the Great Mogull and attend his Majesties answere that I hoped they had come to entertayne and honor me, not to enslave and entangle me with barbarous Customes And so after much dispute I turnd about and departed to our boates Then by the mediation of messenger they offered that I should choose to my self 5 persons, whom I would, that in honor of me should goe free, and that they only would for a Cerimony sake lay theyr handes about the rest, not as to search but to embrace them So I landed

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<sup>1</sup> A copper coin of the value of about one-third of a penny

<sup>2</sup> Edwards and his company had had to submit to this indignity the previous year, being "verie familiarlye searched all of vs to the bottom of our pocketts, and nearer too, modestlie to speake yt" (Dodsworth's MS narrative—I O Records)

again and repeating the offer by my Interpreter that I was content they should lay theyr handes vpon my seruants, not with intent to search but to embrace, calling to wittnes the Generall what were my Conditions they intend not to search but to embrace. They desired me not to take yt in ill part that they did not yeild in all my desire that they would signifie to the great Mogull I would not yeild to that Custome they Claymed and that they did it in Honor there, that they might send before to the officers of Suratt that all Ceremonies were ended because, if the Gouvernor should insist vpon yt when I came to Suratt, it would be more dishonor to returne or suffer it publiquely, and that this would preuent farther question. Wherevpon I called five of my Company to stand behynd me, expecting what they would doe to the rest. But seeing them stand still I asked If all were done, that wee might goe to horse. They answered they were ready. Soe taking leaue of the Generall and all the rest Accompanied with Master Boughton Master Barkley<sup>1</sup> and four other Merchants, I tooke horse with all my followers the Surattes keeping me Company. When I was about halfe way they sent to me that I would call three or four of the better sort to ryde with me, and that they would follow in order, and that after them my men might Come in ranke pretending to enter the Towne in this fashion. I doubting nothing appoynted yt soe, and called three or four to me and one of the Principall of them to ride with me, euery man obseruinge this order and some distance betweene me and the Surattes and betweene the Surattes and my seruants. They were about 50 horse and 200 foote and all my Company were 23. On the Suddeyne, I being before, they stayd, and vnder pretence of drinck called my men who

<sup>1</sup> George Berkeley, afterwards President at Bantam, where he died in March, 1617. His travels in Eastern Europe are chronicled in Purchas's third volume (pp. 625, 631).

wisely came, and beeing among them, they tooke houlde of their horses and offered by force to search them. Master Wallis breaking out came vp after me, and tould me this treachery, wheron I turnd my horse, and with all speed rode backe to them, I confess too angry. When I came vp, I layd my hand on my swoord, and my men breake throwgh and came about me. Then I asked what they entended by soe base treachery. I was free landed, and I would die soe, and if any of them durst touch any belonging to me, I bade him speake and shew himselfe. Then they desired me not to take yt in ill part: it was done in frendship. I called for a Case of Pistolls and, hanging them at my saddle, I replied those were my Frenedes, in them I would trust. that they had dealt treacherously with me, and soe I did esteeme them. They desired me to goe on. that all was mistaken. I answered I would returne to the shipes but that they would basely suppose it to bee feare. therfore I would goe on to seeke Justice, but tould them they should not mingle with my trayne. I tooke them for enemyes to the King my Master, that soe sought my dishonor, but that eyther they or I would goe before and the other follow, for if any came among myne they should expect the entertaynment of one that was highly offended. It were much vanety to say in what a feare the best of them were, beeing so many, but the truth is not ashamed. So we rode on, in seuerall troupes, they before. On the way they stayd all in a shade, and called to me as I passed, but I did not looke towards them. Then they sent after, desiring me to eate a Plantine, which I refused, with answer vntill I had satisfaction for the affront done my seruants, I would not receiue any thing as Curtesye. They replied they had searched None, and did mean only to excecute the Ceremony agreed on at the Tent, without farther purpose of Injurye. So I tooke this for answere and left them at theyr refreshing, till I

came to the water syde ouer against the Towne. But noe boates would Carrie me vntill they arriued. At last they Came, and with many good woordes did assure me they had no purpose to Injure mee that they only intended to doe what I yecilded too there In priuat that they might certifie all was finished least the officers of the Custome howse (that knew no Cluillits) should stay me at the entrance of the Towne, and perswaded me to be yet Content withall. I answered I was euer equali with my woorde, and that though they had taught me to breake my woord it was a lesson I scorned to learne but I would bee a wittnes of theyr fashlon least they vnder Coulor of Ceremony did vse villany. Soe I entered a boate with the Officers and called five to mee, Master Broughton my Chaplain and three seruants who Came in free. The rest stood to enter after this Ceremony of embracing. The first that Came they playnly instead of embracing offered to feele his Pockets without whereat I rose and sayd I would not endure yt, and in extreame Cholar telling them it was a Custome to be vsd to rouges and theeues and not to free men. I was resolved not to returne to my Cuntry with shame. I would rather dye there with Honor. Whervpon they lett all of them Come to me without more woordes, and smiling desired me to be appeased seeing I was satisfied in all. So soone as I was putt off they tempted me a New (knowing I could not now goe back) I must goe see the Gouvernor, before I went to my house. I answered I was weary and vnfitt for visitation. They tould me it was the Custome and I could not refuse yt. Then I saw how euery way they besett me. I sayd playnly I would not nor could be Compelled that in all their dealinges ther was new falshood, I was resolved They could not but vnder trust haue circumvented me. That I durst not answere visitng the Gouvernor vntill he had visitted mee that I doubted not he, beeing borne a



Persian, vnderstood the right due vnto mee if not, yet I would rather returne then loose it In this dispute we arriued att the stayres to enter the Towne, whereas the Gouernors brother with many attendants to Conduct me to the Castle But, after some few woordes betweene them, he bad me welcome, and desiered me to take my rest in my howse this night that to morrow would be fitter for Ceremony I gladly and shortly accepted yt, and tooke horse, the sackbotts of the Towne goeing before and many following me I gott my house, resolving it should be my Castle But, Comming in, I found, Contrary to all faith, that my necessities sent before were kept at the Custome house, and would not be deliuered without search Wherevpon I sent to the Gouernor that it was strange to me to receiue soe many discourtesyes after his woord Past, but that I doubted not he would vpon better aduise giue me Content the next day, it beeing to late at Present I only desired my bed and such provisions as I could not want<sup>1</sup> Which was granted, and a message withall that on the Morrow I should receiue the rest without delay Soe I was satisfied with hope, and ended a wearisome day<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *Ie* could not do without Mun (*England's Treasure by Forraign Trade*) advises that, in selling goods to foreign nations, special profit should be made out of those "which they cannot want."

<sup>2</sup> Terry (p 173) mentions an incident of this day to which Roe makes no allusion It may be quoted as an example of the disorderliness amongst the English subordinates which was a constant cause of friction with the authorities at almost every port frequented by the Company's ships

"When my Lord Ambassadour at first arrived at Surat, it so was, that an English Cook he carried with him, the very first day of his comming thither, found a way to an Armenian Christians house, who sold wine in that place, they call Armenian wine The Cook had his head quickly over-freighted with it, and then staggering homeward, in his way met the Gouernors Brother of Surat, as he was riding to his house, the Cook made a stand, staying himself up upon his sword and scabbard, and cry'd out to the Gouernours Brother *Now thou heathen dog* He not understanding his foul language replied civilly in his own *Ca-ca-ta* [*kyd kahd*], which signifies What sayest thou? The Cook answered him with

*September 27*—I went to the Custome house for my stuff but it was refused me except I would consent it should be opened there. I answered I would neuer agree to any condiltion Contrary to the priuiledge I claymed as my right and Contrary to that conclusion I made before my landing. I was a stranger to such doublings but that I was resolved to lett them rott there and not be further behoulding to him but would dispatch a messenger to the Great Moguli of the saythlesse dealing and barbarous vsage of me beeing Ambassador to a mightie King in leauge with him and come a far Journy vpon his royall word: and that they should farther forbear to putt new deuices vpon me. I would not be wrought on vpon any pretence. Hee sent me word I should take my Course. Within an hower he sent me a Messenger to perswade me to come visitt him and that then he would bring me to my house & do me all Honor and all my desires should be fulfilled. I replyed it was too late to offer me Curtesyes, especially vnder pretence of dishonoring my Master. That it was the Custome of Europe to visitt those of my quality first and that I durst not breake yt in penaltye of my head haueinge expresse Command from my Master to Mayntayne the Honor of a free king and to visitt none but such as first did that respect due to his Majestie and that therfore I would neuer doe yt. He returned me answere it was the Custome of this Cuntry that all Fmbassadors did first Come to the Gouvernors and that he was seruant to a Great King

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his sword and scabbard, with which he stroock at him, but was immediately seised on by his followers, and by them disarmed and carried to Prison. The Ambassadors had present Intelligence of the misbehaviour of his drunken servant, and immediately sent word unto the Governours Brother that he was not come thither to patronize any disorderly person, and therefore desired him to do with him what he pleased; upon which he presently sent him home, not doing him the least hurt. But before I leave this storie, it will not be amiss to enquire who was the *Heathen dog* at this time whether the dehaucht drunken Cook who called himself a Christian or that sober and temperate Mahometan who was thus affronted."

as well as I that no man could be a better man than he, except he were made so by his Master That all other that pretended to be ambassadors before me did not only come, but sue to the Gouernors, had their personns and goodes publicquely searched, which had not beene done to me, nor should not be offered to the prouisions remayning if I would see him. And that hee was no way inferior to any former Gouernor. I replyed for the Customes of Embassadors to visitt Gouernors I did know the Contrary by the Persian, and that I did belecue he did neuer receiue any at this Port, nor euer from a Christian King, and hee beeing Gouernor for the Prince (as yet a subject) I could not thinck he wronged himselfe to visitt me that did represent the Person of a King But my businesse here was not to dispute titles: I was not sent to him, and therefore would not see him. for the prescedentes of former men, they were noe rules to me that was a full Ambassador, and they, though sent by the king, yet were but Agents to prepare my way and to negotiate in the behalfe of the Honourable Company. But because I did desire to giue him all reasonable satisfaction, if he would Honor my Master so much as to see me and giue me welcome, I would shoue him my Commission vnder the great seale of England, and his Master's *firma* conditioning to recieue an Ambassador with all due respect, which I had in keeping, and vnder Confidence wheroff the King had sent me, wherby he might receiue assurance it was no disparagement to him, and the next day I would visitt him in requitall, which I could Alsoe hardly answere, before I had presented my selfe before his Master But if hee were not purposed, I would not perswade him to breake his pretended Custome, and desiered him not to expect that I would disobey and dishonor my Master but leauing Ceremonies apart, I did looke for, according to his promise, my prouisions detayned in the Custome house. Then hee

sent me answer he would not nor durst see me first, but that, if I would Come to him, he would Come forth of his house and receiue me in the place of Audlence if not, I must be contented to haue my Chests searched I answered I card not for them the breach of his woord was enough but to visitt him in his Place of audlence was a propositiō most obsurd it was as much as I would doe to his Master But because these Ceremonyes should not binder our businesse, I said if he would meete me in an in different Place a horsebacke when neyther might be before other, I would Condescend and soe neyther of us should wronge his Master, though in that he brake all rule of Curtesie if not I desired him to trouble me with no more Articles I was resolved to keepe my howse and expect his Masters answer to the affrontes done to me. Thus we wore out the day and yt rested Whervpon hee Commanded none in the Towne to sell vs anything but victualies, and imprisoned some that did Master Barkiey and the Merchantes thincking this night to returne to the shipes could not be suffered nor any from them to Come to vs. This made me somewhat Icalous of treachery but breake not my sleepe.

*September 28* — In the Morning the Merchants went to Aske leaue to depart, beeing warned by me to make no motion concerning me, but to gett aboard and I would trye it out with him. But they were delayed till after dinner, basely begging of Presents that he did expect, and withall sayd your Embassador lookes I should visitt him, what Jewell or diamond will he giue me? and so only provoking guists, dismissed them. After noone they sollicitid him againe and in answeere of his desire of presents sayd the first sent him beeing small, was only at their first arriual but that there was entended a better present for him, but it was kept vntill they saw what entertayoment he would giue the Kings Ambassador and Could not be

deliuered vntill hee had receiued better satisfaction, who was so farr from seeking to buy his fauour that he had Commanded not to deliuer yt on such Conditions and that presents were giuen of Curtesy, not off duty, and to expect any from the Embassador, they had Commandement to say he came not as a sutor, and he should expect no more from him then he deserued. Whervpon, after some Consultation and woordes betweene him and other of the kings officers, that he Could not answere his vsage of me, and it was in vayne to expect more, they saw my resolutions, he gaue leaue for my Chests to be brought to my howse sealed, and to bee seene there according to our first agreement; and licenced all English to returne to the shipes, and sent the Cheefe Customer, his brother and some others to visitt my provisions But, it bceing late, they would stay but openinge two or three that I had most vse off I saw them at their departure and only spake of the Injuries somewhat roughly, which they excused and tooke their leaue. This night the Merchanntes returned to the Generall, who was glad to heare any Newes of vs, beeing very doubtfull, seeing none in two dayes could passe betweene vs I wrote him to stand out, for I was resolved to bring these People to a better vnderstanding or to perish in yt, but I lefte yt to him whether hee would send him a Present or no, seeing it was intimated that after I had my prouisions according to promise and was Content he should haue one, but in no case to deliuer any in my Cause or to buy me better vsage

*September 29* —The Morning passd without farther entercourse, only the People were still forbidden trade with vs In the Euening came his brother with the Principall of the Towne to visitt the rest of my goodes, which havige almost finished, they desiered to speak with me I sent for them vp, and, beeing sate, They tould me the Gouvernor sent them to desire me not to be afayd nor sad

for any thing past ther was no harme intended me that I should Command any thing in the Towne and what was done was but for the Mayntenance of their ancient Priuiledges, with a Multitude of Complements. I answered I thancked the Gouvernor and them for any thing I could call a Curtesye but of these good woordes I saw small effects for scare I esteemed them so just as not to betray their Masters sayth but I could better tell how to be angry for these discourtesies then to scare any thing in his Power and for their priuiledges, they were to be exercised on ordinary persons and not vpon my quality They made many excuses and professions of all loue and respect to me, saying they had 3 years beene stopped vp by the Portugails, who were robbers, for our sakes and that hearing the Gouvernor of Cambaya had sent a friggatt to entreat trade, they came to me to aduertise me that the Cambayan was a frend to the Portugail and labored a Peace that they were our ancient frendes and would remayne soe, and desired me to forgett all things past and to be a means that no goodes might goe for Cambaya, but be landed at theyr Towne it beeing now the Princes Port, wee should dishonor yt if we sought other trade who should be our frend and protector in that Cuntrye and that we should haue all good Content from them I replyed these were good woordes, but they Came from desire of proffitt and not from good harts For the Portugalls It might soe come to passe that cyther a peace might be made on all parts, and theyr ports open by our means or at least they should not be Injured in our presence that the King my Master had much sence of the Injuries offered his subjects and his aliyes for theyr sake and I had instructions concerning yt for theyr good and bade them remember that our fleete in the last yeare defended their frontire, the Vizeroy purposing to take Suratt, and soe in Generall tearmes gaue them Content.

For the trade to Cambaya, I said it was true the Gouvernor desired the remoue of trade, but nothing was yet done if I sawe effectes of these promises, we weare not soe vnconstant to forsake ould frendes to seeke New we honored the Port for the Princes sake, whose fauour the Company would study to meritt but that if they would not giue such dispatch and such Price as others would, it was vnreasonable for me to motion to the General, who had to doe with the landing and sale of goodes but if they would perform these Conditions or such other as the General should propound, I would write to him, who would doe nothing without my consent in yt; in the mean tyme I desired the Commandement not to sell vs necessaryes might be recalled in sine of faythfull meaning, which was promised Then I offered them drincke, which they refused, beeing *Ramdam*, but sayd after it was finished they would come daylie and sitt and eate with me I tould them I would giue no presente, seeing it begett an ill Custome but if they had seene any trifles of myne, as kniues or such, which they liked, I would bestow them willingly They said it was theyr parts first to presente me, and therfore would take nothings, and so wee parted

*September 30*—In the Morning they returned with new Complements, telling me the prohibition was withdrawn that all my desires should be accomplished; and that the Gouvernor would visitt me after dinner, and at night goe to the ships to Conclude in all things with the General iterating theyr feare we should trade with the Cambayans & urdging me to dispatch a lettre to the General that I had receiued Content, and to perswade him to land all his goodes at this Port, which I promised to doe as farr as it concerned mee, having the night before giuen the General aduise of their faire offers and vsage of me, and that (though then I had noe knowledge that the Gouvernor would visitt me) I would not Ceremony should hinder

busines, for I being resolved not to see him lost no honor and so had as much Contentment as I did now expect. Whervpon he sent him a good present in his name that was delluered him about Noone this day. This made him thinck as I suppose, he needed not looke after mee from the other place Came benefitt and so Changd his purpose not to visitt me, hut to goe right out to Swally. But receiuing aduertisment of yt I sent presently to him, to tell him if hee would ride twelve mile to visitt the General and neglect me, that was the Kings Ambassador, it was so great an affront that I tooke yt woorse then any other thing. Therefore I desired him to aduise better for the General could not nor would receiue him having so neglected his Master and that I had sent a Post to him to signifiye so much which I had done, and receiued from the General very woorthy and respectfull satisfaction. Then answere was returnd at 4 a Clocke he would Come to me, desiering all might be forgotten his vsage to Come should wittnesse for his hart toward me. In the euening he came very well accompanied and in good equlpage after the manner of the Country, clothed in linnen and Persian Cloth of Gould very rich.<sup>1</sup> I met him at the doore, and soe ledd him In. Hé goeing rudely like a horse forward gott before me, which thincking he did on purpose, I crossed the way and was at the stayers foote before him, and so telling him I would lead him In, a seruant of his puld me and said I might not goe before the Gouvernor but the Gouvernor

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<sup>1</sup> The Governor of Surat, who now appears in person on the scene, was originally a body-servant of Prince Khurram, named Mahmud Beg. Despatched to court with the news of the submission of Umra Sing, the Udaipur Rájá, he received from the delighted emperor a handsome present and the title of Zulfikar Khán, by which he is always designated in the present work. On the Prince receiving the government of Surat, he sent Zulfikar Khán thither as his deputy and it was doubtless his reliance on the protection of his master (whose feeling towards the foreigners he well knew) that induced him to go so far in his ill treatment of Roe.



thrust him back and followed me When we were sett in the Chamber, he begann with many Complements of welcome and excuse of any discourtesie past, which I receiued with thancks that he did me the Honor at last to visitt me, desiering him not to esteeme it pryde, that I insisted on such tearmes with him that as a priuatt man I would alway be ready to meete him or prevent him in any Curtesye, but in the place and qualetye I now held I could not haue done yt without dishonoring and disobeying my Master, whose expresse Chardge was that I should preserue the rights of an Embassador and visitt no subject vntil I had presented my selfe before the great Mogull, except such as, having the Mogulles authoritye, did first show that respect toward his Maiestie and Curtesye toward me that was due He replyed I [had] done like my selfe in yt, and as a good seruant ought He did esteeme me the more for obeying my Master and standing for his Honor and desiered me to excuse the latenes of his visitation he did not know me but he was now there to doe me any seruice. Vpon this I gaue him thanks, and, to better satisfye him I was the Person I did pretend, I called for my Commission, and having causd yt to be deliuered with great reuerance, I rose and kyssed yt and showed yt He tooke yt with much respect, and rising put yt to his head, and veiwing it well deliuered yt back Then I called for the Mogulles *firma*,<sup>1</sup> and tould them vpon that confidence I was come among them, not doubting of any thing but faire vsage, since therein the Mogull had guen his royall woord that hee would receiue an Ambassador from the king of England with all due respect, with many other priuiledges granted to the Merchants, and with a Ceremony I deliuered yt him He rose vp and layd yt on his head and read yt, allowed euery woord, which finished they all rose and

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently the supposed confirmation by the Mogul of the agreement made by Best with the local authorities Cp p 47

badde me welcome with one voyce. So I putt it vp with my Commission. Then he began to speake of the Portugalls and of the lose they<sup>1</sup> susteyned by the barring vp of their trade which yet they were content with for our sakes that he was theyr enemye, and much to this purpose. I replyed in Generall termes, that I did not doubt all these quarrellis should be well accomodated howeuer wee would remayne theyre frendes and protectors while our shipping was here that when hee and I mett in more Priuat manner (which I doubted not this frendship would occasion) I would discourse and open to him some propositions concerning that busines which would giue him Content. He seemd pleasd with this, and Continued to perswade me (as his messenger had done) to hinder any trade with the Cambayan vrdging the dishonor of the Princes Port to whom he would write in all things to Countenance our Nation. He sayd hee had Receiued a lettre from the Gouvernor of Cambaya, expostulating with him how he durst trade with the English or receiue them seeing he had made an agreement with the Portugall aduising him not to suffer vs to land our goodes that he was a great frend of the Portugall and a dishonest base man That he had returned answer here was an Ambassa dor come to the Moguli from the King of England that hee could not deny him welcome and safety beeing a qualetye priuiledged euen amongst enemyes Concerning any Peace with the Portugalls he knew not of any nor would take any notice but from his owne Master I replyed he should not doubt any vnconstancy in vs to our ould frendes If they Continued so we english knew what did appertayne to kings and Princes and therefore in honor of his Master wee would be vearry wary to doe him any affront, prouided he like a carefull seruant did giue vs no iust

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<sup>1</sup> The people of Surat.

occasion For the Gouvernor of Cambaya, I knew not his affection but by outward Complement of inviting vs if he were the Portugalls frend, and they our enemyes, we card for neyther but if he had made Peace for the Portugall without prejudice of vs, it greeued me not the Cuntry was lardge enough for both, but if he made Peace to banish vs, we would trade in spite of the Portugall and all his frendes, cuen at Goa and Ormus For the ill language he gaue the Cambayan, I could haue requited him with the like commendations receiued of him, but they are both false alike and attend only present gayne, and are constantly a frend to that only Soe, urdging me to write a lettre to the Generall (which I did) he tould me it was late, and excused his goeing away, for that night he went toward Swally at his returne, we should be no longer strangers, and thus tooke his leaue I offered him the doore, which he accepted, desiering me to goe no farther, and in the same manner at the stayres, but I brought him to my gate, wher we parted

*October 1* — The Gouvernor was with the Generall, wher, mutuall Ceremonyes and Curtesies beeing past, the Generall procured him to sine too certaine Conditions concerning the landing of our goodes, the particulars I know not. This day came lettres from the factory at Amadavaz<sup>1</sup> to the General The Contents I know not, only a Clause or two that concerned mee

*October 2* — The Gouvernor returned by day, signifying some discontent that he had no present of the Generall at Swally for the Prince, whose Port the shippes now ryde in.

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<sup>1</sup> Probably the letter, dated 26 Sept, to be found in *Addl MS* 9366, f 6 In it Kerridge desired that Roe should be warned that "the articles agreed vpon by Captayne Best were never signed by the Kinge, otherwise then by a generall *firmaen* without knowledge of the particulers, and, those (the Gouvernours) that signed them beinge dead, are of small valliditye" Hence, no doubt, Roe's efforts to induce Zúlfikár Khān to confirm these articles, as at least a temporary security for the trade of the English

*October 3.*—In the morning I sent the Gouvernor woord that I would come visitt him at euening but that beeing yet vnfurnished with horse, I would accept of his offer of halfe a skore of his. He returned answer they should not saye to attend me. At euening he sent me woord it was an vniucky hower for vs both and desired me to deferr till the next day. But failing into speach of presents with the messenger I first sent, I caused it to be tould him he must not expect any from me in that kynd presents were for sutors but having knowledge that he had a desire to haue some such strong water as was in a Chest of myne, which hee offered to stay at the Custome house before our frend ship, to which I then answered I would rather send my seruants to break them before his face then to giue any in that sort, but receiuing them with Curtesie I would att any tyme giue him some therefore I had now a Case for him if he would accept them as a trifle betweene frendes. He returned me many thanckes and sayd he expected no present at all from me if I sent him any thing in ioue, he would receiue it soe if nothing he would not take yt in discourtesye. Vpon this Ciuill answeere I sent him a small case of bottles giuen me by the Generall of the Companyes for that vse, and with it a very lardge sayre Mapp of the world (Cost in Engiand as I take yt 3/1) which he accepted with all kyndnes, and asked if I had such another for the Great Moguli making more estimation of yt then off all other Presents.

*October 4.*—I expected his horses but they came not. This day I sent a ietter to Amadavaz, in answeere to some Clauses in theyre iettre to the Generall. The copy is registred.<sup>1</sup>

*October 5.*—The Gouvernor receiued a iettre from the King, which meeting it with all respect, this Ceremony and Joy tooke vp the day

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<sup>1</sup> Not in the MS.

*October 6*—The Gouvernor of the Custome house came to visitt me, perswading me to see the Gouvernor, that all frendship might followe for our mutuall good I replyed that it had not beene my faulte that I had two dayes expected his horses, beeing yet vnfurnished that I had no sute to him but curtesie, which if he were not as willing to accept as I to offer, I did not meane to thrust yt vpon him Whervpon he offered me his horses, which I refused, saying if the Gouvernor had a mynd to see me, he would furnish me to yt For this Curtesy I sent him sixe fayre kniues and two quarter mappes, which he accepted gratefully This day I sent a lettre to Master Edwardes to signifye my purpose of hasting to the Court, desiring his stay there for many resons specified The Coppy is registred <sup>1</sup>

*October 7*—The Gouvernor sent in the Morning to offer me horses, which I accepted At night they came, but not so many as I expected But beeing loth to occasion any distast, I went with such company as I could, having woord he was at his house attending me But passing by the Custome house, they calld and tould me he was ther, moyling among our Cloth, and desiered me to Come in I answered I had not so used him I did expect more Ciuiltie, but I would now take occasion to visitt the feildes, and soe rode toward them Which he hearing came a back way suddenly into his howse, and sent after me to entreat me to returne that he was ready to doe me all Honor, which I did And beeing come into his Court, I was brought into a tent wher were all the Principall of the Towne, but not the Gouvernor They bad me welcome, desiering me to sitt I asked for the Gouvernor They tould me he had beene busy in the Custome house and was shifting himselfe, desiering me to staye a little he

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<sup>1</sup> At folio 57 of the MS

would presently come. I answered This was an incivill  
tyte I vnderstood not That I mett him at my gate  
if I had suspected soe little manners I would have spared  
my labour but that the King of Englandes Ambassador  
scorned to attend any subject. Soe I went out toward my  
horse which the Gouvernor seeing sent to desire me rather  
then to take yt in ill part to Come into the roome wher  
he was shifting that I might see it was noe excuse and one  
of his men offered to pull me wherat I layd my hand on  
my sword and bad him not touch me I knewe my way  
and soe went to the Gate. The Gouvernor seeing yt  
followed after in hast and overtooke me vntready desiring  
me to pardon him It was done out of negligence and no  
ill purpose. So with some replyes on both sides I went  
In. He offered me to sitt on the Carpettes but I told  
him I could not stoope wheratt hee sent for two Chayres  
and soe we sate. He began his ould tune of Curtesye  
and Complement to which I replyed alike But I told  
him he was a souldier and did not vnderstand what loss of  
tyme was to Merchants In such delayes as he dayly gave  
that I had only to propound two things to him which if  
he did performe It would glue me some testimony he was  
our frend that I desired not to be hisemie that I  
came to offer ioue that I might rather make good  
report of him at the Court then haue Cause to Complayne  
which if many reformatiōs were not I should be enforced  
too. He replyed all my demandes should be effected. I  
demanded that the 13 Articleles signed by the former  
Gouvernor to Captain Best might be signed by him and  
that, since he seemed not to know them I had caused  
[them] to be reduced into the Persian which beeing almost  
In all Poynts broken I required his confirmation for the  
future secondly that, in his absence out of Towne which  
was spoken off order might be left with the kings officers  
who were of sufficient trust that our busines might goe

forward, and not abyde the delay of his returne ; both which hee promised on the woord of a man of Honor I tould him souldiers and men of Honor esteemed theyr woord aboue theyr life and desiered he would remember what he sayd He vowed it should be performed. He desiered me to entreat the Generall to lett him haue 3 fine Cloathes to send to the King, for which hee would pay ready mony I answered I had not to doe in yt, but I would write in his behalfe, assuring him for mony he might receiue any Content Then he asked when I would sett forward to the Court, and perswaded me to hasten to preuent the Portugall I tould him. within ten dayes that I was a stranger and Could not be suddenly prouided for so great a Iourny. Hee tould me I should haue his assistance I thanked him, and replyed I did expect no more then what the lawes of Nations cast vpon me, securtye and safe Conduct in his Gouverment. He answered that he was bound vnto, but he would send diuers gentelmen to bring me to the king, who would giue me braue welcome and rich Presents. I thancked him for his offer, and accepted yt that I doubted not the king would receiue me like the Ambassador of a Mightie Prince, his frend that the bountyes of kings wear euer to be accepted gratefully but that I expected no reward I serued a Master was able to recompence mee. Soc giuing me two Pines, with a long speech of the dayntenes, which I bade a seruante take, telling him I knew the fruct vearly well, I took my leaue He brought me to the tent doore and some of the rest to my horse.

*October 8*—The Gouvernor sent to desire he might see the Coach and Virginalles for the king I answered him it was not the Custome to haue kings presents veiwed, yet I was Content to giue him any satisfaction that he should be welcome.

*October 9.*—In the Morning he came to my house, and

when he was in the lower roome I came downe, and setting him and his officers in Chayres I gaue him the 13 articles he promised to subscribe. He refused yt, answering he durst not, I beeing goeing to the King but when I was there I should haue better Conditions. I pressed him with his woord, with the *firma* of the kinges relating to them and confirming them with many arguments, but not preuayling, I told him I could expecte no sayth from him that coul so little for any vow I should be forced to Complayne of him for which I was sorry, but now hee had them in the Persian and knew them if he would there giue his sayth they should be executed in forme as they were granted and that if any of our factors came to Complayne of the breach of nny he would speedily doe iustice, I would take it as some Content, which he againe vowed and many with him and vpon yt gaue me his hand which I was forced to accept off, but will not owe him his faisenes. I complayned that poore men could not be suffered to carry a little stuffe aboard for Cloathing our people, to which he promised reformation and to content me in all thinges I would require. Soe I gaue him some toyes he fancied and showed the Virginalles, which he much misliked not. Then he asked for the Coach. I told him it was in o warehouse. If he pleased he might goe in. Soe he rose and asked me if I would goe with him. I told him I had seene yt often, which I did because I would not bring him out, hauing learned the discourtesie of him. When hee saw yt, he scorned yt and sayd it was little and poore that wee bought ill veluett of the Chinoyes<sup>1</sup> and sent it his Master In Coaches. I rom thence hee tooke horse. At night he discovered himselfe more playnly, telling, the factors his present was little that the Portugalls lo one frigatt gaue more that they should not

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<sup>1</sup> Chinese.



land any more goodes vntil he had a present from the Generall to Content him that all other ports had made peace with the Portugall hee had only receiued vs that hee had Commandment to dismissee vs and that for my sake, who was an Ambassador, with other good woordes, he suffered them to remayne in the towne. but that resolutely there should be no trade without a better present Soe base are our Conditions in this Port and subject to soe many slaueryes, such as noe free hart can endure, that I doe resolute eyther to establish a trade on free Conditions or to doe my best to dissolue yt. For noe profitt can be a good Pennywoorth at soe much dishonor, the person of euery man landing locked vp and searched like a theefe, sometymes two dayes before leaue can be had for any man to passe the riuer; a poore bottle of wyne sent to the sick deteyned, and euery trifle ransacked and taken away, with unsufferable insolencies

*October 10*—The Gouvernor went to the *Alfandica*,<sup>1</sup> shares our Cloth, takes whatsoever he pleaseth, and finally steales one by a base Convayance out of a wyndowe, while a broyle was purposely made to amase all men, yet barrs not trade absolutly, but forbidds cloth and lead to be landed vntill the swoordes, strong waters, and looking glasses and such lighter Comodities come to his eye, that he may satisfye his rauinous auarice or pouerty This day arriued Ihon Browne<sup>2</sup> from Amadavaz with the ill Newes

<sup>1</sup> Custom house (Port *Alfandega*)

<sup>2</sup> John Brown, a factor who had come out in Downton's fleet in 1614, and had been sent up to court with Edwards. Early in 1616 he was placed in charge of the Ahmadábád factory, a post which he held during the whole time of Roe's stay in the country. The ambassador always spoke well of him, describing him as "a very honest fellow, nimble, industrious and honest", but Brown made an ill return, for after Roe's departure from India he wrote a letter to the Company, so full of invective against the ambassador that it drew upon him the sharp censure of his employers (Court Minutes, 28 Sept. and 1 Oct., 1619). In one of Coryat's letters will be found some facetious verses addressed to him by Brown.

of Master Aldwoorths death<sup>1</sup> by the way, who had long beene sicke, and now desirous to doe his last seruice, 3 dayes Iourny onward to Suratt performed yt. What other newes he brought of the affayres of the busines I am a stranger too, only wheras ther was doubt made at Amadauaze that, if Master Aldwoorth had died there the Gouvernor would make seysure of all goods in his handes

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Aldworth, the first English agent at Surat of whom it is scarcely too much to say that he was the real founder of that important factory; for when Captain Best, sick of Mukarrab Khan's evasions and delays, determined to abandon the attempt to establish a trade there Aldworth positively refused to go aboard. His urgent representations, coupled with the arrival of the Mogul's *farman* induced the General to alter his resolution and to leave a few merchants in the city under the charge of Aldworth. During the twenty-one months that followed, it required all the latter's diplomacy to content "the gouernour and principall rulers whoe but by his perswasions woulde haue againe receiued the Portugalls" (Dodsworth's MS. narrative in IO Records) but at last the sails of Downton's fleet rose above the horizon and his weary vigil was at an end. The arrival of the ships, however brought trouble as well as joy for on the strength of the Company's commission, given in entire ignorance of the circumstances, it was sought to depose him from his primacy in favour of Edwards, the cape merchant of the new fleet. Aldworth vigorously resisted, and at last a compromise was arrived at by which he retained his post at Surat, while Edwards proceeded to the Court at Ajmere as an envoy from the king. When Keeling's fleet arrived, Aldworth was lying dangerously ill at Ahmadabad, "more like an anothomy then a man" and fearing that if he died the governor would avail himself of the pretext to seize all the goods of the English, the factors (as narrated in the text) despatched an urgent message to Ajmere for a special *farman* to protect them. A day before it arrived, however Aldworth, fearing to remain longer and anxious to get down to the coast, caused himself to be carried out of the city on the road to Surat; but the hand of death was upon him, and on the following day (4 Oct. 1615) he expired, at the little village of Nariad in Kaira district (*Add MS* 9366, f 9). Herridge, lamenting his death to Brown, who had been Aldworth's companion on the fatal journey expressed a hope that he had been interred in such a manner that his body might be afterwards transported to Ahmadabad, "that some memorye may be of him to succeeding tymes" (*Ibid.*, f 10); but the idea was never realised, and till now even the place of his death has remained unknown. The want of a tombstone was probably due in part to the fact that, as mentioned in a letter from the Surat factors, 31 July 1616 (IO Records Surat Letter book, p. 62) "the custom hath bine to Inter our dead at the Companies Charge, but the tombe or any extraordinaryes are to bee paid out of their owne meanes; and Aldworth's friends were not wealthy enough to spend money in erecting a monument in a distant land.

(having lately practised yt vpon an Armenian Merchant, and both enquiring suspitiously after his recouery and Command not to depart the towne without leaue, and further a Plummer dyeing there about the same tyme, the officers came to enquire his estate and beeing tould he was a seruant and a poore man were satisfied, yet with their brokers *Scrito*<sup>1</sup> in testimony) the factors very discreetly despatched away for the Court to procure the Mogulles *firma* in preuention, which was granted and returned with expedition, remayning yet at Amadauaz for securitye of the goodes vnder Master Aldwoorths Chardge, but the Coppy was sent downe by Ihon Browne, which I demanded and I was answered he had sent yt the Generall Ihon Browne desiring to goe to the shipes could not be suffered I sent to the Gouvernor a message about yt His lordship was in his *Seralia*<sup>2</sup>

*October 11* —In the Morning leaue was obteyned for him with much adoe At night arriued one Young,<sup>3</sup> a Youth of Master Aldwoorthes, with his Masters goodes, and a German that had serued him

*October 12* —Came to the Custome house all the Provisions for presents and other necessaryes for my Journy and residence at Agra, but were not suffered to be landed, to theyr great spoyle. The factors all gone to the Generall to a Councell I sett downe all my greauances and Complaynts in writing, and all my demandes, with my full resolution in both cases of refusall or Content, and caused them to be translated into the Persian in two Coppies

*October 13* —In the Morning, my prouisions all remayning in the Custome House and the Merchants returned, I sent

<sup>1</sup> Attestation (Ital *scritto*, a writing) This word, often anglicised as *screeet*, was no doubt brought into use, like many other mercantile terms, by the factors engaged in the Mediterranean trade.

<sup>2</sup> More familiar in the Italian form, *serraglio*

<sup>3</sup> John Young, afterwards made a factor.

them with one copy of them to the Gouvernor, keeping the other to shewe the Moguli howe fayrely I required Iustice and howe vnwilling I was to be forced to Complayne. The Coppy in English is registred<sup>1</sup> This frighted him so farr as he asked who could witnesse the accusations theyr layd against him and so redeliuered presently all the Cloathes in his hand except fure for which hee gaue payment by the Custome. For the stolen cloth it was alsoe acknowledged and order to Clear all the goodes landed For my prouisions he would see them at the *Alfandica* and what was for the king should passe what for other vses should paye and passe. But he would not come any more into my howse saying he only was our frend that we traded by his licence that he had receiued his Kings Command to dismissee vs. Where to it was answered we did trade by virtue of the Kinges *firma* and not by him if he had receiued warrant to dismise vs, lett him proclayme and puplish yt they would all depart. Thus it rested.

*October 14.*—He without my consent searched all thoose chests sent me in the Custome house and tooke whatsoever pleased him in a most imperious sort, whipping a seruant of the English almost to death for speaking and vsing the Merchants like his slaues. Whervpon I sent to them to come away and leaue all to him protesting I would neuer receiue his leauings, and vnlesse I might haue them sent home entyre and vndiminished in any part, I would depart the towne, though without fitt presents yet full of Iust Complayntes.

To day Came one Chrabchan<sup>2</sup> (that was deputy Gouvernor

<sup>1</sup> The draft (in Roe's own hand) is in the IO Records (OC No. 298). It enumerates the various abuses, and demands redress, especially the delivery of the articles intended for presents, and the provision of means to transport them to the court.

<sup>2</sup> Kharāb Khān

when this Zulphephar-Chan arrived) to visit me, and after many curtesyes propounded and vnhappy counsells against the Gouvernor, offered to giue me 6 horses, woorth 400*l* and all meanes to furnish me for my Iourny, perswading me to receiue none of my goodes, but to goe vp and Complayne to him of Injuries done to him, and desired I would take his Petition. I knew him not, and, though Iealous of his extreame offers, yet I thanked him that I could not receiue so great an obligation of a stranger, of whom I had not deserued and to whom I had nothing to recompence in that kind. For his petition, I came betweene Princes and durst not meddle in busines betweene the subjects of another king, nor betweene him and his subjects, and so desired to be excused. He replied it would be a great grace to him if I would accept his horses, and then offered me one (that I desired to buy but was prised 100*l*) with much importunitie, saying if I liued to come back from Agra, he could not loose by any curtesye done me and since I would not vndertake his Petition, that I would suffer a seruant of his to goe in my Company, for he durst not send for feare of the Gouvernors tyranny but at such an oportunitie. His horse I refused, and for his seruant I said I would not forbidd any man the passage in my trayne, but I would neyther take notice of him nor of his busines. So we departed. This man is truly an enemy of the Gouvernors, and the best frend the English haue here.

Master Aldwoorthes roome was broken vp, and his Accounts, bookes, and goodes taken by Inventory and possessed by Master Barkeley.

October 15.—The *Ramdam* finished, ther was held a great feast and Triumphe in Suratt, the Gouvernor with all the Principall men, near 1000 braue horse, excersicing to shoote on horse back at a ball on a high Pole. The Iudge of the *Alfanduca* came to invite me, offering me his horses both for that day and vp to Agra, telling me it was recom-

pence enough to lett the Mogull know he had done yt encouraging me to Complayne with much vehemency I refused to see sports or to receiue too great a tye. He is a frend to the English and often viseted me. Within an hower the Gouvernor sent to invyte me, an oliphant to ride vpon with footemen with flaggs and Pendantes, and some horse and gentellmen to accompany mee. I answered I was no baby to be abused one day and pleased with a Pageant the next he had another account to make with me before I could receiue any curtesy So they departed.

*October 16.*—My goodes remayning still in his handes I sent a lettre, which was written the former day but could not be deliuered for the Triumphe, wherein I playnly defied him as an enemy I repeated all his abuses, and lett him know my purpose to leaue all behynd me and seeke Iustice of the King The Coppy is registred in English and Persian as I did all things that Passed betweene vs that I might show the Mogull the sayre course I held to bring him to reason without Complayning. His answere stood most vpon denyalls, offering the kings presents free but of others he would haue a share and I should pay Custome. So I preparad to be gone without them

TO THE GOVERNOR OF SURAT

(*Addl. MSS. 6115 f. 58<sup>1</sup>*)

15 October 1615

The Injuries you haue offered me, Contrary to the sayth giuen by your King, to all Ciuillitye and law of Nations, beeing a free Ambassador, and Contrary to your owne honor and promise, forceth me to send you woord I am resolved not to endore yt. I come hither not to Begg, nor doe nor suffer Injurye. I serue a king that is able to reuenge what soeuer is dared to be done against his subjects. I am come vnder assurance of the Great Mogulles *firma* and letter sent vnto the King of England my

<sup>1</sup> There is another copy of this letter in the India Office Records (O C., No. 303).

Master, promising all loue and frendship to him, and therfore I am confident that no man dare presume to wrong mee Under which Confidence I lett you knowe that, without seeking farther frendship from you, that haue ransacked my Chests, taken by violence the Presents sent your Kyng, Cruelly whipt a seruant of the Merchaunts for doing his duty, abused with Contempt all the English, notwithstanding they haue both sought in good sort your fauour and haue sundry tymes presented you and to leaue all in your handes to goe with speede and desire Justice against you, that you may appeare to answere before your King to my face for these wrongs, when I doubt not (so great fame I heare of the Royall disposition of his Majestie) to haue Honorable and speedy redresse. I am sorry for nothing but that euer I vouchsafed to send you any remembrance of mee, of whom in loue you might haue receiued any thing, but by this course of me nor my Nation I am resolued you shall neuer gett one Pice, assuring you I am better resolued to dye vpon an enemye then to flatter him, and for such I giue you notice to take me vntill your master hath done me Justice

*October 17* —I wrote in the Generalls name to the same purpose and sent yt by Captain Harris, who was then with mee. (The Cobby is also registred<sup>1</sup>) He gaue faire woordes and promised all things should be dispatchd, but nothing was effected, yet desiring Captain Harris to make him and me frendes, repeating to him the refusing of his oliphant and my not Comminge to his howse

*October 18* —I entreated Captain Harris to returne with a Ciuill message to him, which he tooke in good part. At which instant came a lettre from the Prince, which he read thear The Contents were, that the English should discharge one ship and haue a Monthes staye, in trade, but no residences in the Towne Wherat the Gouvernor perswaded to land no more goodes, and gaue order to take vp all that was come to the Custome house, desiering that I might hasten to procure a residence here, or otherwise wee must depart. Yet he would doe nothing to farther me, but deliuered some few of the things I desiered, but sealed

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<sup>1</sup> Not in the MS

and directed to the Mogull. The Chests sent ashore, wherout I was to Choose such presents as should lye by to serue all occasions were deteyned. Whervpon our residence here standing on so fickle tearmes I resolved to goe vp with more hast and lesse carnadge, with only presents for one or two audiences in which if I could procure fitt Conditions for our stay and securitye for our farther trade I would signifye I had left many things behynd by reason of the doubtes cast into me by the Princes lettre desiring both the *firma* to such articles as I had propounded and a warrant for the passing vp of all such things as I would send for without the Impeachment<sup>1</sup> of the Gouvernor. In refusal I did purpose to returne to our shipes with expedition having aduertised the Mogull That as he was Lord of his owne land and might doe his pleasure, and had forsaken the amytie of a Prince who had desired yt in sayre and Honorable tearmes, for the Portugalls who made him tributary to his eternall dishonor So he would synd by experience the king my Master would be lord of all these seas and Ports to the prejudice of his subjects, in spight of those in whom he now trusted and should not dare to releue them. To this purpose I wrote the Generall with my opinion and resolution at lardge, and sent the Merchants aboard to conferr of these businesses and to deliuer me in writting all their demands and greauances. At Captain Harris parting with the Gouvernor he was vearry kynd sending the Generall a very good present, and giuing him another of good valew.

October 19 — All the Merchants beeing at the flecte nothing was done at the Custome howse. I receiued advise by a Perslan whom I vsed,<sup>2</sup> that the souldiers of Damon & Chaule and the land of the Portugallis were drawn downe to Goa, vnder Coulor of sending a flecte for

<sup>1</sup> Hindrance.

<sup>2</sup> *Add MS* 19277 has "asked"



the releefe of Ormus, from which the Persian had taken all supplies That the new Viceroy was arriued with three Carickes<sup>1</sup> Wheron doubting whether the preparation might be diuulged for Ormus but fall vpon our flecte, I wrote a lettre to the Viceroy signifying our desire of peaceable trade without theyr prejudice, his Majestie resolution to mayntayne his subjects in theyr honest Course of trafique, and offer of Comprisure in the treaty now negotiated with the Mogull and to endcauour to procure an open free trade on all sydes , which I sent in Portugall & English, limitting a tyme for answer The Coppy is registred

TO THE VICEROY OF GOA

(*Addl MS 6115, f 58<sup>2</sup>*)

Most Illustrious Lord,

The Injuries your Excellence or your predecessors haue offered to the subjects of the high and mighty Prince, the King of England, my royall Master, by assalting them in that peacable course of trade, contraye to the Amytye and leauge of both our Soueraynes, although by the asistance of God you haue receiued shame and Confusion in your vnchristian Attempts, yet I haue commandement to admonish you, like the subject of a Prince at Peace with my Master, to desist from vndertaking that which can bring foorth no other effect but warr and reuenge and shedding of Christian blood And because it can not bee supposed you haue done thus vnwoorthely without having mistaken the entent of our Comming into these parts, I haue command from his Majestie to signifie to you, as his Majesties Embassador resident at Madrill hath done there, that the English entend nothing but free trade, open by the lawes of Nations to all men, wherof in these terretoryes of the Mogull & other Neighboring Princes there is enough for both, if auarice doe not blynd all reason in your Excellence It is not the Purpose of the English to roote out or hinder your trade, but to Continew theyr owne in frendship, and wilbe ready as Christians to doe you any curtesye or

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<sup>1</sup> This was a mistake There was no change of Viceroys between 1611 and 1617, when the Conde de Redondo replaced Don Jeronymo de Azevedo

<sup>2</sup> There is another copy in the I O Records (*OC*, No 303), but it presents no variation

assist your Excellence or nation in any want. Neither doe they desire, if your Excellence haue any custome, reuenewe or Cabell<sup>1</sup> from the Merchants subject to the Mogull trading at sea, to take it from you or otherwise impeach your receipt therof. That it is strange that the two Mightie Princes our Masters and theyr Subjects beeing freends and in free commerce one with another, your Excellence should dare to infring yt, wishing your Excellence to remember what the wronges offered by your Nation did cost you, how many Millions, both of Men and Crownes, in the dayes of the blessed and famous Queene Elizabeth, the same force and spintt still liuing in our Nation, aduising you to giue more reuerent termes of the Majestie of a Christian Kyng then your barbarous miscelaneous people haue vsed in these parts. To which purpose hauing now in frendly Manner admonished your Excellence, as befits the Honor of a Prince tender of his Royall word, I am to giue you farther Notice that his Majestie is resolved to Maynteyne his subjects in their honest indeauours, in spite of any enemyes and to that Purpose hath sent me, beeing a gentellman of his Priuy Chamber and a souldiar his Ambassador to the Greatt Mogull, with full power and Authoritye to conclude a leauge and frendship betwene theyr Majesties and theyr subjects for euer bynding himselfe by his Royall word to maynteyne and fulfill whatsoever I his Ambassador shall conclude with the Great Mogull, to the securitye of theyr subjects. Into which leauge I haue command to offer your Excellence comprisure letting you knowe I am ready to goe to Adsmere, wher I will attend your answer 40 dayes, and, in case of refusall or silence, which I will vnderstand a refusall, I will proceede to such conclusions as I shall in my Judgment thincke condeueable to the ends for which I am imployed assuring your Excellence, if you continew in this course, The Kings Majestie will not only giue protection in the way of defence, but grant his lettres of prisall free to all his subjects to make war vpon you in all parts of the Indyas, a thing Infinitely desired and dayly sued for to his Majestie, wherby you shall not be able to looke out at your Ports, much lesse to attempt to Injure vs. But, hoping you will haue more consideration, I require your answer within the tyme prefixed, and so I Committ you to Gods protection.

Your frend or enemye at your owne Choyce,

D THO. ROE,

Ambassador of the Majestie of England.<sup>2</sup>

Suratt, October 20, 1615, still. vet.

<sup>1</sup> Impost (Fr *gabelle*).

<sup>2</sup> As will be seen later no reply was made to this letter. The factors at Surat, in a note dated the 3rd May 1616, informed Roe that the messenger had returned about four days previously; at first (he

*October 20*—A lettre Came from the king, but not once named the English, as my entelligence enformed me ; but concernd the Injures of a Merchant wroonged by the Gouvernor.

*October 21.*—I rode early with Captain Peyton, Master Bonner<sup>1</sup> and others, to the Tancke<sup>2</sup> to take the ayre ; and returned on purpose by a greene, wher vsually the Gouvernor is at his exercise, to obserue his Countenance, because Captain Harris tould me he desired a frendship When I came there, he left his play at balle on horsebacke<sup>3</sup> and Came toward me I stayed his Comming vp After salutations, and asking of my horses and why I vsed not his, to which I answered I had these at my Command from a good frend Chrabbeckcan,<sup>4</sup> he desired me to see their excersice a-horsebacke, which I accepted off Whervpon hee sent for his bowes, and with diuers others passed many Carrers<sup>5</sup> shooting backward at a marke on the ground, and after at an Eastreadge<sup>6</sup> eggshell on the top of a May pole

reported) he was promised an answer, but after waiting three months, and being refused admittance to the Viceroy, he judged it best to make his way back to Surat In July, 1616, Richard Cocks wrote to another factor in Japan that, in default of a reply, Roe had "pronounced open wars against the Portingals in the East Indies with fire and sword in the name of the kings maiestie of England" (IO Records—O C, No 377), but this story, though apparently accepted as correct in the preface to the *Calendar of State Papers (E Indies)*, 1513-1616, is quite baseless

<sup>1</sup> This was Thomas Bonner, who, on the way out, had been promoted to the post of master of the *Expedition* He died at Tiku on the 20th July, 1616, and was buried on a small island near that port Three years later they buried in the same spot, "so nere as could be ghesseled", the body of his brother Robert Bonner, the leader of the 1618 fleet He had died at Tiku on the 9th October, 1619, of wounds received in fighting the Dutch when they attacked and captured, amongst others, his vessel, the *Dragon*, Lancaster's old flag-ship

<sup>2</sup> See page 112

<sup>3</sup> The modern "polo", which (under the name of *chdugan*) was the favourite pastime of Akbar

<sup>4</sup> See p 71 Apparently Roe had consented to make temporary use of the horses proffered by Kharib Khán

<sup>5</sup> This was the technical phrase for running the charge in a tournament or attack

<sup>6</sup> Ostrich

Then hee tooke his peece<sup>1</sup> and did the like, and after with lances, counterfeyting a Chase and at the full speed of theyr horses, full of varietye, beeing verry Actiue and many sports, which finished he desired me to Honor him to see his house. I was so willing to Close with him for the furtherance of our busines that I was entreated to doe yt, though I knew I should find In my reception nthing to Content me. I or after theyr rude manner at his Court gate he alighted and went in in a hurry soe that i stayed a pretty whyle and entered with the English alone. When i came neare he mett me and led me vp into a howse of pleasure, where wee sate, discoursing of the warr armes, and Customes of these parts. Then Captaln P'eyton toulid him the Generall had sent him a present in requitali of a former, and soe deliuering the parcells, he tooke two things and with infinite scorne cast the rest away saying those hee tooke as a token but not as a p'sent, repeating, the valew of his. This I mention that you may know theyr custome, at least this man. So I returned to demand my goodes, to repeate the discourtesyes, but i wanted no sayre promises and excuses. Asking when I departed I replied In two dayes, wherat the Merchannts desired leaue to pass vp some Cloth in my Company which hee flattly refused turning to me, swearing by his head and beard he had expresse order to the Contrary and to suffer vs nly to vnlade one ship in a month, and after to depart and except I could dispeed and procure longer time, he must nbeey it. I answered him roughly that we card not yet I could not beleue his Master was so vnconstant. Soe I tooke my leaue butt at night could get nothing from the Custome howse.

*October 22.*—Having advised that seeing now In five weekes we hard not one woord of Master Edwards,

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<sup>1</sup> Gun (cp. fowling-piece).

woondring that these Changes would be at Court without his pryutie, and that I could not goe on my Iourny with any expedition, desierous to haue some Newes from aboue and to take my prouisions with me, I resolved to addresse my Complaynt by post to Master Edwardes to deliuer to the Mogull in my Name The Merchannts acquaynting the Generall speedily therof, who wrote his lettre to Master Edwardes, as I suppose, of Complaynt, and it beeing sent to Suratt, the Merchants dispeeded it away without my knowledge, or once asking me if I would write, which I tooke in vearly ill part, hauing receiued many neglects by reason that all obedience and obsequiousnes was giuen him<sup>1</sup> who could pleasur them, and it was published among them I had nothing to doe with them Yet within one hower I sent a Post after yt, with my instructions to Master Edwardes how to proceed and how far for our present redresse here, and to dispeed yt to the factory, letting him know, since I was arriued, all the wrongs of the Kings subjects concerned me and that I should answer for them and that therfore in my name he ought to proceed, which I doubt not he will effect. The Coppie therof is registred<sup>2</sup> The Generall sent 4 of the factors for Baroch and Amadauaz<sup>3</sup> by a New way from the shipes, the Gouvernor suffering none to passe from Suratt.

*October 23*—I sent two Merchants to the Gouvernor to demand those things which he deteyned He answered I might be gone to night if I would, but I should haue nothing, bidding them tend their owne busines that they had but 15 dayes to staye At night the Generall writte me woord of the misfortune at Adsmere, which hee receiued from Amadauaz by way of Apologye in the excuse of one Mitford, that had stabbd Master Edwardes at

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<sup>1</sup> Keeling

<sup>2</sup> At f 59 of the MS

<sup>3</sup> To provide a cargo for the ship intended to be sent home

a Consultation for some woordes vsed, which the Generall very rightly conceiued a great offence and dispatchd lettres to Adsmere. But I not knowing the Contents, but weighing the offence to be of a high Nature dishonorable to his Maiestie, whose Ambassador Edwardes pretended to be, and prejudiciall to the busines now in hand on sickle termes, I thought it fitt that to avoide the scandall some part of Iustice and reparation should beginn where the offence was most scandalous and therefore wrote to Master Edwardes to cause him to be layd in Irons in his house untill I came vp,<sup>1</sup> purposing after examination to send him publiquesly bound as Prisoner to the flecte with the true Coppy of the Cause on both parts. For if authoritye haue abused itselfe though it be free from reuenge by those that are subordinat, yet it must answere to a higher authoritye or all bandes of Gouverment are distoiued

*October 24*—The Gouvernor beeing gone a hunting gaue order for my dispatch but nothing was effected. The cause of this change was the goeing of some boates to Baroch beeing afrajd to loose our trade wherby he betrayd his lyes of Command for our departure.

*October 25*—I laded my goodes thincking the order was sufficient but ther came some presently from the Custome house and would new search them which I was angry at & would not suffer. Whervpon they beate one of the wagoners at my dore and would have Carried the Cheefe to be whiped, but I tooke him into my house and gaue him protection and bad them be gone but they offering by force to search my Chests that were laded I showed them a sword in a Vother mans hand that stood

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<sup>1</sup> The letter is given at f. 60 of the MS. The brawl was found to have been a very slight affair and no serious notice was taken of it. Myford went home in the *Globe* in March, 1617 and in May of the following year the Court presented him with one hundred nobles in recognition of his services.

by, and tould them they abused vs enough at the Custome house if they presumed yt here, I would recompence yt. Wherat they departed and wrote to the Gouvernor that I drew a sword and beate them, and tooke this occasion not to execute the Gouvernors Command for my dispatch Withall I sent speedely to the Generall, desiering him that one ship might ryde out, as if wee meant to seeke other trade, a thinge which only awed them, and tooke good effect For the Gouvernor returning at Night, I sent him woord howe I was abused by the officers of the Custome house, and he in theyr reports made that I drew a sword He sent presently Abram Chan,<sup>1</sup> the Cheefe man in the Towne and our frend, to tell me he had punished them for lying and misdemeanor toward me, and was sorry I did not beate them in earnest that on the morow Abram Chan should come and dispatch me with his passe and lettre to the Prince and that he would present me with a horse and furniture I thanked him, desiering expedition and no other present Abram Chan tould me hee neuer durst visitt me before, nor meddle in my busines, the Gouvernor beeing soe vnconstant, but now he had leaue, and gaue me his woord it should be effected Thus I stood delayed in hope and doubt. Within an Hower came a lettre from the king, which was receiued with great solemnitye The Contents I could not learne, but by the effect it was in our behalfe and some Checke to the Gouvernor For hee speedily, though it was late, sent for Master Bangham<sup>2</sup> and

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<sup>1</sup> Ibráhim Khán, who was appointed shortly afterwards Governor of Surat, chiefly, it would seem, because he was favourably disposed towards the English But, after some experience of him, Roe declared him "good, but soe easy that he does no good, wee are not lesse afflicted with a block then before with a storck" (*OC*, No 558)

<sup>2</sup> Nicholas Bangham, originally a joiner, was left at Surat by the *Hector*, returning to England with Best in 1614. In recognition of his services he was given a hundred pounds, made a factor, and admitted to the freedom of the Company He was appointed to proceed with Roe to India in the capacity of steward, to control his

before speech with him made Abram chan deale with him to appease me and all the english protesting we should haue all good vsage, and gaue leaue to goe and carry our goodes vp or anywher without stopp He was very sadd which is a signe that the lettre was some reprehension for otherwise the Custome is vpon the receipt of any thing from the king to drinke and be vearly frolicke. As yet we had not one woord from Master Edwardes havinge beene in the Roads 6 weekes. At night was a proclamation made, giuing leaue for boates to carry ouer the lead and teeth,<sup>1</sup> which had now layne in the sunne a month at the water syde and were cleft and spoyled which was next day performed.

*October 26.*—I expected all day but could not procure anything nor any answeare nor leaue to loade my Chestes.

*October 27.*—Abram chan came with a multitude of officers, and brought the Gouvernors scale and sealed the kings presents, counted my Chests and gaue a warrant to carry them and withall brooght such things as the Gouvernor had left<sup>2</sup> to my house, of which I tooke some and promised whatsoeuer was in the Gouvernors handes should be delluered the Next day I answered I could not accept of these, to haue the other deteyned He sayd all should be brought, except two basens wblch the Gouvernor had sent the Prince I replied they were taken from mee, and I would demand them at Court, and giue as I sawe fitt. He desired me to be Content with soe smalle a matter The Gouvernor sent me a horse to glue mee,

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household expenses but the ambassador when he heard of this arrangement, remonstrated so strongly with Keeling that the idea was given up. Bingham was made cape merchant at Burhanpur instead, and held that post until the spring of 1618, when he went home in the *Bull*. Roe spoke very favourably of him in a letter to the Company "though he bee not a bredd merchant, he hath a good head, learns aptly & is of a judgement not rash nor peremptorye, & is your best linguist.

<sup>1</sup> An abbreviation for "elephants' teeth," *i.e.*, ivory

<sup>2</sup> *Add MS 19277* has "kept.



entreating to speake well of him to the king I answered for his horse, I would not receiue him, but caused the bringer to returne yt that [if?] I found my selfe yet at last well dealt with, and liberty for the Merchants to transport their goodes freely, I would make such report of him as became a frend but otherwise I would doe my dutie to my Master and the seruice to my Countrymen for which I was imployed Abram chan importuned me to accept of the horse I answered the Gouvernor would take yt as an ingagement to speake well of him, and ingratitude in the Contrary that I came not to be brybed, neyther would I leaue any tye on mee, that it should not bee free, if any lettre of Complaynt came after mee, to doe my nation right against his Injuries and that therfore ther was no other way to deale with me but by vsinge the Merchants well, both in theyr bodyes and goodes And so, receuinge many promises, They and theyr horse returned

*October 28*—I laded most of my prouisions, expecting the rest from the Gouvernor, but nothing came nor any answeare

*October 29*—I sent my Carts before, expecting those things deteyned, but with so small hope that I resolved to goe without them Within an hower came Abram chan with most of the things taken by the Gouvernor, and a warrant for my departure When I demanded the remaynder he desiered to be excused that hee<sup>1</sup> knew not when hee tooke them but that they were the Merchannts and offered to paye for them but hee had sent them to Prince, beeing some 7 or 8 basons, french and other sorts I answered I would challendge them at Court, and Complayne of the Violence

*October 30*—Many messages past about leaue for Cloth and swoordes to goe vp with mee, but none Could be

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<sup>1</sup> The Governor

obteyned so I prepared to be gone. As I was ready came a lettre or *firmān* from the Mogull to me staying according to the Custome<sup>1</sup> without the towne to be mett by vs I sent the Merchants who brought it to me beeing procured by Master Edwardes with his lettre it Conteyned a Command to all Gouvernors of Prouinces or townes to attend me with sufficient guard and not to meddle with any thing was myne and in all things very sauable except chardges which was left vnmentioned When I had read yt, beeing ready to goe to horse hearing the Gouvernor and all the Towne were assembled in an open space I rode that way and showed the Gouvernor my lettre wherat he was very blanke desiring my frendship and offered me any thing I would demand. I answered it was now too late I only came to lett him see the king had a better estimation of Ambassadors and theyre quietye then he, that had so ransacked mee but I did not desire his ruyne if he would yet giue content to the Merchanntes I would make the best of soe ill vsage. He bad aske anything, I demanded leaue for twelue Carts to goe vp with goodes at their pleasure, which hee refused Then I told him I saw he would doe nothing of curtesye It was but losse of a little tyme I would procure it in dispight of him desiring to know his reason why contrarye to his woord he kept our people and goodes prisoners. He gaue none but sayd For my sake fve Carts should haue leaue Though I scorned this answer, yet since it was some helpe toward dispatch I seemed Content. He demanded if I were frendes. I sayd vntill I heard New Complaynts, which I expected howery I was and that I required his *Chop*<sup>2</sup> for the 5 Carts presently for I would stay for them the Morrow at my tents. He

<sup>1</sup> See the *Ain-i Akbari* (Blochmann), i, p. 264

<sup>2</sup> A seal impression (Hind. *chhap*), and hence also the document thus authenticated. Among Europeans in eastern ports the word became current in the sense both of a permit or licence, and of a

promised, and I departed foure *Course*<sup>1</sup> from Suratt to Cumaria,<sup>2</sup> expecting the Merchannts At my goeing I had no guard from him, hauing before hyred such guard as by councell of all your factors, and such other necessary men as was requisite (hauing fwe sicke men in my trayne and few perfect) to Bramport,<sup>3</sup> where I hope for some ease of my great Chardge Yet I will proue I haue in no thing taken so many nor so much as the factors thought requisite At my goeing I was perswaded to giue in the Custome house, because I had all theyr assistance and paynes in these broyles with the Gouvernor, and to others that had broked<sup>4</sup> in my affayres, and to the Gouvernors vnder seruants as Porters, wayters and *Peons*<sup>5</sup>

*October 31* —I rested in expectation of the Merchanntes and goodes which were to goe vp, but at night I receued lettres that the Gouvernor would not hould his woord except he might haue 30 clothes at his owne rates, wherat I sent him woord I was free of all promise of frendship, it beeing giuen vpon the last condition, which hee had dishonourably falsefyed

*November 1* —I went 11 English mile to a village, lying alway in my tents Hither Abram chan sent me a bullocke to carry water, fitted with sckinns, a Cammell, with two tents and some hens I tooke his meate and some sckinns, beeing prouided of all necessaryes I returned the rest, haueing nothing of valew to giue in requitall, which his

stamp or brand placed upon goods As Sir Henry Yule has pointed out (*Hobson-Jobson*, p 160), it is from the latter sense that we get the expression "first chop," i.e., of the first quality

<sup>1</sup> The usual measure of distance in India Later (p 105), Roe makes the *kos* two miles, but adds that the *kos* of the interior is longer than that of the coast districts It is well known that this measure varied much in different localities

<sup>2</sup> Khumbaria.

<sup>3</sup> Burhánpur of which see p 89

<sup>4</sup> Negotiated

<sup>5</sup> Messengers (Port. *peão*, a footman)

men were hardly enforced too. This man showed me both most affection and most honor in all his actions.

*November 2*—To Harat<sup>1</sup> 1 mile. This town hath a walled castle being [in]<sup>2</sup> the Frontier of the Kingdom of Guzaratt subject to the Mogull belonging to Abram Chan, in whose order I had a guard of horse watched about my tent all the night.

*November 3*—I entered the Kingdom of Lardass ha<sup>3</sup> a Gentile lord of the hills subject to none and lodged in the scildes at 15 miles end. His Cheese Cytty<sup>4</sup> is called Mughar. He lives in a Castell in the Mountain.

*November 4*—9 Mile. Rocky way by a village called Narampora.<sup>5</sup>

*November 5*—15 Mile. In the scildes [dyning by Dytal]<sup>6</sup>

*November 6*—20 Miles to Nunderpar<sup>7</sup> a City of the Kingdom of Bramport, subject to the Mogull having passed a corner of the Kingdom of Larda ha. Here I got first bread since my Comming from Suratt for though the Cuntry be plentiful especially of Cattle by reason

<sup>1</sup> Vira, in the South Western of the Haroda State. Rem of two small forts are still to be seen.

<sup>2</sup> Supposed from *Add MS 19377*

<sup>3</sup> Lartab Shih, the ruler of Baglan, a mountainous district of considerable extent, represented to-day by the Baglan and Kahan sub-divisions of Nask district. Akbar had attempted to reduce it but had failed; Lartab Shih however subsequently acknowledged the overlordship of Jahangir and the kingdom was finally conquered by Aurangzeb. The chief's headquarters were at Jaitpur near Mulher Fort (Rosa Mughar). Finch who travelled this road in 1610 (*Purchar's L. p. 44*) mentions it as "Mulhere where the *mumudys* are ceyned."

<sup>4</sup> This is the reading of *Add MS 19377*. The version in *Add MS 6115* is "nie a cheese cytty; but this is obviously wrong as Mulher is more than twenty miles away."

<sup>5</sup> Nāvapur in the Limpalner sub-division of Khândesh district.

<sup>6</sup> Added from *Add MS 19377*. "Dytal" is apparently Dhana on the Surpini River.

<sup>7</sup> Nanderbār an ancient and once wealthy and important town, in the sub-division of the same name.

of the *Banians*,<sup>1</sup> that will kyll nothing, inhabiting all ouer, yet by the same reason they would sell vs none, and bread they make not, but dow cakes. I mett in one day 10,000 bullocks in one troupe laden with Corne, and most dayes others, but lesse, which shoves the plenty

*November 7*—18 Mile to Nimgall<sup>2</sup>

*November 8*—15 Mile to Sinchelly.<sup>3</sup>

*November 9*—15 Mile to Tolnere<sup>4</sup>

*November 10*—18 Mile to Chapre<sup>5</sup> Here, hauing pitched my tents without the Towne according to my Custome, the kings officers came and tould me that there were 200 theeues in the hills and I could not lye without great danger, perswading me to pitch within the Towne I answered I was not afayd if they Came I would leaue some of them on the ground for them in the Morning, and that now I would not stirr They replied they could not answere it to the Mogull if any thing happened vnto me, but if I would stay without, they desired a dischargd in writting that they had warned mee I tould them I was resolved not to mooue, but if the dainger were soe important I required a better guard to watch with mee, which was granted, and the Gouvernor with the other officers came out with 30 horse and 20 shott and watched all Night In the Morning they brought me to their precinctes, to whom I gaue a small present and reward to the Souldiers

<sup>1</sup> The well-known term for Hindu traders, often extended by the early travellers (as here) to all persons professing the Hindu religion

<sup>2</sup> Nimgul Finch calls this place Lingull, "a beastly Towne, with theeuish inhabitants and a dirtie castle."

<sup>3</sup> Sindkhera, the headquarters of the Virdel sub-division of Khándesh, about twenty-four miles north of Dhulíá.

<sup>4</sup> Thálner, on the north side of the Taptí, in Shirpur sub-division Here Roe's party would cross the river

<sup>5</sup> Chopra, in the sub-division of the same name, an ancient and still populous town

*November 11*—8 Mile to Arawd<sup>1</sup> Hence I sent Master Shalebanck<sup>2</sup> to Bramport with the kings *firma* to Channa Channa the Gouvernor, to see what comoditye I could procure for my furtherance.

*November 12*—18 Mile *November 13*—18<sup>3</sup> Mile.

*November 14*—15 Mile. I arrived at Bramport,<sup>4</sup> being by my Coniecture 223 Mile from Suratt<sup>5</sup> and the Course wholly East, a miserable and Barron Country the townes and villages all built of Mudd soe that there is not a house for a man to rest in<sup>6</sup> This day at Batharport,<sup>7</sup> a village 2 Mile short of Bramport, is the stoore house of Ordinance, I saw diuers of brasse, but generally to shortt and too

<sup>1</sup> Aráwal, in Chopra sub-division, a decayed town with a ruined fort.

<sup>2</sup> Joseph Salbank, of whom see p. 101

<sup>3</sup> *Add. MS* 19277 has "15," but this appears to be an error

<sup>4</sup> Burhānpur on the northern bank of the Tapti, in the Nimár district of the Central Provinces. It is now a place of small importance but was at the time of Roe's visit the seat of the Mogul administration of the Deccan, and the headquarters of the army. Founded about 1400, it was held by the Farúki kings of Khándesh down to the conquest of their kingdom by Akbar at the close of the sixteenth century. During the reigns of that monarch and his successor the city was greatly extended and embellished and at the height of its prosperity it covered an area of about five square miles and contained several notable buildings. The citadel called the *Lal Kila*, or Red Fort, which was probably the scene of Roe's presentation to Prince Parwáz, is still in existence, though much dilapidated. In later years Burhānpur after being plundered by the Mahrattas (1685), passed successively under the yoke of the Nizám the Peshwá, and Sindia by whom it was transferred to the British in 1860. A notable incident in its later history was its capture in 1803 by the army under General Wellesley (afterwards the Duke of Wellington).

<sup>5</sup> Roe's estimate is a fairly close one. When Colonel Goddard passed along the same road (in the reverse direction), in the course of his celebrated march across India (1779), his surveyors made the distance from Burhānpur to Surat 237 miles (*MS* in I O Map Room).

<sup>6</sup> The contrast between this picture and a present-day description of the same district is not without its moral. With the exception of a few barren hill ranges, "the long central plain is, for about 150 miles from Burhānpur to Nandurbar an unbroken stretch of deep alluvial soil. The east and centre are rich and well tilled. The towns and villages are large and prosperous, surrounded by mango groves and gardens and, except when baked by the raging winds of the hot season, the fields are green with varied tillage. On both sides of the river cultivation is widespread" (*Bombay Gazetteer Khándesh* p. 3).

<sup>7</sup> Bahádarpur four miles west of Burhānpur

wyde bored Betwen that and Brampore I was mett by the *Cuttwall*,<sup>1</sup> well accompaned and 16 Coullers Carried before them He brought me to the *Saralya*<sup>2</sup> wher I was apoynted to lodg (where at the gate hee tooke his leau) beeing a handsome frunt of stone, but when I entered I had 4 Chambers allotted me like Ovens, noe bigger, round at the topp, made of brick in a wall syde This trubled me, but my Tents were my refuge, and I sent the *Cuttwall* word I would depart the Towne, scorninge soe meane vsadge He desiered me to be Content vntill Morning Here liues Sultan Perues,<sup>3</sup> the kings seconnd sonne, houlding the State and Customes of his father, And the *Channa Channa*,<sup>4</sup> being the greatest subiect of the Mogull

<sup>1</sup> The *Kotwal*, or native official who had the general superintendence of the city, especially as regards police functions

<sup>2</sup> The caravansary (Pers *karwán-sarai*) or public lodging house for travellers and their pack-animals *Sarai* simply means a building, but to the English residents at Constantinople the word became synonymous with the palace of the Sultan, and then a supposed connexion with the Italian *serrato* ("shut-up") gave to its usual Levantine form *serraglio* the meaning of the women's closed apartments (see Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*, s n) The following description is from a very rare work, entitled *An East-India Collation*, by Christopher Farewell, a factor who went out to India in 1614 — "In this City, as all others throughout both Asia's and Afrique wee were lodged in the *Ceraglio*, a spacious place made of purpose for all Travellers, Natives as else (for they have not the vse of Innes as in Christendome), with commodious Warehouses round about, of one Story, foure Square, in the manner of Galleries, and under them dry walkes and places to feed their Coach-oxen, Camels, Elephants and Horses, but in the middle all open, like our Exchange, It being supposed that every Marchant, Gentleman or Nobleman hath his Tent or Coach to sleepe in, if neyther, they make the best shift they can, and for their provision they bring it with them, or buy it in the Towne."

<sup>3</sup> Parwíz, who, as Roe states, was nominally in command of the army operating against the Deccan princes He died at Burhánpur on the 28th October, 1626

<sup>4</sup> Khán-khánán (Khan of Khans), a title usually given to the officer who acted as commander-in-chief The individual here referred to was Mírzá Abdurrahím, son of Bairám Khán, Akbar's celebrated general He had been given the title for conquering Gujárát, and later he distinguished himself in several campaigns, especially in the subjugation of Sind For some time he was a strong partisan of Prince Khurram, though afterwards he deserted him for Parwíz His death occurred at Delhi in 1627, at the age of seventy-two Captain

generall of his Armies, wherof 40000 horse are with him The Prince hath the Name and state, but the *Chan* gouerns all.<sup>1</sup>

*November 15.*—I remoued into a handsome garden and sett vp my Tentts with some of my people leauing the rest with my goods at the *Saralia*, where the *Cuttwall* Came to visitt me and excuse my lodging protesting it was the best in the Towne which after I found true The wholle Citty (which is vearry great) being all builde of Mudd baser then any Cottage except the Princes howse the *Chan Channas* and some few others.

*November 16 17*—I rested and sent about my Carriad ges, only receiuing twenty dishes of meat drest after their Country manner sent me in Covered Platters by the *Cuttwall* for a Present

*November 18.*—I or many Considerations as well to see the fashiones of the Court as to Content the Prince (who desired yt and I was lothe to distast him because ther was sune purpose of erecting a factory in the towne, and I found by experience swoord blades were well sould In the Armie) I went to visitt the Prince and carried him a Present. I was brought in by the *Cuttwall* At the out ward Courte wear about 100 horsemen Armed being gentelimen that attend the Princes sitting out to salute him making a lane of each side. In the Inward Courte he satte, high in a Gallerie that went round, with a Cannipe over him and a Carpett before him, in great but barborous

Hawkins, while on his way up to Agra in 1609, had an interview with the *Khán-khánán* at *Burhánpur* and was given by him "his most kind Letter of fauour to the King which auayled much.

<sup>1</sup> *Herridge*, in a letter to *Roe* from *Ahmadábád*, 21 Oct., 1615 (*Brit. Mus.—Addl. MS.* 9366, f. 19) warned him that he must visit Prince *Parwiz*, "whose Capparetye beinge weake and he geuen to womanish pleasures, ther is no hope either of boonour or Content from him. He supplieth the place in name only the *Chan Chan* In matters of Consequence ther ordereth all, esteemed for nobillitye, honnour and valor to be the Cheifst of the land "



state Comming toward him thorough a lane of People, an Officer came and brought me woord I must touch the ground with my head, and my hatt off I answered I came in honnor to see the Prince and was free from the Custome of seruants Soe I passed on, till I came to a place rayled in, Right vnder him, with an assent of 3 steepes, wher I made him reverance, and he bowed his bodye, and soe went within yt, wher stood round by the side all the great men of the Towne with their handes before them like slaues The place was Covered overhead with a Rich Cannapie, and vnderneath all Carpetts To discribe it rightly it was like a great stage, and the Prince satt aboue as the Mock kings doth thear When I was entered I knewe not where to be placed, but went right and stood before him, wher there is an assent of thre steepes, vpon which standes his secretary to deliuer what is sayd or giuen Breifly I tould him being an Ambassador from the King of England to his father and Passing bye, I could not but in honor visitt him Hee replied I was vearly wellcome, and Asked me many questions of the King, to which I replied as I thought fitt But standing in that manner belowe, I demanded lycence to Come vp and stand by him Hee answered if the King of Persia, or the great Turke wher ther, it might not be admitted I replied that I must be excused, for I doubted not he would come downe and meete them at his gate, but I desiered noe more priuiledg then the Ambassadors off such Princes had, to whom I held myself equale He protested I had that, and should in all things Then I demanded a Chaier, but I was answered noe man euer satt in that place, but I was desiered as a Curtesye to ease myselfe against a Pillor covered aboue with siluer, that held vp his Cannapie. Then I moved him for his fauour for an English factory to be resident in the Towne, which he willingly granted and

gaue present order to the *Buxy*<sup>3</sup> to drawe a *firma* both for their Comming vp and for their residence. I alsoe desiered his authoritye for Carriadges for the Kings Presents, which he gaue in Chardge to the *Cuttwall*. Then I gaue him my presents, which hee tooke in good part and after some other Questions he said to giue me Content, although I might not Come vp wher hee satt, hee would goe into another Place wher I should Come vnto him. But one of my presents was a Case of bottles, which tooke him vp by the way, and after I had stayed a while I hard hee was drunck,<sup>3</sup> and one of his officers came to me in his name with an excuse, desiering me to goe home and to take some other tyme to returne to visitt him. This night I tooke my fevor

*November 19.*—I sent to the *Chan Channa* a smaile Present, hut would not visitt him (expecting it from him) nor vtterly disrespect him in regard of our factory. He receiued it with great Curtesie and promised all frendship to the English. This night Master Boughton<sup>3</sup> sickened.

*November 20-24.*—Being veary sick I intended nothing but to gett the *firma* promised and Carriadges to be gone from thence, wher in the one the *Buxy* and in the other the *Cuttwall* did most manifestly abuse me, and I could find noe reamedye. In this tyme the Prince, taking knowledg of my sicknes sent one day his swoord bearer and another day his Chamberline to visitt me, to whom I Complayned and had promises to noe effect.

TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

(Addl MS. 6115 f. 60)

Brampore, 24 November 1615

What hath passed in my Journey by sea to Suratt, wher by Godes mercy I arriued the 20th of September with your whole

<sup>1</sup> Paymaster (Hind. *bakshi*). generally a military paymaster

<sup>2</sup> Parwir's addiction to liquor (the hereditary vice of the Mogul imperial family) is well known.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 32, n.

fleete in safety and extraordinary health, I hope you expect no more from me then I could collect by Circumstances and the outward face of what was resolved in Councell, to all which I was a stranger, no man euer acquainted me with any proposition or conclusion For outward things, our course, my opinion, and such like, I refer you to a journall<sup>1</sup> sent herewith, which I pray accept in good part, and though it be long, and I, as you suppose, a young marriner, yet you shall fynd some Cautions very necessary for you

What Course I tooke at my landing the journall will relate, and how euery day was spent at Suratt, in this lettre you may expect nothing but my poore counceill and judgment of this trade, and the managing therof, wherein it seemes to me you neuer haue had any true enformation First, for liberty of your people, I found them all in absolute seruitude, so as no priuat man, much lesse a nation, could endure And though, when ther was no busines (as at our Comming) it seemd not so tyrannous, and that the former Gouvernors were somewhat better, yet I haue enformed myselve off all and it was euer seruile and base, since Captain Best had a ship vnder his Lee And take this generall rule It is the Custome to Change the Gouvernors here euery yeare, and some tyme the rule of the Prouince (as now it belongs to the Prince), that new humors must be dayly scdd, and presents are here expected as due as the Kings customes, and not such as you will send but as they will choose Besides, vnlesse the peace may be made with the Portugall (which I haue endeauored), the Roade is vn safe at Swally, and you must alway maynteyne a fleete four monthes for the safety of one ship By water in boates ther is no possibility to transport your goodes, the riuier beeing vnder Command of the frigatts,<sup>2</sup> and to carry them 12 mile by land<sup>3</sup> is an infinite Chardge, trouble and decay of many things Soe that, to Conclud, if a better could be procurd, Suratt is no residence for your factory, or, if it must be, you must send a Pinnace of 80 tunns with 12 Peices, that may goe over the barr of Suratt and Carry your owne goodes to the Key, safe from frigatts and other dangers Your goodes, when it is Come in Cartes, lyes ten or twelue dayes at the water side before leaue cann be obtayned for boates to transport them I intend for better securitie to motion the giuing you an ould towne called Maladafar<sup>4</sup> into which your

<sup>1</sup> See the Introduction

<sup>2</sup> *I.e.*, the Portuguese frigates The term was at this time applied to shallow, undecked boats, carrying one gun in the bows They were very useful in the shoal waters of that coast

<sup>3</sup> From the beach at Swally to the city of Surat

<sup>4</sup> Mhowa, near Gopnath Point, on the Káthiáwár coast, opposite to Swally Best had spent a few days there with his fleet in December, 1612 (*Lancaster's Voyages*, p 239)

ships may come with six fadome water and anchor vnder the forte, yea, they may harbor at all tymes in a storme and ride with out the woormes as smooth as in Theames.

A truce, rather then a Peace, with the Mogull is newly procured by the Portugall payeing three *leeks*<sup>1</sup> of *Rupias* for the ship taken, and licence to goe to the Red Sea signed. This oewes I mett on the way a Moore comming from Court with 300 followers sent to Meca, going to Suratt to take shipping, where three shippes haue order to make ready this yeare without theyr ancient tribute to the Portugall. He had store of Indico with him. I demanded what Conditions concerning the english this peace did Conteyne. An Armenian Christian merchaunt tould me the Mogull had answered he could not put out the english, being powerfull at sea, but he leste it to the Portugalls to doe what they pleased and to endure likewise theyr fortune.<sup>2</sup> So

<sup>1</sup> A *leake* [lac] is 100,000 rupees; a rupee is 2s 3d. sterling" (marginal note by Roe).

<sup>2</sup> On the 7th June, 1615 (N.S.) by the mediation of the Jesuit Xavier Mukarrab Khán and Gonçalo Pinto da Fonseca had signed a preliminary treaty of peace, which it was agreed should be submitted to the Great Mogul and the Viceroy respectively for ratification within fifty days. Amongst other things, it provided that the English should be expelled from Surat, and in future they as well as the Dutch, should be excluded from the territories of the Mogul if the fleet from England should arrive and refuse to leave, the Portuguese were to be permitted to land guns for the purpose of driving them out of the pool of Swally the Portuguese effects which had been confiscated were to be restored, after deducting 70,000 *strafins* as compensation for the merchandise seized by the Portuguese, and the latter were to present a ship to the Queen Mother in lieu of the one they had burnt at Gogo further the Viceroy was for two years to grant free passes for two ships to go from Surat to the Red Sea, in addition to the ordinary yearly grant for one vessel (Bocarro's *Decada XIII* c. 88 Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (Stevens' trans.), iii, c. 6 Biker's *Tratados*, i, p. 189).

The particulars given by the Portuguese historians are so vague that an impression has been created that the treaty was actually completed; but this was not the case. Although the Portuguese Viceroy signified his approval, the Mogul, as stated above, refused to ratify it. This is clearly shown by Kerridge's letters from Ahmadábád now in the British Museum (*Add. MS.* 9366). Writing on the 26th July 1615, he speaks scornfully of "Macrobians Maye Games in Cambaya, settinge a portingall on an Ellephant and in a manner publishinge a peace with them vpon Incertayno and base Conditions (therby to blinde the Kinge)" on the 17th August he repeats intelligence received from Edwards at Ajmere, of "Macrobians Cominge to the Courte and acquainting the Kinge with the peace Concluded, which Consulted vpon was greatly disliked both by the Kinge and nobility wherof the Jesuites hauinge intelligence, they petitioned for the Kings answer, who sayde that when the viceroy had made restitution for all the goodes taken from his subjects he then would hearken to Con-

that the warr is left open for both at sea, and wee must woorke and stand vpon our owne safety The Portugall mannaginge this peace bought presently as much Indico as laded 180 bullocks and are now comming downe with yt

All your goodes come by land long journeyes at your chardg, both for Carts, *Peons*, Guardes and such trach, wheras I suppose some residence may be had vpon some riuier that may ease most of yt According to such relations as I haue gotten, the River of Syndu<sup>1</sup> were most comodious of all others, to which from Lahor any thing may passe by water, besides, the Cuntry is more healthy and plentifull in Indico and Comodytyes fitt for England then these parts, the Portugall having great ladings yearly from thence Further, if you may procure the Port Jasques in Persia, the places are neighboring and a Countenance one to a nother, or, if not, yet many Comodytyes of Persia will there be found, by reason the riuier comes from far within land, navigable with boates, and is truely the mouth of the famous Indus, and not that discribed by Cosmographers faling into the Baye of Cambaya And since I am fallen vpon Persia, breefly ther is no such place for the benefitt of our Nation to settle a trade for venting cloth and buying silke, and for good justice toward all men And if no greate quantety at first (beeing the south parts) will away, wherby you may returne from thence one ship yet it may be taken in the way, and what you vent may be sould for silkes (which are very vendible here) or ready mony, wherby these parts may be furnished and the exportation of monyes saued from England Somewhat hath beene done in this, but to no great purpose, because all the hopes giuen were before the returne of Sir Robert Sherly Since two Merchants haue beene dispatched to Court<sup>2</sup> I purpose to send to Hispan<sup>3</sup> with all expedition, as well to enforme my selfe off all possibilitye as to procure your securytye and welcome to Cape

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ditions of peace and that otherwise ther Could be no Conclusion," on the 24th of the following month he received a further message that the composition "is farther of nowe then ever, for that it is resolved that the vicereye of Goa Cann make no peace with this people, the English remayning in the Country, except by Espetiall order from the Kinge of Spaine, and that of our expulsion he hath no feare," and later still (25th October) Kerridge says that Edwards has written that "the expected peace with the Portingalls is confidently broken of" These extracts, together with what is stated above, show that the proposed treaty was never formally concluded, and that in lieu thereof the Portuguese had to be content with a simple cessation of hostilities It is probable that, in the later stages of the negotiation, the news of the arrival of an English ambassador with a fresh batch of presents had no small share in deterring the Mogul from agreeing to expel his compatriots

<sup>1</sup> The "Rio de Diul Sinde" of Linschoten and Mercator had not hitherto been identified with the Indus

<sup>2</sup> See the Introduction

<sup>3</sup> Ispahan

Jasques, if you please to accept yt and after if I may receiue a Commission from his Majestie by your procurement, to treat farther with him, or to goe to his Court and meete your shipping at Cape Jasques, I doubt not to settle you such a meanes for vent of Cloth as you shall well esteeme of yt

Ther passeth yearly Carauans from Agra to Cambalu,<sup>1</sup> which stands in a could iust and may also vent much cloth for mony the Cuntrye beeing exceeding rich and the Court near the Sea, vpon a nauigable river, and seeing you send to Japan, it is not many dayes wyde of it. I intend to procure the Mogull to write in our behalfe and to know if he willbe pleased to giue you leaue to send a shipes lading of Cloth yearly vnto him

The Presentes you haue this yeare sent are extreemly despised by those who haue scene them<sup>2</sup> the lynng of the Coach and Couer of the Virginalls scorned, beeing reluctt of these parts and sided to a base Tawny the kniues litle and meane, soe that I am enforced to new furnish the Case of my owne store the burning glasses and prospectiues<sup>3</sup> such as no man hath face to offer in giue, much less to sell, such as I can buy for sixe pence a peice your Pictures not all woorth one Penny and finally such error in the chooyce of all things, as I thincke no man euer heard of the place that was of Councell. Here are nothing esteemed but of the best sorts good Cloth and fine, and rich Pictures, they comming out of Italy ouerland and from Ormus soe that they laugh at vs for such as wee bring. And doubtlesse they vnderstand them as well as wee and what they want in knowledge they are enformed by the Iesuites and others, that in Emulation of vs prouide them of the best at any rates.

I can say litle of the estate of your busines, only it is kept in the brest of some few men, and your jelousy to giue mee any authoritye of your busines or factors hath disabled me to looke into many things that should haue redounded to your profit. I know not what suspect you had that I would eyther abuse them or your stocke but you were deceaued to my great ease and your owne disadvantage, It beeing so diuulged here (as I thincke, by your expresse command, or for some other vayne end) that I haue nothing to doo with the merchants nor their busines, nor that they neede make mee no account of any thing, wherby if I but synd just fault or giue honest counsell, the meanest can say it concerns not mee I haue not to doe with

<sup>1</sup> Cambalu ("seat of Cathaian Can") was of course Peking

<sup>2</sup> Roe soon found this idea of commerce with China impracticable. In a letter to Smythe, dated the 15th February 1615/16, he wrote "For Tartaria or Cambalew I hau spoken with a Turke who assures mee they haue no trade but for Rhobarb and the sea is not discoverable over land (see also the letter to Lord Carew p. 113).

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 67

<sup>4</sup> Telescopes.

them If the Generall keepe not good eyes (which I doubt not, he beeing euery way a very able man) you shalbe sufficiently abused in priuat trade, for this I know, that many of the meanest, and vnder the degrees of factors, brought ashore 100*li*, 80*li*, and few vnder 50*li*, which went liberally for Callicoes

You may thincke that I haue broken your order in desiring the Generall to pay me 200*li* beforehand, on my second yeares wages now currant, because he frugally for you made curious of yt, and yet curteously, when he saw reason, did yt it for mee I desire to make this apologie for him I did not thincke you held it reasonable I should land and goe a great journey without one penny in my purse for my priuatt vse, for you all knew I carried none, that you gaue mee and lent mee, I protest I disbursed, with additions of myne owne, for my preperation,<sup>1</sup> and I never ment to make vse of any of that allowed for my chardge for my particular, but to receiue yt and expend yt and giue an account of yt apart to a penny

Besides, I haue required that my seruants halfe yeares wages behynd may be payed here the first yeare, for els they must goe naked, and I am not able to supply all wants What is 50*li* for 15 Men—about 3*li* apeece, a poore allowance for such as must attend mee, and it is not 50*li* more then you giue me that discharges theyr wages,<sup>2</sup> so far I am from gayne.

For my extraordinarye expence of goinge to Court and dyett, I haue vndertaken the Carnadge of the Presents and your seruants sent with them (wherof the Coach is extreame Cumber-some) and receiued 1,000 royalls of 8 wherof you shall receiue by my first from Adgmere a just accompt I landed at Suratt, where I was esteemed an Imposture like my Predecessors (for the Jesuits diue deepe into your secrettes and blaze them), two before having taken the title of ambassador, Master Hawkins and Master Edwards,<sup>3</sup> but so that they haue almost made yt ridiculous to Come vnder that qualetye .

<sup>1</sup> The journal contains (f 280) an account by which it appears that Roe spent more than 450*l* on his outfit. At Surat he provided himself with twelve suits at a cost of from 3*l* to 42*l* each, and subsequent entries on this account, totalling over 100*l* down to October, 1617, show that he spared no expense to maintain the dignity of his post. In a later letter he complains of the great cost of his clothes, "euerything I can weare," he says, "is dearer then at the *Beare* in Cheapeside."

<sup>2</sup> "Seruants wages paid in the Countre more then the Companyes allowance—112*l* 10*s*" (MS, f 280)

<sup>3</sup> "I heare Master Edwards disavowes it" (marginal note by Roe) Edwards had been specially cautioned by the Company not to assume the title, and had consequently resolved to describe himself merely as a messenger from the English King (see *Letters received by the East India Co*, vol II, *Introduction*) On the other hand, Kerridge (letter to Roe, October 10, 1615, *Addl MS* 9366, f 12) distinctly

Only I lett you for conclusion know the estate of the Portugall in all these parts. He is on vearly ill tearmes and with a little helpe would be vtterly broken heare. But his Majestie must be dealt with. It is good pollicye of state to sett foote on him now he is falling and if I had authontye to treate roundly with the Persian and to engage any helpe to the Mogull by sea, I could dissolue him quite in these parts. Or if this may not be convenient to enterpnce, yet if you will giue him one good blow which you haue power and reason to doe whensoever you will send sixe good shipes together for this Place, vnder colour of safe conduct of those to returne hence, and so to take their Course for the Southward, they may ride in the roade and enforme themselves dayly of the Comminge in of the Gallions for Goa, which anue alsoe in September and lade in December for lisbone (the *Pront* of Suratt may and will goe to Goa for 3or and bringe weekly aduise when they beginn to lade, for they halfe lade within the barr vnder the fort, and then come out to take in the rest, where they ryde unfitted for any defence, halfe their men ashore with frigatts to fill them), and then four of your shipes may way and bee with them in so many dayes, and take what they please, almost without shooting a shoote lade themselves and fire them and one prosperous assault vpon them would more disharten them, bring them to better termes (when they sawe your resolution to prosecute them), giue you more reputation and good booty then twenty repulses cuer in your owne defence. It is a rule in warr the offensive is both the nobler and the safer part. They make this vse of your sparing them that their king dares doe any affront to you because the king of England is a tributarye but that you dare not Attempt them, but only defend your goods, least the king of Portugal should punish his Majestie for such bouldnes at home.

It is thought requisite that you seeke trade in the Terretories of the Mogull in Bengale. I will enforme myselfe of the fittest port and procure a *firma* for residence of your factors.

Since my arriuall at Bramport, beeing the 14 of November 1615 I visited the Prince, which I rather did because ther was a purpose to settle a factory ther. I am heer visited by Godes hand with a terrible seauer now sixe dayes, and brought vearly weake, abused in my Carriages, notwithstanding the Prince gaue order for me, and the Kings *firma*. The *Cuttwall* tooke my mony and made price as he pleased and when I sawe his abuse, I sought abroad, but none would stirr without his leaue. So that I must suffer it, as I doe manyfould and

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asserted that "Master Edwards in his Landinge for the Reputation of our busines assumed the title and qualletye [of ambassador] and in that nature was presented vnto the kinge and so hath continued



infinite abuses, this beeing a generall Character euery man will promise any thing, but to this hower I neuer found one man that euer held his woord in any one thing without beeing followed and sued too sixe dayes together—no answere but “to-morowe” The Cuntrye is all slauish In this towne of Bramport, the ancient and Cheefe Cytty, except the Castle and some fewe ill howses of Commanders, your swyne lye better than any man, and what I endure I best knowe

*November 25* —Master Boughton dyed and I buried him by leaue early the Next Morning

*November 26* —Being enforced to take the *Cutwalls* price, I laded

*November 27* —In much weaknes, beeing Carried in a *Pallankie*,<sup>1</sup> I Parted Brampore, and lodged that night at Raypora,<sup>2</sup> 3 *Course* off

*November 28* —15 *Course* to Burgome.<sup>3</sup> This day I lost my Carriages, and all my Company Beeing very sicke I hastened away in my *Palenkie* to Burgome, but they not beeing able to Follow, we were afrayd one of another I was without tent or prouision, and gott into a little open house,<sup>4</sup> and soe rested in my *Palenkie* I sent away a *Peon*, who before Morning returned with Newes of one another

*November 29* —My Carriages and Company Came to me, and I rested this day, beeing soe sick as at night I was past sence and giuen ouer for dead, but God raysed mee

*November 30* —In the Morning came a *firman* from Sultan Perues for our entended factory at Brampore, which I dispeeded backe to Surat At Noone I remooued 7 *Course*

<sup>1</sup> Hind *pálki*, a litter The form in which Roe uses the word is nearer the original than the more usual “palankin,” which bears traces of its derivation through the Portuguese.

<sup>2</sup> Ráipur, a small village north-west of Burhánpur

<sup>3</sup> Borgaon, in the Nimár district of the Central Provinces, 21 miles N E of Burhánpur

<sup>4</sup> A *choultry*, or resting-place for travellers

*December 1—10 Course to Bikanagme.<sup>1</sup>*

*December 2—7 Course*

*December 3.—5 Course*

*December 4.—To Akharpur<sup>2</sup> 11 Course* It standes on a goodly river falling into the sea nere Bameli and is doubtles nauigable.

*December 5—Spent in passing the river called Nar bodah being forced to unlade.*

*December 6.—8 Course*, lodging in a wood not farr from the Kings famous Castle of Mandol<sup>3</sup> which standes on a steepe hill walled round in circuit 14 *Course* The Castle is faire and of woonderfull pretines.

*December 7—10 Course*

*December 8—8 Course*

*December 9.—10 Course*

*December 10.—12 Course*

*December 11—16 Course*

*December 12.—14 Course*

*December 13.—6 Course*

*December 14—*I rested to drye my tents and ease my selfe and Company

*December 15—6 Course*

*December 16.—6 Course*

*December 17—12 Course* Hence I sent Master Shal banche<sup>4</sup> to Adsmere to prepare for mee.

<sup>1</sup> Bikanagan, in the district of the same name in Holkar's territory

<sup>2</sup> Akharpur where there is a ford over the Narbadi, a few miles S. of Mandol

<sup>3</sup> Mandol, described later

<sup>4</sup> Joseph Salbank, the oldest servant the Company had in India "the almoner tre, he wrote to them "hath displayed his white blossoms upon my head ever since I was admitted into your service" Roe describes him as "a very playful wittol man, hardly fit to traueil and thrifty & for hauing bene often in the Country fit to receive some pension at home rather then wages abroad. He was one of the original subscribers upon the establishment of the Company and first went to India in the disastrous Fourth Voyage. With others of the crew of the shipwrecked *Ascend* he made his way to Agra where he started home overland in company with Covert. At Bagdad they heard that Sir Henry Middleton was in the Red Sea, whereupon

*December 18—5 Course* to Cytor,<sup>1</sup> an ancient cytty, ruined, on a hill, but so that it appeares a toombe of wonderfull magnificence Ther standes aboue 100 Churches all of Carued stone, many fayre towers and lanthornes Cutt thorough, many Pillars and innumerable houses , but no one inhabitant Ther is but one ascent to the hill, it beeing precipitious, sloping vp, Cutt out of the Rocke, having 4 gates in the ascent, before one arriue at the Citty gate, which is Magnificent. The hill is in compasse at the top about 8 *Course*, and at the S W end a goodly ould Castle I lodged by a poore village at the foote of the hill This Citty standes in the Country of one Ranna,<sup>2</sup> a Prince newly subdued by this King or rather bought to Confesse tribute. The Citty was woone by Ecbar-sha, father to this Mogull Ranna is rightly descended from Porus, that valient Indian ouercome by Alexander, soe that I take this Citty to haue been one of the ancient seates of Porus , though Dely, much farther N , bee reported to haue beene the Cheefest, famooues now only in ruynes<sup>3</sup> Neere that standes a pillar

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Salbank set out to join him On the road, however, he learned that Middleton was a prisoner in the hands of the Turks, and consequently determined to make for Socotra in the hope of finding some English shipping there , but he fell into the hands of the Portuguese, who carried him by way of Muscat and Ormus to Goa, and so to Lisbon, whence he returned to England. In 1613 he went out as cape merchant in the *Expedition* (Twelfth Voyage), and he had now come to India for the third time in the fleet which brought out Roe He was chiefly employed at Agra, where (as will be seen later) he ran considerable risks from the plague epidemic In 1618 he was employed as chief merchant in the voyage to the Red Sea, and was again sent thither in the following year He died some time before the end of 1624, for by January, 1625, his widow had married again

<sup>1</sup> Chitor, the ancient capital of Mewár, 270 miles S W of Agra and 30 miles N W of Nímach. After its capture by Akbar in 1568, its temples and palaces were dismantled and all symbols of regality taken away Udi Sing, the Mewar Ráná, retreated to Udaipur, and founded there a new capital.

<sup>2</sup> Umra Sing, Udi Sing's grandson He had been reduced to submission in 1613-14 by an army under Prince Khurram and Mahábat Khán Hawkins mentions him under the title of *Raga Rahana* (*The Hawkins' Voyages*, p 434)

<sup>3</sup> This refers, of course, to Firozábad (Old Delhi)

erected by Alexander the Conqueror with a gricke<sup>1</sup> inscription.<sup>2</sup> The Present Mogull and his Ancestors, descendants of Tamberlan, haue brought all the Ancient Cyttyes to ruine, having dispeopled them and forbidden reparation. I know not out of what reason vnlesse they would haue nothing remembered of greatness beyond theyr beginnings, as if theyr famely and the world were Cocualis.

*December 19.—12 Course*

*December 20.—10 Course*

*December 21.—10 Course*

*December 22.—9 Course* At noone Master Edwardes the Agent mett me, accompanied with the famous vnwearied walker Tho. Coryatt (who on foote had passed most of Europe and Asya, and was Now arriued in India, beeing but the beginning of his purposed trauellis)<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "Great" in *Purchas*.

<sup>2</sup> This statement may confidently be traced to Coryat. Terry (p. 81) repeats the story that Delhi was the seat of King Porus, who was defeated in the neighbourhood by Alexander and adds "I was told by Tom Coryate (who took special notice of this place) that he, being in the city of Dellee, observed a very great Pillar of Marble with a Greek inscription upon it, which time hath almost quite worn out, erected (as he supposed) there and then by Great Alexander to preserve the memory of that famous victory." Purchas, too (i, p. 592) gives a letter of Coryat's in which the same statement is made, except that the pillar is said to be of brass.

The reference is apparently to one or other of the famous Asoka monoliths of Delhi. One of these, called the Golden Ldt, stands amid the ruins of Firozshâd, immediately to the south of the modern city having been removed from its original site at Khizrshâd by Firoz Shâh in the middle of the fourteenth century. The other brought by the same monarch from Meerut, was placed by him in the courtyard of a *kushak shikar* (hunting-house) which he built on the well-known ridge to the west of the city. Both formed part of the long series of pillars erected by King Asoka from Kâbul to Orissa, and bear his famous Edicts, though to the Firozshâd pillar was added, in the twelfth century a further inscription in honour of Visala Deva (see *Delhi Gazetteer* p. 202 and Prinsep's *Indian Antiquities* i, p. 324).

Finch, an English factor who was in India some years before Coryat, mentions the second of these two monuments, and also a third Asoka pillar at Allahâbâd (*Purchas* i, p. 437).

<sup>3</sup> Coryat, the "Odcumbian leg-stretcher" will need no introduction to the reader. He appears to have arrived in Ajmere in June,

and some other Christians residents in Adsmere I lodged in the fields, Master Edwardes having sett vp his tents and prouided for mee

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1615, having made his way on foot from Aleppo to Agra, and thence to the Court. Wearing the costume and speaking the tongue of the natives, he had performed his ten months' journey at a cost of only fifty shillings. Chronicling Roe's arrival in India, he speaks of him as his "deare friend," but the ambassador, who was keenly sensitive to anything likely to lower English prestige, seems to have been little pleased to renew their acquaintance in such circumstances. He wrote, however, good-humouredly enough, to Lord Pembroke (14th February, 1615-16), of "Iohn Coryat whom the fates haue sent hither to ease mee, and now liues in my house. He came hether afoot, hath past by Constantinople, Jerusalem, Bethlem, Damascus, and breecfely thorough all the Turkes territory, scene euery Post and Pillar, obserued euery Tombe, visited the monuments of Troy, Persia, and this kings dominion, all afoote, with most vnwearied leggs, and is now for Samarcand in Iartarya to kisse Iamberlans Tombe, from thence to Susa, and to Prester Jhon in Ethiopia, wher he will see the Hill Amara, all afoote, and so foote it to Ocombe. His notes are already to great for Portage, some left at Aleppo, some at Hispan—enough to make any stationer an alderman that shall but scrue the Printer with Paper. And his exercise here or recreation is making or reapeating orations, Principally of my lady Hartford." Peyton, in his Journal, records that Coryat welcomed Roe to Ajmere in "a long, eloquent oration."

In September, 1616, when the English factory was about to be broken up, upon the intended departure of the Mogul, Coryat left for Agra. He had first, to Roe's annoyance, taken opportunity to address an oration (in Persian) to the Mogul, who threw him a hundred rupees. Reproved by the ambassador for this action, as tending "to the dishonour of our Nation, that one of our Countrey should present himselfe in that beggerly and poore fashion to the King, out of an insinuating humour, to craue money of him," Coryat answered (according to his own account) "in that stout and resolute manner that he was contented to cease nihling at me."

At a later date he rejoined the ambassador at Mandu, but in so weak a state of health that one day he fainted in Roe's presence, and was with difficulty brought to his senses. Refusing an invitation to remain awhile and rest, he set out for Surat, and managed to reach the English factory there in safety, though very ill with dysentery. But the hospitality of the factors, who plied him with sack, was too much for his enfeebled frame, and (says Ferry) "he overtook Death in the Month of December, 1617, and was buried under a little Monument like one of those are usually made in our Churchyards."

Ferry, who was for some time "either his Chamber-fellow or tent-mate," records several of Coryat's sayings and doings. On one occasion he undertook the task of silencing a brawling laundress, and by eight of the morning he had so out-talked her in her own language that "she had not one word more to speak." A more startling incident occurred one day at the time of evening prayer, when he mounted a high place and answered the *mu'ezzin* by a proclamation

*December 23.*—I arrived at Adasmere<sup>1</sup> (10 *Course*) coming in priuately in the euening beeing not able to sitt vpp From Brampore toward Adasmere, for 6 dayes my course was much westerly or NW to Compasse the hills, but after due North or so that the bearing from one another is next hand N by W and S. by 1.. The distance 209 *Courses* which I Judge about 418 Milles english the *Courses* beeing longer then toward the sea.

*December 24 30.*—I kept my bed and was not able to stirr but sent my excuses to the king

*December 31*—This night the king impatient of my delay and eager on his presents suspecting I was not so ill as I pretended sent a gentellman with a wyld hogg to mee for a Present, which hee kylld in hunting and Chardged him to see mee so that I was forced to admitt him Into my Chamber wher he saw my weaknes and gaue satisfaction to the king

*January 1 4, 1615 16.*—I began to recouer and sitt vp.

*January 5*—Master Edwardes departed for Suratt

*January 6-9.*—I prepared to see the king }

in the native tongue that Christ was the true prophet and Muhammad an impostor. Had it not been that "the English *fakir*" was universally regarded as mad, this prank might have had serious consequences. His inordinate vanity received a rude shock when Steel (of whom later) mentioned on his return from England that King James, bearing that Coryat was in India, had exclaimed "Is that fool yet living?" and he was equally annoyed when, upon his departure, Roe gave him, together with an order for 10<sup>l</sup> on the consul at Aleppo, a letter wherein he referred to the traveller as "a very honest poor wretch."

Some letters of Coryat's from India were published in 1616—extracts from them will be found in Purchas's first volume (p. 592), where certain notes of his, given to Purchas by Roe, are also printed.

<sup>1</sup> Ajmere, 230 miles S.W. of Delhi and 48 miles from Jaipur in the same direction, had been a favourite abode of Akbar who found it both a charming residence and a convenient centre for his operations in Rajputana. Jahāngir had made it his head-quarters during the war with the Udaipur Rānā, and had been there over two years at the date of Roe's arrival. Its situation is described as strikingly beautiful, surrounded as it is by well-wooded hills embowering a number of large lakes.

*January 10* — I went to Court at 4 in the evening to the *Durbar*,<sup>1</sup> which is the Place wher the Mogull sits out daylie, to entertayne strangers, to receiue petitions and presents, to giue Commandes, to see, and to bee seene To digresse a little from my reception, and declare the Customes of the Court, will enlighten the future discourse The king hath no man but Eunuchs that Comes within the lodgings or retyring roomes of his house His weomen watch within, and guard him with manly weapons They doe Justice on vpon another for offences He comes every Morning to a wyndow called the *Jarruco*<sup>2</sup> looking into a playne before his gate, and showes him selfe to the Common People At noone hee returns thither and sits some howers to see the fight of Eliphants and willd beasts, vnder him within a rayle attend the men of rancke, from whence hee retiers to sleepe among his woemen At after-noone he returnes to the *Durbar* before mentioned At 8 after supper he Comes downe to the *Gazelcan*,<sup>3</sup> a faire Court, wher in the middest is a Throune erected of free stone

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<sup>1</sup> In Mr Douglas's *Bombay and Western India* (i, p 305) is given a coloured drawing from an old painting at Jaipur which, in the author's opinion, represents the Emperor Jahāngīr giving audience to Sir Thomas Roe Such an interpretation, however, appears exceedingly doubtful, for the figure pointed out as Roe is not only very unlike him in appearance, but occupies quite a subordinate position in the picture Moreover, the costume and weapons are native, whereas we know from Terry (p 218) that Roe and his suite wore always English dress "For my Lord Ambassadors and his Company, we all kept to our English habits, made as light and coole as possibly we could have them, His wayters in Red Taffata cloakes, guarded with green Taffata, which they alwayes wore when they went abroad with him, myself in a long black Cassock" We must therefore take leave to doubt the correctness of the ascription, especially as no such claim was put forward when the picture was first brought to notice in the *Journal of Indian Art*, No 25 (1889)

<sup>2</sup> The *Jharukhdā*, or "interview-window," which Roe describes at greater length later The royal headquarters were at the fort, now called the Magazine, on the city side of which there is a window answering to Roe's description (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, ii, p 123)

<sup>3</sup> *Ghuzl-khdna*, "bath-room," hence "private apartment" (privy chamber)

wherein he sits, but some tymes below in a Chayre, to which are none admitted but of great qualitee and few of these without leaue, wher he discourses of all matters with much Affabilitie.<sup>1</sup> Ther is noe busines done with him Concerning the state, gouernment, disposition of warr or peace, but at one of these two last Places wher it is publiquely propounded and resolved, and soe registred<sup>2</sup> which if it were woorth the Curiosltie might bee seene for two shillings but the Common basse people knew as much as the Councell and the Newes euery day is the kings new resolutions tossed and censured by euery rascall. This Course is vnchangeable, except sicknes or drinck preuent yt which must be known for as all his Subjects

<sup>1</sup> Compare Terry's account (p. 389) —

"First, early in the morning at that very time the Sun begins to appear above the Horizon. He appears unto his people in a place very like unto one of our Balcones, made in his houses or Pavilions, for his morning appearance, directly opposite to the East, about seven or eight foot high from the ground; against which time a very great number of his people, especially of the greater sort, who desire as often as they can to appear in his eye, assemble there together, to give him the *Salam* or good morning crying all out, as soon as they see their King with a loud voice, *Padsha Salamet*, which signifies, *Live O great King* or *O great King health and life*. At noon he shows himself in another place like the former on the South side and a little before Sun set, in a like place on the West side of his house or Tent but as soon as the Sun forsakes the Hemisphere he leaves his people, ushered in and out with Drums and Winde instruments, and the peoples acclamations. And between seven and nine of the clock at night, he sits within his House or Tent more privately, in a spacious place called his *Gosalcen*, or bathing house, made bright like day by abundance of lights; and here the King sits mounted upon a stately Throne; where his Nobles, and such as are favoured by him, stand about him; others find admittance to, but by special leave from his Guard, who cause every one that enters that place to breath upon them, and if they imagine that any have drunk wine, they keep him out."

"At this time my Lord Ambassadors made his usual addresses to him, and I often waited on him thither and it was a good time to do business with that King who then was for the most part very pleasant, and full of talk unto those who were round him, and so continued till he fell asleep (oft times by drinking), and then all assembled immediately quitted the place, besides those who were his trusted servants, who by turns watched his Person.

<sup>2</sup> See Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari* i, p. 258.



are slaues, so is he in a kynd of reciprocall bondage, for he is tyed to obserue these howres and Customes so precisely that if hee were vnscene one day and noe sufficient reason rendred the people would mutinie, two dayes noe reason can excuse, but that he must consent to open his doores and bee scene by some to satisfye others<sup>1</sup> On Tuesday at the *Jarruco* he sits in Judgment, neuer refusing the poorest mans Complaynt, where hee heares with Patience both parts and some tymes sees with too much delight in blood the execution done by his Eliphants *Illi meruere sed quid tu ut adesses?*<sup>2</sup>

At the *Durbar* I was led right before him, at the entrance of an outward rayle, where mett mee two Principall Noble slaues to conduct mee nearer I had required before my going leaue to vse the Customes of my Country, which was freely granted, soe that I would performe them Punctually When I entred within the first rayle I made a reuerance, entering in the inward rayle a Nother, and when I came vnder the king a theird The Place is a great Court, whither resort all sorts of people The king sits in a little Gallei ouer head, Ambassadors, the great men and strangers of qualety within the inmost rayle vnder him, raysed from the ground, Couered with Canopies of veluet and silke, vnder foote layd with good Carpetts, the Meaner men representing gentry within the first rayle, the people without in a base Court, but soe that all may see the king This sitting out hath soe much affinitye with a Theatre—the manner of the king in his gallery, The great men lifted on a stage as actors, the vulgar below gazing on—that an easy description will informe of the place and

<sup>1</sup> Cp *Bernier's Travels* (Constable's edn), pp 265-6 An admirable description of the Mogul court and system of government will be found in Mr Stanley Lane-Pool's *Life of Aurangzib*

<sup>2</sup> This may be freely rendered "Doubtless they have merited their punishment, but why should you be present?"

fashion The king prevented my dull enterpreter, bidding me welcome as to the brother of my Master I deliuered his Majesties lettre translated, and after my Commission wheron hee looked Curiously, after my presents which were well receiued. He asked some questions and with a seeming Care of my health offering me his Phisitions and aduising mee to keepe my house tiil I had recouered strength and if In the interim I needed anything I should freely send to him and obteyne my desiers. He dismissed me with more fauour and outward grace (if by the Christians I were not flattered) then euer was showed to any Ambassador eyther of the Turke or Persian or other whatsoeuer<sup>1</sup>

*January 12.*—Hee sent a gentellman for my Commission to show his queene the scale, which he kept one night and returned yt with such care that the bringer durst not deliuer it but to my owne handes.<sup>2</sup>

*January 14.*—I sent to the Prince Sultan Coronne his third sonne by byrth but first in fauour that I determined to visitt him not doubting he would vse me with due respect for I was enformed he was enemy to ali Christians and therfore feared some affront. He answered I should be welcome, and receiue the same Content I had from his father Hee is lord of Suratt, our cheefe residence, and his fauour important for us.

*January 15 21*—These dayes I stirred not abroad the

<sup>1</sup> Some additional details of Roe's presentation will be found in his letters on pp. 110 and 118. His commission and King James's letter are printed in Appendix II.

<sup>2</sup> This incident (omitted by Purchas) is significant. Probably Núr Mahál had expressed a doubt whether Roe were really a properly accredited ambassador or (like his predecessors) a mere emissary of the merchants.

It is scarcely necessary to recall the romantic story of Núr Mahál (better known by her later title of Nur Jahán)—her marriage to Shír Afgan, his assassination, and her subsequent union with the emperor who had already been attracted to her before her first marriage. At this period her influence over her husband was so unbounded that she practically ruled the empire, and Roe soon found out the error he had made in not seeking to conciliate her and her partisans.

king and Prince beeing often a hunting, from whom I receiued two wild hoggs, part of their quarry

TO LORD CAREW<sup>1</sup>

Asniere, the Court of the Mogull,  
January 17, 1615 [-16]

My Lord,

Only for promise, which is an honest debt, I send your Lordship a Iournall till my arriuall at Brampore, a Citie of houses made of mudde, where one of the Kings sonnes keepeth his Court He is called Perueys I had need to write an Apologie for it, there being nothing of worth, nothing memorable, and yet not my fault, but I had rather trust your Noblenesse, then trouble you with excuses, and so descend to a more vniuersall description of the state and customes of the Land

They haue no written Law The King by his owne word ruleth, and his Gouvernours of Prouinces by that authoritie

Once a week he sitteth in iudgement patiently, and giueth sentence for crimes Capitall and Ciuill He is euery mans heire when he dyeth, which maketh him rich, and the Countrey so euill builded The great men about him are not borne Noble, but Fauourites raised, to whom hee giueth (if it be true) wonderfull meanes They are reckoned by Horses, that is to say, Coronels of twelue thousand Horses, which is the greatest (whereof are foure, besides his sonnes and wife) so descending to twentie Horses Not that any of these are bound to keepe or raise any at all, but the King assigneth them so much land as is bound to maintaine so many Horses as a rent, each horse at fise and twentie pounds sterling by the yeere, which is an incredible Reuenue guen away, so many (that is, almost all but the Ploughmen, Artificers, and Tradesmen in Townes) liuing vpon it But as they die, and must needs gather, so it returneth to the King like Riuers to the sea, both of those he gave to, and of those that haue gained by their owne industry But for the most part he leaueth the widowes and children their horses, stuffe, and some other stocke, and then putteth them into a Signiory, if the fathers were of sixe or seuen thousand horses, perhaps of a thousand or fise

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<sup>1</sup> This letter is not in the MS, and consequently is here printed from Purchas's work (1, p 581), where it is introduced with a note that it was found "amongst Master Hakluyt his Papers" Purchas purposely omits the name of the person to whom it was addressed, but that this was Lord Carew is evident from the latter's reply (see *Letters of Lord Carew*, edited by J Maclean for the Camden Society, p 27) Carew also mentions the receipt of a letter from Roe dated at the Cape, and another which, together with a further portion of Roe's journal, reached him on the 28th September, 1617 (*Ibid*, pp 27, 122)

hundred, and so setteth them to begin the world anew, and aduanceth them as they deserue of him. They all rise by presenting him, which they strue to doe both richly and rarely, some giuing a hundred thousand pounds in iewels at a time.

He hath one beloued wife among foure, that wholly gouerneth him. He receiued lately a Present from the King of Bixampore,<sup>1</sup> to obtaine peace (whose Ambassadour knocked his head three times against the ground) of six and thirtie Elephants, of two whereof the chaines and all tackles were of beaten Gold, to the weight of foure hundred pounds, two of silver of the same fashion, the rest of copper, fiftie Horses richly furnished, and ten *Leckes* of *Rupias* in Iewels, great Pearles, and Balasse Robies. Euene *Lecke* is an hundred thousand *Rupias* euery *Rupia* two shillings six pence sterling;<sup>2</sup> so tenne *Leckes* is a Million of *Rupias*.

His Territone is farre greater then the Persians, and almost equall if not as great as, the Turkes. His meanes of money, by reuennue, custome of Presents, and inheriting all mens gooda, aboue both. His Countrey lyeth West to Sinde, and so stretcheth to Candahar and to the Mountaines of Taurus North to the East as farre as the vtmost parts of Bengala, and the borders of Ganges, and South to Decan. It is two thousand miles square at the least, but hath many pettie Kings within, that are Tributaries.

The true descended heire of Porus, that was overcome by Alexander called Ranna, is lately conquered, more by composition then force, the King hauing rather bought him then wonne him, and hereby no way augmented his Reuennue, but giuen a great Pension to him.<sup>3</sup> His Countrey I crossed, betweene this Towne of Asmere and Brampore, Cetor hauing beene anciently the chiefe Towne, and surely standing on an hill, steepe as a Rocke, some fiftene miles about, that is all walled, the Citie within but with one ascent, and five admirable gates in the ascent, all ruined and on person dwelling. But there stand an hundred *Muschees*,<sup>4</sup> many Lanternes, and such reuerend and braue Reliques of Imagerie and carued workes, that few or hardly any where can be equalled. In generall, all the old Cities are beaten downe, by what policie I vnderstand not, but the King seeketh the ruine of any thing not begunne by his Ancestors, so that all the Land hath not an house fit for a Cottager, but in such Cities

<sup>1</sup> B[is]p[er] Roe evidently had this account from Coryat, who was an eye-witness, and describes the reception of the embassy in a letter dated Michaelmas, 1615 (*Purchas*, i, p. 595). He speaks of thirty-one elephants, and says the *whole present* was worth "ten of their Leakes, as they call them."

<sup>2</sup> "Some say two shillings, some two shillings three pence."—Note by Purchas.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 102.

<sup>4</sup> Hindu temples, he should say not mosques.

as hee fauoureth Surat is best builded of any, and in old time they in these parts made mightie workes, which euery day decay At Surat there is a Tanke for water of free-stone, in a polygon forme, of aboue an hundred sides, euery side eight and twenty yards, it hath staires on euery side for men to descend, and many stopes [slopes?] for horses It is a wonderous worke, both for the hugeness and for the braue building<sup>1</sup>

I haue now on the Court to touch, and mine entertainment The King neuer vsed any Ambassadour with so much respect, without any dispute giuing mee leaue to vse mine owne customes, not requiring that of me, which he vseth of the Persian He presented [preuented?] me with a welcome before I spake, and said the King and he were brothers, with many other courteous words I hauing bin sicke, he offered me Physitians He tooke the Presents in good part, and was so fond of the Coach, that at night in his Court he got into it, and made two or three of my men draw him a little in it He is very affable, and of a cheerefull countenance, without pride Three times a day hee sitteth out in three places once, to see his Elephants and beasts fight, about noone, after, from foure to fise or sixe, to entertaine all that visit him, at night, from nine till mid night, with all his great men, but none else, where he is below with them, in all familiaritie I visited him in the second of these, where I found him in a Court, set aboue like a King in a Play, and all his Nobles and my selfe below on a stage couered with carpets—a iust Theater, with no great state, but the Canopies ouer his head, and two standing on the heads of two wooden Elephants, to beat away flies They weare nothing but Calicoes, but are euer attendant

The great men ride in Traines, some two hundred, some fise hundred, Foot-men following them, and foure or fise Banners carried before them, and an hundred or two hundred Horses after them This is all their pride They keepe their Horses most delicately, fed with Butter<sup>2</sup> and Sugar, and though they be not very great, yet they are of delicate shape, both of Persia, Arabs, and of this Land

I haue one Obseruation more to make of the falsenesse of our maps, both of Mercator and all others, and their ignorance in this Countrey First, the famous Riuier Indus doth not empte himselfe into the Sea at Cambaya as his chiefe mouth, but at

<sup>1</sup> The celebrated Gopi-tal-fo, or Gopi-pond, so called from the name of the person at whose expense it was formed It has long been dry, and is now used as a garden A full description of it will be found in *The Travels of Della Valle*, i, p 33 (Hakluyt Soc ed), see also Fryer, Mandelslo, Hamilton, and the *Surat Gazetteer* (p 312)

<sup>2</sup> *Ghi* (see Blochmann's *Shin-i-Akbari*, i, p 134)

Sinde.<sup>1</sup> My reason is Lahor stands vpon Indus, from whence to Sinde it is nauigable, to Cambaya not so. Lahor in the maps is also falsely set downe, it lying North from Surat aboue a thousand miles. The Citie where the Kings ordinarie residence is, Agra, not described at all but it standeth North North-east from Surat on a Riuer that falls into Canges. But the King now resideth in a base old Citie, wherein is no house but of mudde, not so great as a Cottage on Hownslo-heath, only himselfe hath one of stone. His Lords liue in Tents, and I haue suddenly built to my mudde wals, vpon canes, a doozen thatched roomes. This Towne is short of Agra ten daies iourney, two hundred miles, which standeth from hence North North-east. This place is from Bramport North foure hundred and fiftie miles, Bramport from Surat East aboue two hundred miles. The latitude neere fife and twentie degrees.<sup>2</sup>

Thus, my Lord, I haue said some-what, but to little purpose. I forget not some Bookes for you but Load-stones heere are none. They are in the farre East Countries. Neither is there any correspondence with China.<sup>3</sup> To Persia, and so to Aleppo, there goe carauans, to Cathaya none.

Heere is no newes but of Persia. The King hath taken away water and reliefe from Ormus, and banished the Portugals his Territories.<sup>4</sup> He hath lately ouer runne the poore Georgians with fire and sword and, being of an vnquiet nature, intendeth the conquest of the Vzbiques,<sup>5</sup> a Nation between Samarchand and him, which he aymes at. He lately stricke off his sonnes head with his owne hand.<sup>6</sup> Hee is fauoured and feared of the Mogoll, as being Lord of the more warlike Nation, for these are more then halfe *Bramanes*, whose Religion is not to kill a Louse byting them, and the Mogolls are an effeminate people. So that the Turke the last yeere sending on Ambassage to entreate him not to assaile the Persian, hee gaue him very harsh entertainment, made him *Salem* to the ground, and, as soone as he was dismissed, sent the Persian ten *Leckes of Raptas*.

I shall be glad to doe your Lordship seruice in England for this is the dallest, basest place that euer I saw and maketh me weary of speaking of it. Therefore if you be also weary of read-

<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 96 and 122. Della Valle points out the same error (*Travels*, Hakluyt Soc. ed. I p. 63).

<sup>2</sup> These distances should be Agra to Ajmere, 227 miles. Ajmere to Burhānpur 440 miles; and Burhānpur to Surat (see note on p. 89), 237 miles. The true latitude of Ajmere is 26° 27' 10" N.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 97. <sup>4</sup> See p. 129. <sup>5</sup> The Uzbek Tartars. <sup>6</sup> Prince Miran, the Shah's eldest son. When Jahāngir received the Persian envoy (as described later), he inquired the reason for this act. The ambassador excused it on the ground that unless he had been thus prevented, the prince would certainly have slain his father (see the *Tizak-i-Jahāngiri*).

ing, I am glad I shall desire your Lordship to let Master Hackwell<sup>1</sup> read the Journall, for I promised him one, but I had not leasure to write it

And so, with all respect and little Ceremonie, I hope to returne to doe you better seruices In the meane time to liue a miserable life, though with abundance and state enough, yet I want the conuersation and presence of those friends I loue and honour In which number your Lordship hath made me presume to esteeme you, and to account my selfe

Your Lordships humble friend, to doe you seruice,

THOMAS ROE

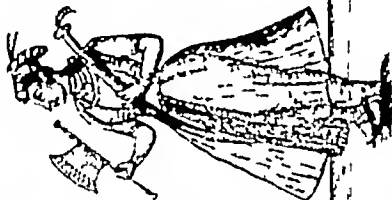
*January 22*—I visited the Prince, who at 9 in the Morning sits out in the same manner as his father, to dispatch his busines and to be seene of his followers He is Proud Naturally, and I feard my entertaynment But on some occasion he not resolving to come out, when he heard of my arriual, sent a Principall Officer to meete mee, who conducted mee into a good Roome (neuer before done to any), and entertayning me with discourse of our own bussines halfe an hower vntill the Prince was ready, who came abroad on purpose and vsed me better then his promise. I deliuered him a Present, such as I had, but not in the name of his Majestie, it beeing too meane, but excused it that the king could not take knowledge of his beeing lord of Suratt so lately conferred on him, but hereafter I doubted not his Majestie would send to him according to his woorth this was the respect of the Merchants, who humbly recommended themselues to his fauour and protection He receiued all in very good part, and after opening of some greauances and Iniuries suffered at Suratt by vs from his Gouvernors, of which, for respect to him, I had forborne to Complayne to the king off, He promised mee speedy and effectuall Justice, and to confirme our securytye by any propositions I should

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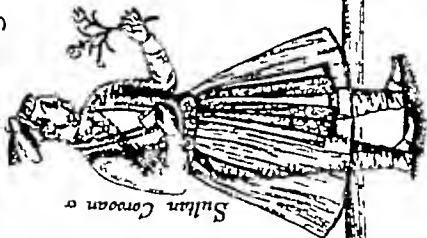
<sup>1</sup> William Hakewill (1574-1655), the legal antiquary Carew (*Letters to Roe*, pp 106, 107) refers to him as "your oldl acquaintance Mr Hackwell, the lawyer," and mentions his having married a niece of Bacon.

Pictures out of the Indian Copies made by the Mogols painter

Selim Shah the Great Mogoll



his woman Slave



Sultan Corvoan

لا اله الا الله محمد رسول الله

JAHANGIR AND PRINCE KHURRAM  
(from *Purchas His Pilgrimes*)





offer professing to be ignorant of anything past but what hee had received by Asaph Khan<sup>1</sup> deliuered by mee especially of any Command to dismisse us<sup>2</sup> which the Gouvernor had falsly Coyned and for which he should dearly answer. Soe he dismissed mee full of hope to rectifye the decayed estate of our reputation with promise of a *firmān* for Suratt effectually.

January 24.—I went to the *Darbar* to visit the King, who seeing mee afarr off beckned with his hand giuing signe I should not staye the Cerimony of Asking leave but Come vp to him where hee appoynted me a place aboue all other men which I after thought fitt to myn tayne.<sup>3</sup> I gaue him a small present<sup>4</sup> it beeing the Custome when any body hath busines to giue somewhat, and those that cannot come neare to speake send in or hould up their giift, which hee excepts, bee it but a *misfir* and demands their bussines. The same course hee held with

<sup>1</sup> Mirza Abul Hasan, better known by his title of Asaf Khān. He held a strong position at court, as son of the prime minister elder brother of Nur Mahāl, and father of Prince Khurram, favourite wife, Mumtāz Mahāl. When the prince came to the throne as Shāh Jahān, Asaf Khān was advanced to high dignities; and he died (November 1641) in possession of great wealth. His eldest son was Shāhin Khān, who, as Governor of Bengal came into collision with the English settlers at Hugli.

<sup>2</sup> See pp. 74, 79. After Roe's departure the Governor had forced the General and others to give an undertaking in writing "for clearing the Cuntry after the expiration of one yeare to come sayeing it was the great Mogolls pleasure to be soe ordred; yett not anye wayes denying vs free trade, but enioyned vs not to make any residence of aboad longer then our shippes were there (Peyton's Journal, f. 34).

<sup>3</sup> The exact position of each dignitary was minutely regulated (See *Alm-i Akbari* i, p. 160).

<sup>4</sup> A "clock and two other trifles" (*Letter to E I Co* January 25 1615 16; reproduced in part at p. 118).

None of the presents given to the Mogul by Roe from time to time has been traced in after years. Mr Keene, in 1874 exhibited to the Archaeological Society of Agra an English striking watch, found in a well in the Fort there, which from its date (1614) he considered was probably one of the novelties brought by Roe for the emperor; but this though not impossible, is only a conjecture.

mee. Having looked Curiously and asked many questions of my present, he demanded what I required of him I answered Justice That, on the assurance of his Majesties *Firmaen* sent into England, the king my Master had not only giuen leaue to many of his subjects to come a dangerous voyadge with their goodes, but had sent mee to Congratulate the amytie so happely begunne betweene two soe mighty Nations, and to Confirme the same But that I found the English seated at Amadauas<sup>1</sup> enjured by the Gouvernor in their Persons and goodes, fined, exacted upon, & kept as prisoners that at euerie Towne new Customes were taken of our goodes passing to the Port, contrarie to all Iustice and the former Articles of trade<sup>2</sup> To which hee answered hee was sorry, it should be amended, and presently gaue order for two *firmanes* very effectually according to my desire to be signed, one to the Gouvernor of Amadavaz to restore mony exacted from Master Kerridge,<sup>3</sup> and to vse the English with all fauour The

<sup>1</sup> Ahmadábád

<sup>2</sup> Roe had consulted Asaf Khán, who had "encouraged him to complayne," that particular city "beeing absolute under the King "

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Kerridge, who in the following month (February 18, 1616) was chosen agent at Surat in succession to Aldworth He had gone out with Best in 1612, and had spent some time at the Mogul court after the death of Canning On Edwards' arrival, Kerridge moved down to Ahmadábád to provide indigo for the lading of the fleet. His letters from that city, and later from Surat, will be found in Brit. Mus *Addl MS* 9366 As will be seen, his imperious temper led to much friction between him and Roe, and though the latter acknowledged his opponent to be "quick and sufficient," he held that he had "too much heate and opinion of abilitie "

Kerridge was back in England by June, 1622, but in January, 1624, he was reappointed agent at Surat. He reached his post in October, and remained until 1628 After his return he was elected a "Committee" of the Company, and served almost continually till 1648 In 1646 he was nominated for the post of Deputy-Governor, but was not elected In 1654-55 he took part in the management of the United Joint Stock, and this is the last trace we have of him

The wrongs complained of in the text are detailed in Kerridge's letters mentioned above At Ahmadábád, a dispute with a native merchant over some indigo led to their broker being beaten and imprisoned Kerridge himself was beaten, and in addition was

other to release all Customes required on any pretence on the way or If any had beene taken to repay it, of his owne accord wishing mee that if these gave not speedy remedy I should renew my Complaynt against the disobeyour and hee should be sent for to answere there And soe hee dismissed mee.

January 25 30—I Made my dispatches for England and wrote earnestly to the factory at Suratt for a Particular of the Governours debts exactions and Injuries<sup>1</sup> and solicited the *firmans* Promised of which the Prince sent by his officers one for Suratt but withall Articles for mee to signe very dishonorable wherein among others It was required that I should firme a Peace and safe Conduct to the Portugalles shippes and frigotts to Come safely to Suratt without any accord promise or Counter securitye of Peace on their Partes which I utterly refused but made offer that for the Princes sake I was Content to give the Viceroi of Goa 6 Monthes liberty to enter into league and to open the Portes But the present writing was required to be sealed whereby besides the folly and dishonor they might vnder coullor of Friendship haue rode amonge our flecte with boates laden with fire woorkes to haue taken aduantage. So as I absolutely rejected the Motion, I was answered I should then haue no *firmam* for Suratt. Soe it rested two dayes. I supposinge the fault only in the Princes officers, sent to Asaph Chan to complayne of the vnequallle demandes of Sultan Carronne and that the *firmam* promised beeing sealed was deteyned from mee, Contrarye to all the Prinnces faire woordes and

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fined on the pretext that he had defrauded the governor of the estate of Aldworth, who was alleged to have died in the town and to have been carried forth by the English to escape the confiscation of his goods. When the English merchandise was ready to start for Surat the governor demanded four per cent. duty though at last he accepted one and a half per cent., and a bribe of a hundred rupees.

<sup>1</sup> This had been asked for by the Prince at the late interview

his owne assurances of the Iustice ; but instead of releefe I found Asaph Chan the author of this deuice and an earnest disputer for the reasonableness therof, and soe returned me a round answer, that vnlesse I would signe the one I should not haue the other This awaked me I saw now the faction, but was irresolute what to doe Asaph Chan was a broken reede, the Prince gouerned by him, the King was my only refuge, from whom I was sure of Iustice if I Complaynd, but I feard I should drawe vpon me the hate of Normall the beloued queene, Ante to Sultan corrons wife, sister of Asaph Chan, whose daughter the Prince married, and all that Powerfull faction, against whom, though I might once preuayle, yet the aduantage of tyme, language, and oportunitye, the Power of a wife, a sonne, and a fauorite, would produce reuenge Soe that I resolved to temporize, and to see if I could remoue Asaph Chan from his opinion, and then all would follow, if not, to take a desperate remedy, when I saw all other wayes were desperat

TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

(I O Records O C, No 335<sup>1</sup>)

Adsmere, 25 January, 1615 [-16]

By the 10th of January I recouered so much strength as to sitt on a horse, and, having demanded leaue, presented myself to the King After many Complements, I vsd some woordes to him, deliuering his Majesties lettre and showing my Commission, the Coppy wherof (I meane the lettre) I then alsoe deliuered in Persian, after that, your presents He sitting in his state could not well descerne the Coach, but sent many to see yt, and Caused the Musitian to play on the Virginnalls there, which gaue him good Content<sup>2</sup> At night, hee having stayd the

<sup>1</sup> There is a copy of this letter in *Addl MS* 6115, f 70, and it has been printed (in part) in Churchill's *Collection*, vol 1 The necessity of economising space has led to the omission, in this and the succeeding letters, of particulars already related in the journal, etc.

<sup>2</sup> Of the coach and coachman, see the entry under Nov 2, 1616 The musician was a Thomas Armstrong The Mogul soon got tired of him, and dismissed him with a present of 96 rupees With this he made his way down to Surat, and there obtained permission to embark in Pepwell's fleet for Bantam (*O C*, Nos 423 and 445)

Coachman and Musitian, he came downe into a Court, gott into the Coach, into euery Corner and causd it to be drawne about by them. Then he sent to me, though 10 a clock at night, for a seruant to tye on his scarfe and swoorde<sup>1</sup> the english fashion, in which he tooke so great pryde that he marched vp and downe, draweing yt and flourishing, and since hath neuer beene seene without yt. So that in conclusion he accepted your presents well, but after the English were come away he asked the Iesuyte whether the King of England were a great King that sent presents of so small valewe, and that he looked for some Jewells. To this purpose was I often felt by some, before I sawe him, whither I had brought Jewells or no. But raretyes please as well, and if you were furnished yearly from Francford, wher are all knacks and new deuises, 100 *li* would goe farther then 500 *li* layd out in England, and here better acceptable. Ther is nothing more welcome here, nor euer saw I man soe enamord of drinke as both the King and Prince are of redd wyne, wherof the Governour of Suratt sent vp some pottle. Euer since, the King hath sollicitd for more. I thinck 4 or 5 handsome cases of that wyne wilbe more welcome than the richest Iewell in Cheapesyde. Pictures, lardge, on cloth, the frames in peeces but they must be good, and for varyetye some story with many faces, for single to the life hath beene more vsuall. If the Queene must be presented (which I will not adulse too and doe purpose, as well out of necessitye as Iudgment, to breake this Custome of daylye bribing) fine needle woorke toyes, sayre bone lace, cuttworke, and some handsome wrought wastcote, sweetbagges or Cabinetta, wilbe most Convenient. I would add any faire China Bedsteeds, or cabinetes or trunks of Japan are here rich presentes. Lately the King of Bixampore sent his Ambassador with 36 Elephanes, two with all their chaines of wrought beaten gould, 2 of siluer the rest Brasse, and 40 rich furnished horses, with Jewells to the valew of 10 *lacks of rupies* yet withall he sent China ware and one figure of christall, which the King accepted more then that masse of wealth.<sup>2</sup>

This place is either made, or of itselfe vsfitt for an ambassador.<sup>3</sup> I speak against myself, but I will enforme truth,

<sup>1</sup> These were Roe's own property substituted by him for some scarlet cloth which he judged unfit to be presented. The sword, says Salbank, in a letter to the Company (*O C.*, No. 568), "did yeeld such surpassing Content vnto him that for a month or more scarce did he Come to any pvtlyve shewe without the sword hard by him."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 111

<sup>3</sup> Roe was already anxious to return. Writing to Smythe (*Add MS* 6115, f. 69) at this time, he begged him to arrange for his return in 1617 or 1618, "this Cuntry neyther promising profit nor agreeing with my disposition of mynd or body. I haue had seven could Agues [and] two feuers since my beeing at Bramport."

For though they vnderstand the qualetye, yet they haue much adoe to vnderstand the priuiledges which that qualetye with vs doth require, the rather because they haue euer beene sought too humbly and they expect as much of mee

TO THE KINGS MAJESTIE

(*Addl MS 6115, f 76*)

29 January, 1615 [-16]

May it please your Majestie,

That I haue the Honor to be calld your Majesties Ambassador me thinckes requires out of the nature of the Place, at least embouldens mee, to send your Majestie these humble lines, otherwise the importance of what I can write is not woorth one the least pause or interruption of your maiesties higher meditations To relate the Customes of this Cuntry, the state of the Court or their gouernment, were fitter to beguile the wearines of the way (like a tale) at your Majesties stirrop then for a discourse in earnest I ame hath done much for the Glory of this place Yet it cannot be denyed that this King is one of the mightiest Princes in Asia, as well in extent of territory as in renew, equall to the Turke, far exceeding the Persian But the Gouerment so vncertayne, without written law, without Policye, the Customes mingled with barbarisme, religions infinite, the buildings of mudd (except the Kings howses and some few others) that eauen this greatnes and wealth that I admired in England (reseruing due reuerence to the Persons of Kyngs) is here, wher I see yt, almost contemptible, and turnes myne eyes with infinite longings to see your Maiesties face and happines<sup>1</sup>

The trade here will doubtlesse in tyme bee very profitable for your Maiesties Kingdomes, and may vent much cloth, but as yet our condition and vsadge is so bad (notwithstandinge fayre woordes) that will require much patience to suffer, much Industry to sett vpright

They feare the Portugall, they feare vs, and between both patch vp a frendship, but in hart (if we were of force) more vnsound to them then vs

The Portugall professing here himselfe enemy to your Maiesties subiecis, speaking vnreverently and falsly of your Maiesties estate and greatnes with many bragging insolencies, having twice with a great *Armado* assaulted vs and by Gods assistance repulst, and beeing twice well beaten, hath so lessened his reputation (which was his strength) that his vtter ruine were an easy worke

The Dutch hath planted below Goa, the seat of the viceroy, and beaten him in late sea fights, and dayly wynns ground vpon him, and our trade hath soe deminished his returns that not halfe

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<sup>1</sup> The description of Roe's reception is omitted, as it contains nothing fresh

the Gallions that were vsually laden in these parts are sett out and those doe little more then defray chardge.

The King of Persia hath distressed Ormus that the Portugalls are retired to the Castle, which is in great want, all release from the mayne beeing taken away and the residents in his whole domnion (of that nation) banished.<sup>1</sup> Doubtlesse hee would putt it into the hands of the English, for his want of shipping.

They are in all this quarter in theyr wane, and night, while they are swimming for life easily be suneke a matter of great consequence, as well to abate their Pride of the Spanish empire as to Cutt off one master vayne of their wealth. And it hath beene observed *malum omen* when any kingdome having risen suddenly to an vnwildy height, that one eminent limme, like a Pinnacle of a tower hath fallen off.

If your Majestie were pleased to grant by your gracious commissions leaue for the East Indya Company to assault as well as defend only<sup>2</sup> (it beeing the nobler part of a warr to which we are bound whensoever the enemy is stronge) it would strike such a terror and giue such reputation to our cause as would almost decide the contention for this trade at once, and stopp theyr mouthes from bragging that, for offending the King of Spayne, we dare not assayle, only we defend ourselves, which every living would doe.<sup>3</sup>

Doubting much exclamation hath come to your Majesties eares that the Company transports great summes, aboue their licence, to doe your Majestie service by enforming truth if it had beene so, or to free them if falsly accused, I have searched the invoice of every ship and do deliuer it, on that credit which I had rather dye then abuse to your Majestie, that this fleete had but 43572 royalls sterling mony (somewhat aboue 10000/),<sup>4</sup> beeing not a thierd of the Cloth and other goodes.

The Persian King hath lately with fire and swoord wasted and subdued the poore free Georgian Christians, and with his owne Arme strooke off his eldest sonnes head. Reuenge is like to follow the Turke preparing to enter his Country with terrible hostilitye by the way of Bagdatt.

If your Majestie but pardon my presumption and errors, which

<sup>1</sup> See p. 129.

<sup>2</sup> See Roe's commission in Appendix B, which commanded closely in this respect the royal commissions issued to the commanders of the Company's fleets.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 99.

<sup>4</sup> The outcry against the Company's exportation of coin is familiar to students of seventeenth-century economics. By their current charter (1609) 30,000*l.*, might be exported in each fleet, to be replaced by the importation of an equal amount within six months of the return of the ships. In a subsequent grant (11th July, 1616) the rate at which the piece of eight was to be reckoned for this purpose was fixed at four shillings (*First Letter-book of the East India Co.* p. 489).



will vanish before the brightnes of your wisdom, I am acquitted of the fault, because I haue spoken with sincerity, though perhaps without Judgment

I humbly desire your Majestie to beleefe I would despise 100 lifes to your humble seruice, which seeing my Pilgrimage interrupts, I will in my dayly vowes and meditations to Almighty God supplicat a long, glorious and happy raygne among your subjects, and that, having fullfild much tyme, you may reigne for euer in the Kingdom of Eternitye

Your Majesties most loyall subject  
and humble seruant,

THO ROE

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF CANTERBURY<sup>1</sup>

(Addl MS 6115, f 74)

Adsmere, 29 January, 1615 [-16]

May it please your Grace,

Places farr remote, having somewhat of woonder in the distance, cause much expectation in themselues of strange matter among the vulgar, such as I supposing they should haue subject of woorthy and lardge discourse But these are vnlike the Starres, that seeme lesse the farther off Heere the remotenes is the greatnes, and to mainteyne the ancyent priueledge of trauellers, they haue beene so farre Alchymists as Multiplication, some ground, some spintt, to quicken the body of their monstrous relations

Wher I shall begin, what I shall say woorthy one of your Graces vacanyes from great Affayres, I know not. To vndertake a Cosmographically description were a labor not vnwoorthy of tyme, but not proportionall to a lettre, Ortelius, Mercator, Atlas, nor any vnderstanding any truth herein Yet for the maynnes of the error, I will obserue that the famous riuier Indus doth not powre himselfe into the Sea by the bay of Cambaya, but far westward, at Sindu<sup>2</sup> For from Lahor, standing a thousand myle North, into the Mayne vpon Indus, it is nauigable to Syndu, to Cambaya not, but certayne bye-streames begotten by the seasons of rayne

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Purchas in his first volume, p 582, but with an incorrect date (27th Jan), and without any indication of the person to whom it was addressed Much of it has been omitted here, as repeating what has already been said in the letters to Carew and others Abbot's reply, dated 20th Jan, 1616-17, is among the State Papers at the Record Office It will be remembered that the Archbishop was brother to Sir Maurice Abbot, the Deputy-Governor of the Company and a friend of Roe

<sup>2</sup> Diul-Sindu, or Láríbandar, at the mouth of the Indus, on its E side The original seaport of the delta was Debal or Dewal, which is believed to have stood upon or near the site of modern Karáchí This was reduced to ruins by a Muhammadan invasion, and another town, bearing

make mightie invndations, which have cherished the error. All the rest is as false both in bearing distance, longitude and latitude as that, but the correction heere incomprehensible. The true latitude of this place five and twentie degrees and a halfe.<sup>1</sup>

A description of the land customes, and manners, with other accidents, are fitter for wynter nightes. They are eyther ordinary or mingled with much barbarisme.

Lawes they haue none written. The Kynge's judgment byndes, Who sits and giues sentence with much patience, once weakly, both in Capitall and Criminall causes wher sometymes he sees the execution done by his Eliphants, with two much delight in blood.

His Governours of Prouinces rule by his *Firmans* which is a breefe lettre authorising them. They take life and goodes at pleasure.

Many religions, and in them many Sects, *Mooris* or *Mahumetans* adhering to Aly<sup>2</sup> (such is the King) *Banians* or *Pythagorians* for the transmigration (and therefore will not kyll the Vermeyne

the same name, was built on a spot further to the east (M Murda, in *Journal R.A.S.*, 1, p. 29). To the Portuguese this became known as Diul-Sind, *i.e.* the Diul of Sind, to distinguish it from their other settlement of Diu in Kathiāwār. The English, who first heard of it in 1612-13, called it sometimes Diulesinde or Sindee, but more often Laree, Lowribunder or some other variant of the usual native name. As the port of Tatta, Lārbandar was in Roe's time a place of considerable trade but changes in the Indus delta reduced it gradually to insignificance, and now even its site is doubtful.

The identification of Diul Sind with Lārbandar has been disputed (*e.g.*, in Major Raverty's learned and valuable articles on *The Asirids of Sind*, in the *Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. 61 pt. 1 and extra No.) But, apart from the fact that Sidi Ali Japudan (quoted in Yule's *Hobson Jackson*, p. 247) identifies Diul with Lahon (which is surely Lārbandar), it seems impossible that there could have been at the same time two cities at the mouth of the Indus, each serving as the seaport of Tatta, and each containing a Portuguese factory. The port at which Sherley landed in 1613 is styled Diulesinde by Peyton, who was master of the ship that carried him out; yet we find Kerridge writing (*Letters Received*, II, p. 106) that the ambassador had landed at "Laurebunder the port of Sind;" and Withington (*Purchas* I, p. 483) heard rumours at the same time that English ships had arrived at "Lowribunder the Port Towne of Gutn Negar Tatta." Evidently Peyton knew nothing of a second seaport in the same district, for both in his list of Portuguese factories and his map of the Indus (*Addl. MS.* 19276) Diul Sind alone figures and in all the early English accounts (so far as is known) reference is made only to the one or the other never to both. It will be seen that only one (Diul) is shown on Roe's map.

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 113.

<sup>2</sup> Shias, the Muhamniadans who upheld the claims of Ali and his descendants to be the true successors to the Caliphate. The Moguls, however belonged to the Sunnī sect, which opposed this view. The statement in the text regarding Jahāngīr must not be pressed beyond a general reference to his heterodoxy.

that bytes them) who often buy many dayes respite in charety from kylling any flesh at all, in such a Prouince or Cytty, *Gentills* of sundry Idolatryes, theyr Wiues adorning the Pyle, and entring the funerall fyres with great joy and Honor

All the polycye of his state is to keepe the greatest about him, or to pay them as farre off liberally No counsell, but euey Officer answers to the King apart his duty

He is of Countenance Cheerfull, and not proud in nature, but by habitt and Custome, for at nights he is veary affable, and full of gentle conversation

Neuer were such oportunityes to dischargd the Portugall from all these Coastes We haue now twice beaten a great *Armado* with few shippes, an *Armado* that was appoynted *por castigar los hereticos Ingleses* (the woords of one Father to another), and after to punish the Mogull for entertheyning vs, so that he hath lost more in reputation (which was his strength) then in substance But if his Majestie would condescend that wee should assault them, as they doe vs, it would vtterly breake them, it beeing both the Nobler and safer part of a Warr (to which wee are subject at theyr pleasurs) then to defend always Besides, they make this vse in reports of vs, that the King of England is so afayrd of the King of Portugall, that he dares not warrant an assault, but only to defend What they say of the Kyng and our Nation is so slanderous, that *Peritt sua mole*

Further East, the Dutch hath taken many townes, and Playes the mole better then he, and hath beaten him in many Sea Conflicts He is declining on all sydes, and a little weyght on his head now layd would sincke him It is a matter of great consequence for future tymes, and, though I haue no hope, I propound yt to your Grace to make what vse seemes best to your wisdom I haue reward enough if I haue pardon for my talketuenes, but it is obedience to your Grace, and not presumption, whose wisdom and sincerty I did euer Honor, to whom I shalbe happy to be tyed

In all humble seruices,  
THO ROE

January 31 —Hojay Nassan, the New designed Gouvernor of Suratt,<sup>1</sup> came to visitt mee and to excuse him selfe of

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<sup>1</sup> Khoja Násar had been governor some time before, and was well acquainted with all that had taken place there regarding the English His appointment in supersession of Zúlfikár Khán was mentioned in Roe's letter to the Company of the 25th of January, also his overtures to the ambassador "he was our ould enemy and feares my opposition" The interview here referred to is thus described by Roe in a subsequent letter, dated February 24, 1615-16 —"In my last I aduised you of the small hope wee might conceiue of Hoyja Nassan, the new farmer, rather then Gouvernor, of Suratt by some discourse

an accusation made to me against him with whom for his manifold protestations I contracted a friendship.

*February 1* — Seeing noe effect in the kings promise for Amadauaz and the rubbes geuen in that of Suratt, I went to visit Asaph Khan who receiued me vnmanerlye. Bat my busines closed myne eyes that I entred into discourse of my employment in generall and assured him I came not hither to be abused I desired him to remember that by his aduice I had refrayned to Complayne to the King of the Passadges of Suratt and that my respect to the Prince yet deteyned mee, but that I could not long endure, that if I were enforced to yt the fault was his for which, though I should be sorry yet I was free from blame. After some discourse he begann to Change, and to encline to mee so farr, that I should haue the *firmanc* as I desired only he required my woord that if the King wrote to Goa to signifye the lustnes of my demandes (which was only free and quiett trade, and protection from Inury), and could procure the Viceroy to enter into the leauge, that I would attend the answeare and receiue them to which I agreed and in the Interim he promised me

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he vsd of wearyng vs by little and little; vpon which I sent him a message that it was strange he would threaten a Nation licensed by the authoritye of his soueraynge before he was warne in his sente that he was ould, and should be wiser he knew vs better then any other that we traded peaceably and fayrly that if by his folly he gaue vs occasion to doe other and brake the leace, the misery would light on him, for neyther should his port be open to goe out nor any suffered to come in nor his head secure, no not in his Castle To which he answered he had neuer vsd any woordes agaynst vs, and that he was our frend and would on the morowgh come and satisfie mee more at lardge which he performed denying, by his God the woordes accused off vowing all respect to our Ntion, and protesting, that I should be Gouernor of Suratt and Command the Towne, he only would be my deputy; with many Complements, offering suertes for his fidelitie. We became great Frendes and enterchangeably made sundry professions, on my part euer with reseruatiō that if he wronged the english in his authoritye, no respect could withhold mee from prosecuting him like an enemy

As a matter of fact, Kboja Ndsar did not go to Surat as governor Ibrahim Khān (see p. 82) being appointed to that post.

redresse in all particulars, and if the Portugall refused, that then I should draw what Articles I would for our Nation, and hee would procur them to be signed On these tearmes we parted with seeming Content and Complements on both parts

*February 2*—Asaph Chan sent me the two *firmaens* for Amadauaz,<sup>1</sup> which he had kept sealed a weeke with Coulorable delays

*February 3*—Samuel Peirce was sent me from Agra, that had robbd the Cash at Amadauaz<sup>2</sup> The mony was seized by the Gouvernor

*February 4*—I procured Asaph Cans lettre for the Monny, which was delucred to the English

*February 5*—I dispatched an expresse to Amadauaz with the *firmaens* for Master Kerridge

*February 6-9*—The king sent me a hynd, as tall as a horse but vearly leane

*February 10*—I receiued lettres from Masters Crowder and Steele employed into Persia, directed to Master Edwardes and the factory, which I opened<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See p 116

<sup>2</sup> The incident is described in Kerridge's letters (*Addl MS* 9366) In the previous December, Pierce had presented himself at the house at which the English were living in Sarkhej, near Ahinadábád, pretending that he had been sent by the General with letters which he was to carry to Agra, but had been robbed of them on his way Finding that the factors were suspicious, and had sent to Surat to inquire into the truth of his story, he broke open the trunk of the cashier while the latter was changing his stockings, took out a sum of over four hundred rupees, and decamped Apparently he had been captured by the *Lotwal* with the money still in his possession

<sup>3</sup> See p 96 Crowder arrived a little later, and handed over his papers to Roe The Surat factors were much displeased with him for this, and later on the ambassador had to interfere to shield him against their resentment He appears to have died at Burhánpur some time in 1617 Roe describes him as "a gentle, quiet and sufficient fellow"

Richard Steel, "a young man of Bristol," had crossed Persia from the west in the summer of 1614 in chase of John Midnal, who had absconded from Aleppo with a quantity of goods, and his glowing account of the opportunities of trade in that country had induced Aldworth to retain him at Surat until—as already mentioned—the opportunity came of sending him back with a companion to make

February 12.—At night Asaph Chan sent in great hast to desire mee to come speake with him vsing the kings Name to quicken mee. I went and on the way mett diuers Messengers, which made me woonder at the hast and suspect some great Change. When I came I found him writing as hee pretended for the king desiering me to stay in an outward roome among tutors and seruants which I did a while much against my stomach. But presently went by his supper which he mente to eate with his frendes while I attended. When I sawe li I rose vp full of just indignation and departed his house sending only this message, that if his greatnes were no more then his manners he durst not vse me soe that I was an Ambassador from a mighty and free Prince and in that qualety his better and scorned to attend his banquetings that I ludgd it want of Ciullitye and barbarisme rather then a purposed affront and therefore would forgiue him without complayning to the king but that if hereafter wee were to meete, I would expect he should better remember himselfe and know mee, and if he had any message Now from the king hee might send it by my seruant. To this hee answered not a woord but layed his finger on his mouth a signe that he had erred and tould my messenger that the Prince had sent me the *firmaen* desired for Suratt but withall the securitye for the Portugall to be firmed by mee and that a seruant of the Princes was there ready to deliuer one and receiue the other. My Interpreter knoweing my resolution answered hee was sure I would not accept any *firmaen* on soe dishonorable Conditions to giue our enemyes Peace, when they could not make warr and to leaue them at liberty when they were better able. So Asaph Chan

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further inquires, and, if possible procure privileges. He was then to proceed to England and report to the Company while Crowder made his way back to India. We shall hear later of Steel's return to India in the 1617 fleet, and the troubles that ensued.

seemed to app[r]oue the reason and desired the Princes  
seruant to moue him to send it without any Conditions,  
and dismissed myne

*February 18* — I dispatched an expresse for Hispan in  
Persia with lettres for the Sophy<sup>1</sup> and a packett into  
England, directed first to one William Robbins<sup>2</sup> (seruant  
to Arnold Lulls), and after to the Ambassador at Constan-  
tanople, or the Consull of Aleppo

TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY, BY THE WAY OF PERSIA  
(*Add MS 6115, f 81*)

14 Feb, 1615 [-16]

Honored Friends,

Since my last of the 25th and 29th of January,<sup>1</sup> sent by  
Captaine Newport, in the later of which I made known to you  
some difference betwene the Prince and mee concerning the  
Portugalls, I haue receiued these inclosed from Persia, though  
not directed to mee by name, yet as I thought necessary for me  
to open, you having, to my knowledge, no Cape merchant in the  
Countrie I haue by two wayes ouer land dispeeded with  
all expidition these and theyr Coppy not only that you may  
know what they conteyne but to giue my Judgment of the busines,  
how it is, to what ends, by what means, and, if it be possible,  
which way this new resolution may be diuerted, for Master Steele  
hath not (in myne opinion) seene farr into the misterye if, as he  
writes, he beleeueth he hath procured for you a trade His owne  
desire to doe yt may blind his Judgment You shall fynd  
here among these a fayr Command to the Gouvernors of Jassques<sup>4</sup>  
and other sea Ports, if any english shipes arriue, to giue them  
trade and entreat them frendly, and in the seuerall lettres many

<sup>1</sup> The title by which the King of Persia was generally known to  
Europeans. It is derived from *Suff* or *Saft*, the family name of the  
reigning dynasty. The monarch here referred to is the famous Shāh  
Abbās (1585-1629).

<sup>2</sup> An English jeweller, who had found his way to Ispahan, and had  
there obtained profitable employment. When, later on, Connock and  
other English factors arrived, he was of considerable service to them  
in their efforts to obtain privileges from the Shāh. He was admitted  
into the Company's service in May, 1619, but died a few months  
after. His linguistic attainments are praised in Roe's letter to  
Smythe of November 27, 1616 (see later).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 118 for the former, and f. 77 of the MS for the latter (not  
printed).

<sup>4</sup> Jāshak, in the Sea of Oman. The *farmān* is printed in *Purchas*,  
i, p. 519.

clauses that a trade is procured you that ther is hope you shall have licence to fortifye, and a great opinion of the excellency of the worke done, flattering themselves, whereas the whole scope and marrow of the relation is quite contrary and it seemes in me, by these very letters that promise trade almost impossibilitye of obtaininge yt. For thus much I collect out of the history which agreeing with other circumstances known to me here is doubtlesse truth, that before any intelligence of the Turkes purpose of invasion, the Persian for many reasons was resolved against the Portugallies to open his owne way to sea and to keepe his Gulph free for all Nations and to discharge yt of the Portugall bondage and to this purpose took Hamdell<sup>1</sup> theye soot on the Mayne, distressed the land by cutting off provisions, and sett a day of exile to all the residents in his land. But this Cloud from Turky threatening a storme on every side when hee had sett that noble project aforesaid diverted him wholly to attend his owne safety and to weaken his enemy resolving for the present upon his old Course, to waste his borders that the Turke might fynd no forridge, and to forbid all Caravans or Merchantes passage into Turky. In this Exigent arrived Sir Robert Sherley and was welcomed like one that brought some new hopes or remedy. He that was to make his fortune by employment and to mayntayne his Credit by new projects, finding the Persian in trouble and irresolute the Portugallies in disgrace and decay, tuned the wild string of some way diverting the whole trade of Persia from Turky and being assured that the King of Spayne would for many reasons accept of yt, solicited by the friends, men of his owne faith<sup>2</sup> he offered to procure that, conditionally the Spaniard might receive all the silkes and have leave to refortifye Hamdell and some other ports, the king to send royally every year a flecte which should both bring ready money for most part and for the rest should serve him with spices, pepper Indian linnen, and such comodities. That the Emperor should not doubt his fortifying, for it would be easy for him to turne them out if he procured Peace from the Turke in the mean tyme they were his fittest allies, because they were ever enemies to the Turke. This is the resolution, and to this

<sup>1</sup> See pp. 113, 121. The reference is to the capture of the Portuguese fort at Combroon, established there in 1512 to secure provisions and water for their settlement at Ormus. After its capture it was entirely destroyed by the Persians, who, however, built a larger fort near the site of the old one. From this period dates the rise of Combroon or Hamdar Abad, as the new settlement came to be called, a rise much accelerated by the destruction of Ormus in 1622 (Dixson *Acenda VIII* c. 79; Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (Steven trans.), iii, pp. 208, 262; *O. C.*, No. 700, in *I. O. Record*). "Hamdell is of course" Hamdar "the port," Faria y Sousa speaks of this place as "el puerto de Hamdell" (iii, p. 241).

<sup>2</sup> Sherley was a Roman Catholic.



purpose hath Sir Robert procured himselfe an imployment into Spayne, wher I doubt not hee wilbe vearly wellcome

It needes be no question whether the Spaniard will accept off this offer First, it will add to the Kings Coffers 1,000,000 of Crownes yearly Secondly, it will occasion him to send good fleetes into these coasts, which will not be Idle. Therdly, it will recouer him all his reputation, that was eauen sick to death in this quarter, for the disgusts of Persia and the danger of Ormus was like a plaugesore in his syde Lastly, the Mogull, who harkens after him<sup>1</sup> and his proceedings and will judge first by the peace made, after by the number of shippes that will hant this Coast, that it wilbe wisdom to follow the example and entyrelly embrace the Spaniard. Now to the Command granted by the Persian in behalfe of our Nation, it is of no consequence, for who would doubt that he would refuse vs leaue to trade? But what Conditions are there to deliuer silke, or to receiue vs only, such as are sent into Spayne? Sir Robert Shirly could not, beeing an English man, refuse to procure that that was euen due by Common equetye and to which the Persian was inclinable, and as yet it was folly to reject vs, beeing not assured of the Spaniard, but he hath discouered playnely his hart another way, and knowes that if his Embassade succeed in Spayne, this command will fall of yt selfe, for that all is conditioned to the Spaniard, and the Coast giuen him, and then we must obteyne leaue of him, not of the Persian That he hath a message to the King of England I beleeeue is a Colour to deceiue these the easier, for how dares, or with what face can hee see his souerayne, to whom and to whose kingdomes he hath done soe ill offices? That he will breake off with the kyng of Spayne and come for England, if Sir Thomas Smith hould intelligence with him, is a meere mockery, for that is beyonnd his Commission, or at least another string to his bow if the Spaniard refusse No, he hath a *Discalsadoe*<sup>2</sup> Portugall for his Confessor and hee knowes that the start in this busines wynns yt, and is sure of great reward from the Spaniard for him selfe, and eauen this, were ther no other, makes me suspect his affection, that to wynne tyme of Steele, least hee should arriue in Christendome before him, he hath taken Robinns the Englishman with him toward Ormus, who is become keeper of the Commandes, and without whose presence it seemes Steele cannot dispatch, which him selfe sees, though somewhat darkley

The Consequence of this is very important, eauen for his

<sup>1</sup> The Sháh

<sup>2</sup> Barefooted (Ital *discalsato*) The ecclesiastic was no doubt a "discalsed Carmelite," and is probably to be identified with the "Carmelite friar," who later opposed the efforts of Barker to obtain privileges from the Sháh (*Cal S P, E Indies*, 1617 21, p 303)

Majesties estate for that will add both wealth and credit to that nation that I can neuer beleue wilbe our frend longer then while their owne wants Constreyne them.

It wilbe very dangerous for your trade here, in respect that your enemy wilbecome your strong neighbour whereas he was languishing and wearing to nothing. Therefore, if it be possible, you must seeke some prevention. For my part I haue ventured to write to the Persian King my opinion of his resolution and enlightened him with some better vnderstanding of the Spaniards Nature and quality wher they gett footing and to lett him see he may vent his silkes and all the Comodyties of his Country at better rates, if he erect a free mart in some Coast towne for all Nations, then to be bound to the Spaniard, who will creepe the first yeare and insult the next offering our selues to trade with him royally if hee wilbe pleased to stay his resolution of deliuering him selfe into the wardship of the Spaniard. The Coppy of which at lardge is herein enclosed.

I can doe you no further seruice but aduentore my poore advise what you should doe in England, if by this lettie or Master Steele[s] Intelligence this Spanish negotiation come to you before Sir Robert Sherleys arrivall in Spaine (which wilbe in July 1616<sup>1</sup>), to sollicite his Majestie to Command his Embassador resident there to worke him to propound a peace in those seas between the English and Spaniards and so to offer the designing of a free place for trade, pretending that, if the Spaniard should have yt alone, the seas would neuer be quiett that the English would infest the Coast, and nothing but warr would ensue whereas there was Comodytye enough for both, and with more profit on both sydes then eyther to defend or gayne yt by a warr. And though I doubt not but Sir Robert Sherley vsd the woordes, of quitting Spayne and Comming for England to abuse Master Steele, yet he may be taken in his owne Net, and they may serue to be vrddged to him in his Majesties name as a promise. Though this take no great effect, nor that I beleue eyther the Spaniard will agree to peace Nor Sir Robert Sherly effectually and Cordially moue yt, yet by the negotiation he shall loose some tyme and you may send two shipes vpon the Coast and gett this start, to offer your selues first, really there, wherby you shall engage the Emperour eauen in good Nature, to be willing to make conditions for you but to expect any trade (as I signified in my last lettres), except it be royally vndertaken, that the Persian may be sure of full vent, is a wayne hope. You may range the Coast one yeare, and make a saving voyage, but

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<sup>1</sup> In the letter to King James, referred to on the next page, Roe states that Sherley embarked at Ormus for Spain with his wife and many followers, at the end of January 1615 16

fynd little silke, which growes aboue,<sup>1</sup> nor vent much Cloth, which is Comoditye only fitt for the remotest parts, neyther doe I perceiue by Steele that much will vent at all, but his aduise is good, that if you only serue them with Pepper and Indian Comoditye great profit will arise

I haue breefly acquaynted his Maiestie and the lordes with the busines and my poore opinion<sup>2</sup> If I haue beene two busy I hope you wilbe mediators for mee, that haue erred out of blind zeale to doe my Country seruice If any alterations happen, I will spend you some mony to aduise you overland, but not as others haue done You will fynd a dear reckoning of Master Steeles employment, and, if I durst take such liberty, I could procure you Camells loades of *firmans* to no purpose

God in his Mercy giue blessing to all your endeours, and though I doe you not that seruice you expect, yet your fauorable eyes shall perceiue I doe according to my abilitie saythfully, referring the resolution and conclusion to your better Judgments, knoweing yt is my dutie to enforme and propound and after to execute according to directions So tyme and matter calls on me to end without Ceremony

Ready to doe you seruice,

THO ROE

TO THE KING OF PERSIA"

(Addl MS 6115, f 84)

14 Feb 1615 [-16]

Most magnificent and Highly descended Emperor,

The respect your Maiestie hath mutually borne and receiued from the King of England my Royall Master, whose Ambassador I vnwoorthely am to the Great King of India, hath encouraged me to send your Highnes these my poore aduises, not presuming to counsell your Maiestie, but, in Honor of your most Royall vertues, not to be wanting to doe you any seruice

I receiued lately your most Gracious Command to your Gouvernor of Jasques to entertayne the trafique of our nation with frendship and amitye, for which in the name of my Master I render condigne thanckes But with the same I fynd your Maiestie hath sent into Spayne to offer and contract for all your

<sup>1</sup> Up in the country

<sup>2</sup> See *Addl MS 6115, f 78 et seq* The letter to King James has not been reproduced, as it contains no fresh information

<sup>3</sup> This was enclosed in a letter to William Robbins, who was asked to get it translated and present it to the Sháh on Roe's behalf

silkes and Comodytyes, with Instructions to giue leaue to sortefye, whereas your Maiestie had otherwise nobly purposed (as same reported) to free your Gulph of Slauery and to keepe it open for all Nations (a resolution woorthy of your Greatnes) which if it be soe, then, notwithstanding your Maiesties Command, wee must eyther aske leaue of the Spaniard (which wee scorne) or else force our way by Armes, which will hynder the speedy rent of your silkes, seeing all trades only flourish by Peace. Therefore, if your Maiestie tie your selfe to the Portugall or Spaniard, it will be both as prejudiciall to your estate in future tyme as was the way of Turkey and far more dishonorable, for that hee will neuer thanke your Maiestie for that which hee thinkes necessitie or his owne witt procured, and, when he is in possession, he will vse it with such insolency as will not beseme a Monarque to endure. Besides, if your Maiestie be perswaded you can make vse of him for a tyme and, when you are returned victorious ouer the Turke, you can turne him out at pleasure your Maiestie may synd the worke more difficult then now you consider the fortifications of Europe, where the sea is open and too frend, are not easily rased.

But if your Maiestie were pleased to Clear your Coast and the sea of that bondage it hath beene long in and be lord of your owne erecting a free mart in some conuenient port vnder the Command of your ordinance, publishing to all Nations they should trade securely and thither send all the silkes and comodytyes of your seueral kingdomes, your Maiestie should effect with Honor the desaigne of weakening your enemy the Turke, and be engaged to none, but all the world would seeke you, and your subjects should passe theyr goodes for mony or any other comodytye that eyther Europe or the East doth affoord. There would bee the English, Spanish, French, Venetian, and all that had meanes of shipping envying one another and only raysing the Price, to your Maiesties profit.

This I haue thought fitt to offer to your Maiesties Consideration, my respect commanding me to tell you that single councelles haue single force which I submit to your Maiesties Iudgment, hoping your Maiestie will so restrayne your Conditions with the Spaniard that your fauour to vs become not vaelesse, and we enforced to trade with them by the bullet, as they haue vnprosperously giuen vs cause. Praying to the Creator of Heauen and earth to giue you victory on your Enemyes and renown in your life and Posteritye,

To doe your Maiestie serulce,

THO. ROE

Ambassador for his Maiestie of England.

TO THE EARL OF SOUTHAMPTON<sup>1</sup>

(Addl MS 6115, f 88)

Adsmere, 14 Feb, 1615 [-16]

My Lord,

Since my arriuall in this Country, I haue had but one Month of health and that mingled with many relapses, and am now your poor seruant scarce a Crowes dinner

I thought all India a China shop,<sup>2</sup> and that I should furnish all my Frendes with rarietyes, but this is not that part Here are almost no Ciuill arts, but such as stragglng Christians haue lately taught, only good Carpetts and fine lawne, all Comodityes of bulke, wherby I can make noe proffitt but publiquely, Muske, Amber, Cyuitt, diamondes, as deare as in England, no Pearle but taken for the King, who is invalewable in Jewelles

But I not alone Cossened in this hope, but in the Kings liberallitye<sup>3</sup> He alowes me nothing but a house of Mudd, which I was enforced to build halfe.

Yet though I lue in such a house, perhaps many wayes in more state, and with many more seruants then any Ambassador in Europe, such is the Custome here, to be Carryed in a bedd all richly furnished on mens backes vp and downe, though it needs not, for here are the finest horses that I euer sawe, of Gennett size and infinite store, besides guardes and footmen, of which only I keepe 24 But this my expected liberallitye fayling makes all tedious and loathsome, for though the King hath often sent to me, yet this bounty is only expressed in whyld hogges

You expect no Ceremoney, and I haue learnd none here, but I am euer, and will dye soe,

Your Lordshipes most affectionate seruant,

THO ROE

Giue me leaue to present my humble seruice to my lady, my Lady Penelope,<sup>4</sup> my little lady Mistress, for whom I wilbe prouided with Presentes

<sup>1</sup> Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton, the friend of Essex, and (according to some critics) the "W H" of Shakespeare's sonnets

<sup>2</sup> A reference to the "China houses" (*Silent Woman*, I, 1) in London, where porcelain and other curiosities were sold

<sup>3</sup> As is well known, it was the custom for an ambassador to be treated as the guest of the monarch to whom he was accredited, and Roe had therefore expected a handsome allowance This he never obtained, though both his predecessor and the Persian ambassador received gifts of money from the Mogul

<sup>4</sup> Lord Southampton's eldest daughter, wife of Sir William Spencer.

*February 19.*—I went to repay the visitt of Hoja Nazon<sup>1</sup> who entertayned me with very good respect very good woordes, and very good meate.

*February 21*—Having now long attended with Patience and found no effect in the Princes promises for a Command for Suratt, nor any answer resolute that I should haue none, Asaph Chan consenting that the Conditions demanded should be relinquished I went to visitt the Prince at his sitting out, not knoweing whether this Jugling might bee without his knowledge (for I receiued his pleasure by others), or If it were his owne yet I would once more proue him, and dispute my owne cause, that if I were enforced to Complayne I might be fully blamlesse of any disrespect toward him. When I came nere, whether by the Princes command to proue if I would yeld or by ignorance of his seruants of the liberty I had obteyned and vsed before, one of them stayed mee, and made signes that I should make the reuerence of the Country Called *Teselim*<sup>2</sup> I rejected him with some mislike, and went on vntill I came to the assent of the Inmost rayle right before the Prince, whom I saluted after my owne manner, and offer ing to goe vp I was stoppd and showed a bye entrance, at which the meaner sorte Comes in. The Prince seeing all this, and not correcting yt I turnd about to depart wherat hee Called, and the way was open for mee to take and Choose my place. When I was entered I bad my Inter preter tell the Prince I came thither in honor of him and

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Curiously enough, while Roe was penning this message, a letter was on its way to him from Lord Carew containing a rumour (happily false) that she was dead (*Carew Letters* p. 32).

<sup>1</sup> See p. 124.

<sup>2</sup> "The salutation of *teslim* consists in placing the back of the right hand on the ground and then raising it gently till the person stands erect, when he puts the palm of his hand upon the crown of his head which pleasing manner of saluting signifies that he is ready to give himself as an offering" (*Ain i Akbari* Blochmann's translation, I, 156).

to visitt him, expecting that I should haue beene welcome, but the vsage of his seruantes made me doubt yt that if my Comminge discontented him, I could with more ease keepe my house He answered I was very welcome, wherat I made a reuerance, and one of his Principalles, not content with that, came and pulled me to make *Teselim*, whom I thrust from mee with open scorne, wherat the Prince smiled, and commanded to lett me vse my libertye Then I presented him with a few toyes after the Custome, and demanded the *firmaen* long promised mee He answered it was signed, and calld to know whye yt was deteyned Soe presently it was sent for, and answered I had refused to firme the Conditions required by the Prince and sent with yt, wherat the Prince said it was there ready If I would seale the one I should haue the other I replyed I would not, and gaue my reasons Then hee fell off from that to Complaynts of the vnruines of the English at Suratt, of their drincking and quarreling in the streets, and draweing swoordes in the Custome house I answered I knew not, nor could excuse it only I knew the abuses offered them might prouoke some beyond reason and Patience but that I hoped the rest was not true Then hee calld for a lettre to shoue mee witnessing yt I demanded whose it was He sayd the Gouvernors I answered then I would giue no Creditt to yt, for that he was a verier drunckard then any English in Suratt, and for his vntruth he had often belyed the King and the Prince himselfe, as I would proue to his face when he came to answeare The Prince demanded why hee should write yt if yt were not true I answered to excuse, by accusing others, his owne villanous insolencies that if he had beene woorthy to haue Gouverned a Province, he should haue taken those who were so disorderly and haue punished them, and done Iustice to the honest and sober but that hee made a pretence, for the fault of a drunckard, to abuse

the Innocent. It was replyed that it was for my sake it was forborne. I answered I renounced giuing protection to such as were vnwoorthy of yt <sup>1</sup> I came to defend my Countrymen that were ciuill and honest in their rightfull causes, and was as desirous to punish outrages as to maynteyne sobryety and for any priuat frendshipp or respect, to mee the Gouvernor had vsed none, nor I was other to him then a professed enemy. Wheratt the Prince asked if I would writte to Suratt to restraime the abuses and drunchennes of our People, and if no warning of inyne could preuayle if I would not be displeased that punishment might be inflicted on those taken in the offence. This motion sauored so much reason I could not refuse it only I putt in this Caution, that, as I consented to punish the notorious offender so the honest and sober might haue protection and iustice and on this Condition I promised to writt. He demanded when for he would send the lettre post to prevent more disorders and Complaynts. I answered to morow. And so this discourse ended. The Prince conuerting him selfe to some others, I called to him to know his resolute answer for the *firmaen* for that was my Principall errand which if hee refused mee, I knewe my wayes. He replyed for the busines of the Portugall he was satisfied that he would send it to Asaph Chan and what hee liked should Content him, and deslered me to require on the Morrowe an answer from him and withall called for yt and deliuered it to a gentellman to carry it presently wth that Command that if he liked it, it should be deliuered to mee.

This night the king sent mee a mighty Elke kyld In hunting reasonable ranck meate.

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 52. This was rather a dangerous doctrine, for the English attached importance to the exclusive right of punishing the evil-doings of their countrymen and later on this was one of the privileges contended for by the ambassador



*February 22.*—I sent according to my promise a lettre for Suratt, the Coppy wherof is registred <sup>1</sup>

*February 23-26*—I sent dayly to Asaph Chan, but he was sicke and I could haue no answeare.

*February 27*—The King and Prince went a hunting Journy 12 *Course* off, that his house might be fitted against the *Norose*,<sup>2</sup> which began the first Newe moone in March

*March 1*—I rodde to see a house of pleasure of the Kings, giuen him by Asaph Chan,<sup>3</sup> two miles from Adsmere, but betweene two mighty rockes so defended from the sunn that it scarce any way sees it, the foundation Cutt out of them and some roomes, the rest of freestone, a handsome little garden with fine fountaynes, two great tanckes, one 30 stepes aboue a nother, the way to it inaccessible, but for one or two in front, and that very steepe and stony, a place of much melancholy delight and securitye, only beeing accompanied with wild Peacockes, turtles, foule, and Munkyes, that inhabitt the rocks hanging euery way ouer yt.

*March 2*—I receued answeare from Asaph Chan resolute that hee had sent to the Prince, and could not obteyne no order for the deliuey of the *firmaen*, without I would signe the Articles The Jesuite had much Poysoned Asaph Chan, in whom was the fault, and I resolved to startle him

*March 4.*—I wrote a lettre to the Prince as round and peremptory as was the refusall made mee, and sent it after where he was in progresse The Coppy is registred

<sup>1</sup> At f 90 of the MS

<sup>2</sup> See p 142

<sup>3</sup> Now called the *Nîr chasma*, at the back of the Táragarh hill The fountains and tanks are in a ruinous condition, and the place can only be reached with difficulty (*Rajputana Gazetteer*, 11, p 123)

TO SULTAN CAROYNE.

(Add MS. 6115 f 91)

4th March, 1615 [16]

Most Noble Prince,

It seemes to mee that your Highnes is weary of the English at Suratt, or else you would not refuse to deliuer me a *firmān* for their safty and good viage, but vpon dishonorable Conditions and such as I cannot answer. Therefore I desire your highnes to giue me a Playne answer which I require in the Name of the King of England, beinge a Friend and Confederatt of your Most Royall father. For if your Highnes be resolved that they shall haue noe better Justice then they haue had, my Master is likewise resolved not to haue his subjects lye where they shalbe Inured, but we will seeke some other residence wher wee shalbe better well come. For the losses and Injunes suffered by your last Gouvernor your Princely woord is already past for satisfaction. In all which, without your Highnes ayde, I shalbe enforced to Complayne to the King, for which I am sorry. I hope you will excuse my bouldnes, because I doe performe but my dutie. And soe I Commit your highnes to God.

THE ENGLISH AMBASSADOR.

March 5.—Mochreblian gouernor in the Kings absence, and Haja Nassan with some others, came of their owne accord to visitt mee, having sent woord that they would dine with mee. I entertained them as I was able, to theyr Content, but kept as much State in myne owne house as was vsed towards me by others;<sup>1</sup> but wee exchanged many complements, Mochreblian excusing himselfe of all thinges past, professing he knewe not the English but that now he was theyr seruant. So wee parted very good frendes and I gaue him at his goeing six glasses guilt.

March 6.—The Prince sent his principall officer to

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<sup>1</sup> From Terry's account (p. 211) we get a glimpse of Roe's household arrangements. "My Lord Ambassador (he says) observed not that uneasy way [*i.e.*, the native fashion] of sitting at his meat, but in his own house had Tables and Chayres &c. Served he was altogether in Plate and had an English and an Indian cook to dress his dyet, which was very plentifull and cheap likewise; so that by reason of the great variety of provisions there, his weekly account for his housekeeping came but to little.

Adsmere to giue me Content, fearing I would Complaine, which hee desired mee to forbear and that I should haue satisfaction in my desires, Iustice for what was passed, and amendes in the future. Soe hee propounded three other articles to me, leauing out that of the Portugall, and sent them in Persian desiring mee to signe those to his Master and I should haue the *firmaen* deliuered vpon receipt of yt. When I had gott them translated, though in substance there was nothing which I might not assent vnto, they beeing rather friuolous then dangerous for mee or materiall for the Prince, yet in the woording and forme ther was somthing I misliked, wherein they might if they had so much cunning by hard construction bynd mee to some inconuenience, and restraîne the merchants of full liberty. Therefore I drew them anew according to my owne mynd, altering those clauses and reseruing the substances, and, to auoyd more messages too and fro, I sealed them, and sent them with this answere, that the Articles propounded to mee were suspiciously expressed that I only had made them playne and kept the substance, which I had there signed and sent, wherof if he would accept, I desired the *firmaen*, and that resolutely I would loose no more tyme in treatyes nor firme any other. Both he and Asaph Chan read them, and answered they liked them well that the Alterations were not prejudiciall to their meaning, and soe deliuered the *firmaen*, which that night I gott translated, that I might know what I had laboured for. This day I sent the secretary a present, but it is not his Custome to receiue any thing.

*March 7* —I found the *firmaen* very effectually reapeating my Complaynts, mentioning the Injuries in particular, and Commanding all manner of redresse, but in the end a Conditionall clause poysoninge all the rest, that which I had so often refused, that the Portugalles should haue free liberty to Come to Suratt at his Pleasure, and that wee

should not molest them take their goodes nor persons without any promise or Intimation that they should not offend nor assayle vs. Now to grant them peace in a roade of another Prince wher they are equally licenced with vs may seeme reasonable but I knew the purpose of the Portugall and the Instrument of this deuiſe, and that the Prince was abused and sawe not the disadvantage. First If they had liberty to trade, they would use yt only to hynder ours, secondly, they would lye with 100 frigatts, vnder colour of this Peace, and take the first advantage to ſiege or assault our fleet, which is not to be avoyded, If they obteyne this liberty to mingle amonge vs lastly though the Prince explaynd him selfe in woordes that he ment we should not molest them except they began the quarrell and in our owne defence, yet when a mischeefe had befallen vs too late of whom should wee haue sought satisfaction? The Prince had not undertaken the Viceroy had not signed any instrument of Peace, only an Italian poore Iesuite had enformed the Prince the Portugall would be qulett—a braue securitye. Besides the folly and dishonour to appeare so eager of a peace, as If wee feard them, as to take it on any weake base or rather on no conditions. These considerations enforced me to refuse and send it backe desiring to haue that clause strooke out, or else the fraud was euident, and I would neuer accept of yt. A day was demanded to giue answer

*March 8.*—I sent for a resolution and receiued yt that that clause must remayne or I should not haue none. I gaue order Suspecting the trick to redemand the articles signed by mee but could not gett them, nor was the matter great, but for forme sake, and alsoe to pronounce as well my resolution, that I mente neuer to seeke farther after yt, neuer to accept yt, or any other on ill Conditions that I knew my way to seeke assured remedye that I was sorry I had so long forborne yt.

*March 9*—The King being returnd, the Preparation for the *Norose* made all men soe busy that I had no oportunte to doe myne, but purposed to prepare the King by Visitations and presents to heare my demandes with the first oportunitie. But I had no enterpreter, The brokar not daring to speake any thing that would displease Asaph Chan, nor would hee in any thing deliuer mee truly to the King Soe I sought out a third [second?], an Italian Jeweller, a protestant, that vseth much liberty with his tounge, and in whom the King takes often delight to heare him rayle at the Jesuites and theyr factions,<sup>1</sup> who vnder-took to say all I would deliuer him

*March 10*—This day arriued our Cloth and goodes to Adsmere, having beene long on the way, to the great prejudice in the sale

*March 11*—The *Norose*<sup>2</sup> begann in the Eueninge It is a custome of solemnizing the new yeare, yet the Ceremonie beginnes the first New moone after it, which this yeare fell together It is kept in Imitation of the Persians feast and signifyes in that language nine dayes, for that anciently it endurd no longer, but now it is doubled The manner is ther is erected a Throne fower foote from the ground, in the *Durbar* Court, from the back wherof to the

<sup>1</sup> This Italian was known as John Veronese For his services as interpreter he received a knife and a bottle of strong waters (Roe's accounts) Later, he angered Roe by abetting the runaway Jones, and shortly after he was dismissed from the king's service and ordered out of the country

<sup>2</sup> The *Nau-rôz*, "New (Year's) Day," a feast instituted by Akbar in imitation of the Persians "It commences on the day when the Sun in his splendour moves to Aries, and lasts till the 19th day of the month Two days of this period are considered great festivals, when much money and numerous other things are given away as presents the first day of the month of *Farwardin* and the 19th, which is the time of the *Sharaf*" (*Âin-i-Akbari*, 1, 276)

Terry and Mandelslo follow Roe in his mistake as to the meaning of the term The error is corrected in Thevenot

The account which follows should be compared with the descriptions in Hawkins' narrative (p 439), and in Mandelslo's *Travels* (second English edition, p 41)

place where the King comes out a square of 56 paces long and 43 broad was rayled in and covered over with faire Semianes or Canopyes of cloth of gould silke or veluett loyned together and susteyned with Canes so covered. At the vpper end were sett out the pictures of the King of England the Queene my lady Elizabeth the Countesse<sup>[4]</sup> of Sommersett<sup>1</sup> and Salisbury<sup>2</sup> and of a Cittirens wife of London, below them another of Sir Thomas Smyth<sup>3</sup> gouernor of the East India company. Vnder foote it is layd with good Persian Carpetts of great largnes. Into which place come all the men of quaietye to attend the King, except some fewe that are within a little rayle right before the Throne to receiue his Commandes. Within this square there were sett out for shewe many little howses (one of siluer) and some other Curiostyes of Price. The Prince Sultan Coronne had at the lesse syde a Pavillion the supporters wherof were Covered with Silver (as were some of those also neare the Kings throne). The forme therof was Square, the matter wood Inlayd with mother of pearle, borne vp with fower pillars and Covered with Cloth of gould about the edge. Overhead like a valience was a nett fringe of good pearle vpon which hung downe Pomegranetts apples, pearces, and such fructs of gould but hollow. Within yt the king sate on Cushions very rich in Pearles and Jewells. Round about the Court before

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<sup>1</sup> The notorious Frances Howard, the divorced wife of the Earl of Essex, lately married to James a favourite, Lord Somerset, on which occasion the East India Company presented a piece of plate. At the time her portrait was decking the Mogul's feast, she and her husband were awaiting their trial for murdering Sir Thomas Overbury.

<sup>2</sup> Her elder sister Catherine, who had married Robert Cecil's only son, William.

<sup>3</sup> This had been brought out by Edwards, who wrote to Smythe that the Court painters had confessed their inability to imitate it, and that consequently it was much prized by the Mogul (*O C.*, No. 219).

There is a painting at Skinners' Hall which is held to be a portrait of Sir Thomas Smythe. If this be really so, it is possible that the picture sent to the Mogul was a copy of it.

the Throne the Principall men had erected tents, which encompassed the Court, and lined them with veluett, damask and taffety ordinarily, some few with Cloth of gould, wherein they retyred and sett to show all theyr wealth, for anciently the kings were vsed to goe to euery tent and there take what pleased them, but now it is Changed, the King sitting to receiue what new years guifts are brought to him He comes abroad at the vsuall hower of the *Durbar*, and retyres with the same Here are offered to him, by all sorts, great guiftes, though not equall to report, yet incredible enough, and at the end of this feast the King, in recompence of the presents receiued, aduanceth some and addeth to theyr entertaynment some horse at his pleasure

*March 12* —I went to visitt the King and was brought right before him, expecting a present, which I deliuered to his extraordinary content.<sup>1</sup> So he appoynted I should bee directed within the rayle, to stand by him, but I, beeing

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<sup>1</sup> A purse which cost in England 24s, containing "a little box of Cristall, made by arte like a rubie, and cutt into the stone in Curious workes, which was all inameld and inlayd with fine gould Soe rare a peece was neuer seene in India, as can wittnes all your seruantes resident at Adsmere I can sett noe price, because it was geuen me, but I could haue sould it for a thousand Rupees, and was enformed that had it been knowne how highlye the King esteemed it, I mought haue had 5000 Rupees The King the same night sent for all the Christians, and others his owne subjectes, artificers in gould and stone, to demand if euer they sawe such worke or howe it could be wrought, who Generalilie Confessed they neuer sawe such arte, nor could tell how to goe about it, whereat the King sent me woord he esteemed it aboue a diamonde geuen him that day of 6000*li* price Within the boxe (which I presented to Keepe the Jewelles in which others gaue him) I putt a Chain of gould of double linckes veary small, wheratt was hanged a whyte Emrald Cutt in the forme of a seale, and therein engraued, no bigger then a Penny, a Cupid drawing his bowe, with this Motto *Guardes* being a curiositie not easilie matched, and esteemed by the King for excellent worke. The stone was vnsett, pendent and veary lardge, aboue halfe an Inch in length The gould wayed 46s. There being noe man in London, much less here, that can enamell vpon stone, and therfore I knowe not what it [the box] Coste, and the seale stone vncutt, I bought in the West Indies, and had it polished and carued in London, it Cost noe great matter rough"—Roe's Accounts (*Add MS* 6115, f 277)

not suffered to step vp vpon the rising on which the throne stood could see little the rayle beeing high and doubled with Carpettes. But I had leysure to vew the inward roome and the bewty therof which I confesse was rich but of so diuers peices and so vnsuteable that it was rather patched then glorious as If it seemed to strue to show all like a ladie that with her plate sett on a Cupboord her Imbrodered slippers. This eueninge was the sonne of Ranna, his New tributary,<sup>1</sup> brought before him with much ceremony kneeling 3 tymes and knocking his head on the ground. He was sent by his father with a Present and was brought within the little rayle, the King embracing him by the head. His giift was an Indian voyder<sup>2</sup> full of siluer, vpon yt a Carued siluer dish full of gould. Soe he was ledd toward the Prince. Some Eliphants were showed and some whoores<sup>3</sup> did sing and dance. *Sic transit Gloria Mundi*

March 13.—At night I went to the *Gussel chan*, wher is best oportunitye to doe busines, and tooke with mee the Italian,<sup>4</sup> determining to walke no longer in darknes but to proue the king beeing in all other wayes delayed and refused. I was sent for in with my ould Brokar but my enterpreter was kept out, Asaph Chan mistrusting I would vtter more then he was willing to heare. When I came to the king he appoynted me a place to stand Iust before him, and sent to aske me many questions aboute the king of England and of the present I gaue the day before, to some of which I answered but at last I sayd my enterpreter was kept out I could speake no Portugall, and soe wanted means to satisfie his Maiestie. Whereat (much against Asaph Chans desire) he was admitted. I bad him

<sup>1</sup> Karan, eldest son of Umra Sing Rana of Udaipur (see p. 102).

<sup>2</sup> "Volders great broad dishes, to carry away the remains from a meat-table" (*Dunton's Ladies' Dictionary* 1694).

<sup>3</sup> Nautch-girls.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 142.



tell the king I desired to speake to him He answered willingly Wherat Asaph Chans sonne-in-law pulld him<sup>1</sup> by force away and that faction hedgd the king so that I could scarce see him nor the other approach him So I commanded the Italian to speake alowd that I Craued audience of the king, wherat the king Called me and they made me way Asaph Chan stood on one side of my interpreter and I on the other, I to enforme him in myne owne cause, he to awe him with wincking and logging I bad him say that I had now beene here two monthes, wherof more then one was passed in sicknes, the other in Complements, and nothing effected toward the end for which my Master had employed mee, which was to Conclude a firme and Constant loue and Peace betweene their Majesties and to establish a fayre and secure trade and residence for my Countrymen He answered that was already granted I replyed it was true, but it depended yet on so slight a thredd, on so weake Conditions that beeing of such importance it required an agreement cleare in all poynts, and a more formall and Authentique confirmation then it had by ordinarie *firmaens*, which were temporarye Commandes and respected accordingly. He Asked mee what presents wee would bring him. I answered the leauge was yet new and very weake that many Curiosityes were to be found in our Country of rare price and estimation, which the king would send and the Merchannts seeke out in all parts of the world, if they were once made secure of a quiett trade and protection on honorable Conditions, having beene heeretofore many wayes wronged He asked what kynd of Curiosityes those were I mentioned, whether I ment Iewells and rich stones. I answered no that we did not thinck them fitt presents to send back, which were brought first from these

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<sup>1</sup> The interpreter

parts wherof hee was Cheefe lord that wee esteemed them Common here and of much more price with vs but that we sought to fynd such things for his Maiestie as were rare here and vnseene as excellent artifices in Paynting, caruing Cutting enamelling figures in brasse copper or stone rich embroderyes, stuffs of gould and siluer He sayd it was very well but that hee desired an English horse. I answered it was Impossible by sea, and by land the Turke would not suffer passadge. He replied that hee thought it not Impossible by sea. I told him the dangers of stormes and varietye of weather would proue yt. He answered If six were putt into a shipp one might liue and though it Came leane he would fatt yt. I replied I was Confident it Could not bee In soe long a voyadge but that for his Maiesties satisfaction I would write to aduise of his request. So he asked what was it then I demanded I sayd that hee would bee pleased to signe certalne reasonable Conditions which I had Conceiued for the Confirmation of the leauge and for the securitie of our Nation and their quiett trade for that they had beene often wronged and Could not Continue on such termes which I forbore to Complayne off hoping by faire means to procure amendment. At this woord Asaph Chan offered to pull my Interpreter but I held him suffering him only to wincke and make vnprofitable signes. The King hereatt grew suddenly into Choler pressing to know who had wronged vs with such show of fury that I was loath to follow yt and speaking in broken spanish to my interpreter to answere that with what was past, I would not trouble his Maiestie but would seeke Iustice of his sonne the Prince, of whose fauour I doubted not, the King not attending my Interpreter but hearing his sonnes name, conceiued I had accused him saying *mio filio mio filio* and Called for him who came In great feare humbling him selfe. Asaph Chan trembled and all of them were amazd

The King chidd the Prince roundly, and hee excused himselfe, but I, perceuinge the Kings error, made him (by means of a Persian Prince<sup>1</sup> offering himselfe to enterprett, because my Italian spoke better Turkish then Persian, the Prince both) vnderstand the mistaking, and so appeased him, saying I did no way accuse the Prince, but would in causes past in his Gouverment appeale to him for Iustice, which the King Commanded he should doe effectually The Prince for his Iustification tould the king he had offered me a *firmaen*, and that I had refused yt Demanding the reason, I answered I humbly thancked him, but hee knew it Conteyned a condition which I could not accept off, and that farther I did desire to propound our owne demandes, wherein I would Conteyne all the desires of my Master at once, that I might not daylye trouble them with Complaynts, and wherein I would reciprocally bynd my souerayne to mutuall offices of frendship, and his subjects to any such Conditions as his Maestie would reasonably propound, wherof I would make an offer, which beeing drawne tripartite, his Maestie I hoped would signe the one, the Prince the other, and in my Masters behalfe I would firme the third The king pressed to know the Conditions I refused in the Princes *firmaen*, which I recited, and soe wee fell into earnest dispute, and some heate Mocrebbchan enterposing sayd hee was the Portugalles aduocate, speaking slightly of vs, that the king should neuer signe any article against them I answered I propound none against them, but in our owne Iust defence, and I did not take him for such a frend to them The Iesuite and all the Portugalles side fell in, in soe much that I explyned myselfe fully concerning them, and as I offered a Conditionall Peace, so I sett their

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<sup>1</sup> "Meermers, a Persian nobleman nere of blood to the Sophy and lately fledd vpon the death of the Prince for safety to this court" (Roe's accounts)

friendship at a mean rate and their hatred or force at lesse  
 The king, answered my demandes were Iust resolution  
 noble and bad me propound Asaph Chan that stood  
 Mute all this discourse and desired to end it, least it  
 breake out apaine (for wee wear very warme) enterposed  
 that If wee talked all night It would come to this issue  
 that I should drawe my demandes In writting and present  
 them and if they were found reasonable the king would  
 firme them to which the king replyed yes and I desired  
 his sonne would doe the like who answered hee would.  
 Soe the king rose. But I calling to him he turnd about  
 and I had my enterpreter say that I came the day before  
 to see his Maiestie and his greatnes and the Ceremonies  
 of this feast that I was placed behynd him I confesed  
 with honor but I could not see abroad and that ther  
 fore I desired his Maiestie to lycence me to stand up  
 by his Throne wherat hee Commanded Asaph Chan to  
 lett me choose my owne place.

*March 14.*—In the Morning I sent a Messenger to  
 Asaph Chan least he or the Prince mought mistake mee  
 by the Kings mistakings that I had complayned against  
 them which as I did not so It was not yet in my purpose  
 only I was willing to lett them see I did not so depend on  
 Asaph Chan by whose mouth I vsed to doe my busines,  
 but that if he continued his manner of neuer deliuering  
 what I sayd but what he pleasd I could synd another way  
 My message was to cleare any such doubt If It remaynd  
 or if not, to entreat him that he would soften the Prince in  
 my demandes concerning Suratt. He answered neyther  
 the Prince nor he had any reason to suspect my purpose  
 was to Complayne of them that the error was euident  
 enough for his part he had euer had the loue of the  
 English and would endeaour to contineu yt.

*March 15.*—The king sent me a tame sheepe new  
 shorne with his owne hand so satt that it had not leane to

eat halfe At Euening I went to the *Norose* and demanded of Asaph Chan a place Hee bad me Choose, so I went within the rayle, and stood on the right hand of the kyng upon the rising of the Throne, the Prince and young Ranna on the other syde So that I sawe what was to be seene, Presents, Elephants, horses, and many whoores

*March 16-22* —I prepared my demandes perfect and in the Persian Toong My course was by way of articles, to make prouision for our securitye and Peace and to preuent all such abuses as the former yeare had giuen me experience of, that I might doe all at once and not trouble the king with new motions and Complaynts I projected to haue diuers Coppies signed together and to send two to euery factory, one to be proclaymed and after sett up in some Publique place, the other for the merchants for dayly vse

*March 23* —The king Condemned a Mogull on suspicion of felony, and beeing loth to execute him, both in regard of his person, the goodliest man I euer saw in Indya, and that the euidence were not cleere, hee sent him to mee by the Officers in Irons for a Slaue, or to dispose of him at my pleasure This is esteemed a high fauour, for which I returnd thancks that in England we had no slaues, neyther was it lawfull to make the Image of God fellow to a Beast but that I would vse him as a seruant, and if his good behaviour merited yt, would giue him libertye This his Maiestie tooke in very good part

1616, *March 26* —I went to the *Gusell Channe*, and deliuering the king a present of picturs I offered vp my Articles to his Maiesties Consideration Asaph Chan tooke & opened them, and finding them somewhat long he found fault, to which I answered they were no longer then the many late abuses required, which I thinck made him doubt they Conteyned Complaynts, so, showing them the

king they were referred to him with promise if they stood with his honor they should be sealed and I should expect my answer from Asaph Chan. He stept to the Prince and together reading one or two finding they were not accusations, he came to mee and promised mee all fauour, only hee stuck at the length. But here fell o Crosse. i keeping the Place which I first tooke, alone and out of ranck which the kings subjects obserue a place designed mee by the king the place giuen to Sir Robert Sherly and indeed aboute olli his subjectes, Asaph Chan sent mee a message to goe downe and stand by the doore among the kings seruants. I answered if the king Comanded I knew what I had to doe but to stirr for any other I would not. He sent againe that it was not the Custome for any to stand alone that I should goe backe in the ranck of noble men. I replied I was a stranger and ignorant of their Customes, but I was not ignorant that I was a kings Ambassador and not of the quality of seruants that his maiestie had placed mee and saw mee now. If I did amisse hee was fittest to find faulte if it were his pleasure I should goe home, I was ready but one foote back I would not and that I expected from him rather additions of grace then discourtesies. Then hee sent an Officer to fright mee, but I went so much higher and nearer the king and standing awhile without molestation, alone and euery bodyes eyes cast vpon mee, I saw place wherein stood only the Prince and young Ranna by the king to which I went, resoluinge, if I must rancke, I would rancke with the best. This angered Asaph Chan woorse, who euer sought to woorke me to the humilltye of my predecessors, and to an absolute dependance and obedience on his will. So that stepping to the Prioe, he desired him to Complayne of mee, as of a great insolency to approach him which hee did willingly. The king asked why I went from my first place. Asaph Chan

replied that hee had sent to mee to take ranck with the noble men, and made mee moue The king answered · then hee hath done well , what had any man to doe to displace him ? Was it not in my sight ? What harme does hee ? Hee comes to see me , and with such reprehension Commanding them to lett me vse my discretion Soc I stood in Peace, but with Asaph Chans displeasure

*The Coppie of my Demands follow<sup>1</sup>*

Articles of Amitye, Commerce, and Entercourse, betweene the two most high and Mighty Kings, The great Mogull, King of India, and the King of Great Brittane, France, and Ireland, Concluded on by the said great Mogull on his part, and in the behalfe of the King of great Brittane by Sir Thomas Roe, knight, his Ambassador for that purpose authorised

1 First, it is Concluded on both parts that ther shalbe a good and perfect loue, leauge, and peace to endure for euer betwixt the said mighty Princes, their subjects, and dominions

2 Secondly, it is concluded and agreed vnto by the said high and Mighty King of India on his part, which by this writting he doth promise and to all the world declare, That the subjects of the most renowned King of Great Brittane shall come freely without any prohibition to any of the Ports or hauens in the Dominions of the said King of India, as well in Bengala and Syndu as in the lordship of Suratt, with their shipes and other vessells, and so arriued may quietly, safely, and peaceably land theyr goodes, and for their mony shall haue liberty to hire a Convenient house, wherein they may remayne, freely to sell, buy, or otherwise transport their goodes into the Mayne at their pleasure

3 Theirdly, it is Concluded, that when any shipes of the said English shall arriue at any Port, the Gouvernor of the Place or cheefe Cytty adjoyning shall publish 3 seuerall days this agree ment, to the end that all men may freely sell at the shore any prouision of victualls and releefe and may alsoe goe aboard the shipes, trade and buy at their pleasurs, and may freely furnish the said english at the ordinary rates of the kings subjectes with boates, cartes, and other prouisions of Carriadge at their pleasurs without any prohibition, as well at the sea syde as at the rivers, in which the English haue lately susteyned great losse

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<sup>1</sup> There is a copy of this document in Pepwell's Letter-book, preserved among the I O Records It presents no material difference

4 Fowerthly it is agreed that the persons of English Merchants nor theyr seruants shall not be searched, nor dispyght fully vsed, but that Comminge to the *Alfandica* they shall show what necessaryes they bring with them and what mony for expence, which shalbe free vnto them from any violence or force of the Gouvernor or other Officers, and free of any Custome, soe that it exceed not 10 rials of Elght<sup>1</sup> In goodes or mony

5 Fifthly, it is Agred that what presents soeuer are sent by the most Mighty King of great Brittainye, or the Company of Merchantes, vnto the said great King of India, or for any such vse, shall not be touched, opened, nor meddled with by the Gouvernor or any officer what soeuer but only beeing marked with their seale shalbe deliuered without delay to be sent to Court vnto the English Embassador or Agent there resident, that hee may according to directions deliver them vnto the said Mighty King, wherein the English haue beene heretofore much wronged.

6 Sixtly it is Concluded that the goodes of the said English Merchantes landed at any Port within the dominions of the King of India shalbe dispeeded to their howse without lett or hinderance and shall not be stayed on any pretence aboue one day and Night in the *Alfandica* to take notice of the Number and markes, and soe shall be ther sealed and within 6 dayes after opened and rated at the house of the said Merchants by the officers of the said Custome, at reasonable prices and not exacted vpon as heretofore.

7 Seuenthy it is agreed that no Gouvernor nor any other officer shall presume to take by force any trisles from poore priuat men at their pleasures, but shall suffer them to make price of their owne, and soe paye for yt. Neyther shall the Gouvernor nor any other officer by force and without the Consent of the Merchantes take into his house or Custody any of the goodes so landed, under pretence of seruinge the King, nor for his owne vse vntill such prises and dayes of payment be agreed on as shall giue content to both sides.

8 Eightly it is concluded that for any goodes so landed and agreed for having discharged the duties of the Port, the said English shall haue free liberty to sell to any person, wherein the Gouvernor shall not hinder them, nor force them to agree at his price or otherwise it shalbe lawful to Convoy and send them to any other their factory without any hinderance or other dutie required in any Place as they shall passe, the duty of the Port beeing discharged, wherof the Iudg of the *Alfandica* shall giue certificatt.

9 Ninthly it is agreed that what goodes soeuer the English shall buy in any part of the dominions of the said Mighty King of India shall passe safely and freely toward their Port without any

<sup>1</sup> The rial of elght was worth about 4s 6d. in English money



enterruption or force or exaction of Convoyes, other then such as themsclues shall thinck requisitt, or requiring any Custome or duty on the way untill they arrive at their Port, wher it shalbe lawfull for them, paying the duties of the Port only, according to agreement, to ship theyr said goodes without the hinderance or delay of any whatsoever

10 Tenthly, it is concluded that what goodes soeuer shalbe soe brought downe to any Port, shall not be agayne opened by the Officers of the Port, the English showing a Certificat from the Gouvernors and officers where the said goodes were bought, of the Numbers, qualeties, and Conditions of the said goodes

11 Eleuenthy, it is concluded if any of the said English shall dye in any part of these dominions, thier shalbe no confiscation of any mony or goodes in his Custodye, but both those and all other debts shall remayne to the factors suruiving, and if all the said factors shall happen to dye, in any of their residences, The Officer of the Towne shall take notice vpon register of all such Monyes, goodes, bookes, bills, and Papers as shalbe found in their house, which beeing sealed vp shalbe deliuered to the English at their request

12 Twelfthly, it is agreed that no Custome be exacted for victualls during the abode of the shipes at any port

13 Thertine, it is agreed that the seruants of the said English shall not be punished, beaten, nor Misused for doeing but their duties, whether they be English or Indians, wherby they haue not dared to speake when they haue beene Commanded

14 Lastly, it is Concluded that in the breach of any of these Articles & conclusions by any Gouvernor or Officer, and vpon any other Iust occasion, The most mighty King wilbe pleased to giue his seuerall *firmans* for speedy Iustice and redresse in all such Iniuries, and vpon neglect therof, to giue condigne punishment to the offenders And alsoe to *Chop* diuers Coppies of this agreement, to be sent by the English Ambassador as well to the King of Great Brittain for his full assurance of the Amitye and leauge concluded, as into diuers parts of the dominions of the said Mighty King of India to the end that all his officers may without excuse take notice of his Command

It is farther agreed and concluded by the sayd Ambassador, on the behalfe of the most mighty King of Great Brittain, that all the shippes and forces of the said English arriuing in any Port or Coast of the dominions of the said great Mogull shall suffer all Merchanntes to passe and repasse quietly with their shipes and goodes in Peace, except the enemyes of the said English, or any other that shall seeke to injure them, and that all the factors of the English residing in any Citty vpon the land shall behaue themselues peaceably and Ciuilly like Merchantes without offering wrong to any person what soeuer

Secondly, it is agreed that they shall bring and furnish the said

mighty King with all the rarities yearly that they can find and with any other goodes or furniture of warr which the said King shall reasonable desire at indifferent<sup>1</sup> Prices, and that they shall not conceale any rarities or goodes whatsoever (the presents only excepted) but shall make offer to the Governors of the Ports wher they arrive, for the use of the said King, for which the Governor shall agree for the Price and pay for them to theyre Content. And if it shall happen that such Prices cannot be agreed vpon, that then the Governor shall not take them by force, but shall sett his *Chap* vpon them, and so deliuer them to the factors, to be transported to the Court, wher they shalbe showed the said King, and agreed for by the factors there resident. But if the said goodes appertaine to any priuat man, that is to depart with the said shipes, then the said Governor shall pay for them at the deliuey or otherwise restore them to the owner.

Therdy It is Concluded that the said English shall pay the Custome agreed on at the Porte, to say, 3 per Cento and  $\frac{1}{2}$  for goodes reasonably rated, and 2 per Cento for Rials of eight<sup>2</sup>; for which vpon Certificate they shall pay no other Custome in any towne wher they shall passe their said goodes.

Fourthly it is agreed that the said English shall in all things be ready to pleasure and assist the said mighty King and his subjects against any Enemy to the Common Peace, as it becomes the subjects of Kings mutually in leauge and Confederacy one with another.

Fynally wheras the Portugalls haue, Contrary to the lawe of Nations, sought by seuerall assaults to Molest the quett trade of the said English, and haue declared themselves theyre Enemies and to keepe in Subjection the Subjects of the said great King of India, Notwithstanding the said Mighty King of great Brittain, being a Friend to Peace and Justice, hath giuen Commission to his said Ambassador to Conclude and Comprehend the said Portugalles in the said Peace and frendshipe, to the end that trade and Commerce might be open and free to all Nations, to the great honor security and proffitt of the said great King of India, and his subjects, wherof he the said Ambassador by his lettres to the viceroy of Goa hath made offer and the said Embassador doth farther promise that if, by the means of the said great King or Prince, the said Viceroy (having showed good authoritye from the King of Portugall) will in the space of six Monthes enter into the said Peace and leauge, he wilbe reddey to accept therof and in Case of Refusall it shalbe lawfull for the said English on the

<sup>1</sup> Impartial, just; cp. the petition in the English church liturgy for the *indifferent* administration of justice.

<sup>2</sup> These were the usual rates at Surat (both for imports and exports) for foreigners' goods. Natives paid only  $2\frac{1}{2}$  per cent. (I O Records *Surat Letter-book*, 1616-17 f. 50, and Elkington's *Note-Book*).

seas as well to Chastice the stubbornes of an obstinat enemie to Peace, as alsoe to requite any robberyes made by them, in taking any of their shippes, boates, or goodes, without any offence to the said great King of India.

To all which Articles and Conclusions all the foresaid Mighty Princes haue sett their *Chopes* and doe promise faythfull performance on all Partes on their Royall woordes

*March 27-31* —I attended Asaph Channs answere, but could not obteyne yt

The king was feasted at Asaph Channs house, Normall, the Prince and many attending From the kings house to his were veluetts and silkes sowed and layd vnderfoote an english mile, but rouled vp as the king passed, much talked of, but most ridiculously They reported the feast and present cost 6 *lecks* of *rupias*, which is starling 60,000*li*, the particulars [*blank in MS*]

*April 1* —The king went ahunting At his returne he sent me two wildd hogges by a gentellman. that they were kylld by his owne hand, and many fauorable complements, which gladded mee, that his Maiestie I perceiued was not incensed against mee.

*April 3* —I receiued answer from Asaph chan that my demandes were vnreasonable and Could not be signed, without mention in what Clause or part. This I tooke but as a braue, knoweing the king had not seene them, or else to drawe a bribe, to which, cauen to base and sordidnes, he is most open So I resolved to trye by faire meanes, and if there were noe remedie to appeale to the king for a more indifferent Iudge

*April 4.*—I sent Asaph Chan a lettre expostulating some vnkindnesses and the particulars which he misliked in the Articles. offering all tearmes of frendship, if I might haue yt on free Conditions The Coppy is registred.<sup>1</sup>

*April 5* —I receiued answer that he had euer beene a

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<sup>1</sup> At f. 93 of the MS It is sufficiently summarised in the text

friend to the English and would so continue to mee if I would follow his counceill that Mocrebchan and others desired that wee should be banished, but that hee with stood yt, excusing himselfe for sending to mee to take another place, that hee knew not the Customes of England, of the articles not one woord. At night I receiued lettres from Suratt with the particulars soe long desired of the Gouvernors publique and priuat abuses, which were soe intolerable that neuer any Christians endured the like from open enemyes. Though these came somewhat late, Zuiphekarcon beeing arrued at Court and with our goodes extorted by force made his Peace much to my prejudice who had threatned him before his Comminge and now was silent for want of them, yet I resolved to prosecute my course, but as warely as I could taking occasion vpon Asaph Chans answer to pretend that I had forborne complayning for respect to the Prince and attended to doe nothing without his aduise, which by lettre I requird.

*April 7*—I wrote to Asaph Chan about Zuiphekarcon and the abuses of Suratt<sup>1</sup> sending in Persian a generali complaynt of the personall Injuries to the English and their goodes and with yt three particulars one of the Companies goodes taken by force from the factors, and of the robberies of priuat men, of his bribes and extortion, the second, of the goodes yet remayning in the Custome howe deteyned by the Iudg with his extortions, the third the numbers of presents giuen voluntarielye to procure his fauour wherby it might appeare wee had not merited the least of his Tyrannyes. Asaph Chan read them all in the presence of my messenger and answered that if hee might receiue certayne knowledg whether the Custome were

<sup>1</sup> See the "relation of abuses to the English merchants" in *O.C.*, No. 572, which, by the way has been wrongly assigned in the *Cal. S.P.*, *E. Indies*, 1617 21 (p. 81) to November, 1617

dischardged or not, that soe much might be deducted toward satisfaction; the rest, he should bee enforced to pay, and hee would procure the Princes order for Iustice in the wrongs for example in tymes to Come, and alsoe giue us a dischardge for the goodes deteyned in the *Alfandica*, with restitution of the bribes, and liberty to sell or transport at pleasure, with many promises of frendship to the English

*April 8* — Master Biddolph returned with my answer that I knew not whether the Customes were payd or not, but that I did desire he<sup>1</sup> might answere and satisfie here for the goodes taken by him perforce that howeuer ther remayned in the *Alfandica* sufficient to dischardge the kinges dues, which we prayd warrant to receiue vpon satisfaction. He answered it was all reason and that on the morow he would enforme the Prince and cause the mony extorted to be restored, the debts payd, and a Command sent to Suratt for the release and liberty of the goodes, the customes beeing dischardged, and if the Prince refused he would assist mee in seeking Iustice of the king.

*April 10* — I sent to Asaph Chan, who answered he had deliuered my seuerall papers to the Prince, who had sent them to Zulphekarcon that hee might peruse them, and whatsoeuer was due should be payd. He was also new writting the Articles by me demanded with his owne hand, saying some woordes were not well placed by my translator that he would mend them and procure it signed. This night came the second *Caphila*<sup>2</sup> from Suratt with Cloth, sent by<sup>3</sup> a Dutchman new tooke vp and a boye that was stewardest mate in the *lyon*, who had bene 62 dayes on the way, to the preiudice of sale, great expence, and losse of the Company to employ so ignorant and care-

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<sup>1</sup> Zúlfikár Khán  
Under the charge of

<sup>2</sup> Caravan (Arabic *káfila*)

lesse fellowes. I receiued by this *Casala* 3 cases of bottles of Alegant<sup>1</sup> (the Cases ould and woorth Nothing), and aduise from Master Herridge of all busines at Suratt.

*April 11 13.*—The king went to Hlafaz Gemall<sup>2</sup> a hunting and I could not follow for a flux that hung on mee. Late at night the king returned.

*April 14.*—I went to the *Durbar* and presented the king one Case of Allegant, which hee tooke very gladly. This was the first tyme I saw Asaph Chan after the vnkindnes taken at the *Ghul Chan* who to preuent any woordes vsed mee with more curtesy then vsuali and tould mee the Articles were ready for the scale and all other my demandes should bee fulfilled. This day your Cape Merchannt at Adsmere dispatched a supply of Cloth and factors to Agra which I urged a month sooner but could not preuayle, though the yeare were farr spent.

*April 16.*—I went to visitt the Prince Sultan Caronne, for though Asaph Chan had vndertaken the busines, yet I feard hee was slow and perhapes the Prince did expect so much obseruance from mee as to speake to him in myne owne Cause. So I tooke some powrfull wyne and in the strength therof desired Iustice against Zulphekarcon offering my four papers of seuerall accusations. The Prince seemed at first discontent and answered only his debts should be payd out of the Custome due when hee had Confessed them. I replied that was not all I desired nor enough in that Poynt for first, I knew him so false he would neuer confesse them if that would avoyd it, next I expected restitution of bribes, a warrant to deliuer the goodes deteyned in Custome house, liberty to transport at

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<sup>1</sup> A Spanish wine, then much esteemed; so called from its place of origin (Alicante).

<sup>2</sup> The Daulat Bâgh, or Garden of Splendour built by Jahângir on the Anâ Sâgar lake. It now serves as the abode of the Chief Commissioner of Ajmere Merwârâ.

our pleasure, a declaration that the Gouvernor had belyed the king and the Prince in Publishing our banishment, and a conformation [confirmation?] of our residence, with Iustice for all personall Injuries to the example of future tymes, which if it were refused mee here, I would appeale to the king without abusing my selfe with farther hopes Only I desired the Prince to doe me this fauour, to receiue the Papers and to read them himselfe, for our injuries were of soe high a Nature and soe vnsupportable that I did assure myselfe of speedy redresse from a Prince of honor, when he rightly understood them, which I knew yet were deliuered to him with all fauour for my aduersary He sayd that Zulheckcon should be sent for to answer to the particulars But some replied yt would be to late, his house beeing farr off, wherat I seeing the *Buxy* of Suratt in presence, an honest man and a frend to vs, I tould the Prince, for the wronges and forces vsed to vs, his seruant the *Buxy* [was?] present, who could giue both testemony for mee and satisfaction, who speaking as far as he durst, the Prince sent for his secretary<sup>1</sup> and bad him take my papers, read them diligently and examine Zulphecarcon, and make warrant that what bribes, extortions, debts, cyther he or the Iudge of the *Alfandica* had taken (against whom the Complaynt was Ioyntly) should be deducted out of the Custome, if it sufficed not, the remayner should be here payd: that our goodes should be deliuered and our abode confirmed, with protection from wrong In a woord I had an open promise for effectual satisfaction in all my desiers, except only some exemplary Iustice vpon his person, which when I urged, the secretary answered that the Iudg

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<sup>1</sup> Mulla Shukrulla, the Prince's *diwān* or steward, rather than secretary. Rot often refers to him by his title of Afzal Khān, which was given him by Jahāngīr, when on behalf of his master he presented Prince Kiran at court in token of the submission of Udaipur. Under Shah Jahān he rose to high office, and died at Lahore in January, 1639.

of the *Alfandica* should be discharged of his place for his corruption towards vs, and that the warrante was passed the seale for his appearance, for that the Prince had beene enformed by Asaph Chan of as much as I could say and for my assurance in what he had there Comanded he desired me to take his woord it should bee effected to my full Content In euery poynt with all expedition that he was sorry and ashamed of the injustice wee had endured and that hee would euer doe his endeour for our Content This is hee that almost only will neuer receiue guilte nor present When I could obteyne noe more I was well Content with this, it being, the best Morning, that euer wee had In India.

*April 18.*—Aganor the *Cuticoll* of Agra invited him selfe to breakfast. He is one of our best frendes, very rich and defendes our Nation from all Injuries in Agra.<sup>1</sup>

I sent in Socornla, the Princes secretary to sollicite the *firmaen* Hee answered he had drawn yt according to my desire in euery clause only it could not be sealed vntill the debts demanded by vs weere agreed vnto by Zulpheckearcon, who was then gone with Sultan Caronne to Hafaz Geamal but that two dayes after if I would send any to meete Zulpheckearcon or his *luxy* the debts should bee recorded and all dispatched.

*April 19.*—Mirza, my Neighbour and brother in law to the king came to visitt mee and stayd dynner but would not eate. He begged euery thing but I pleased him

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<sup>1</sup> In Roe's list of presents occurs the following account of this gentleman's behaviour on the occasion: "I gaue him according to the Custome two knives, one of amber and one of Jett, cost xs., and a pare of tables of Ebone and Eliphant's tooth worth yer. Then he desired mee to giue hi brother a pare of knives, which I did of vjs. price. After that hee desired some greater knives and I shewed him finer which hee took every one, without restoring the former. Though this was somewhat vnnannerly yet I was Content, because hee is one of the best frendes wee haue in India and did keepe the English house from being taken from them in Agra (*Add MS.* 6115, f. 278).



with a feather, 3 or 4 Paper picturs, and an ould pare of spurrs

*April 20*—I sent according to appoyntment to meete Zulpheckcarcon at Sacarollaes, but neyther hee nor any from him would appeare Soe he desiered those deputed by mee to come agayne on the Morow and he would take order they should not loose more labour.

*April 21*—They returned and Zulpheckcarcons steward mett them at the secretaries, who tooke great paynes to accord the accountes, and with all indifferency and Iustice assisted them in theyr demandes, but no conclusion could be made, the steward almost absolutly denying euery particular, and for some few confessed would not consent to the price demanded So that concerning the debts it was resolved to write to Suratt to examine witnesses & to make prooffe, and vpon certifficat wee should here be payd But this Course seemed to mee tedious and delatorye, so that I resolved of another way, receiuing at present a *firman* for the goodes deteyned in the Custome house, and wheras Zulpheckcarcon had deuulged that a *firmaen* was granted for our banishment it was playnly declared a lye, and Command giuen to entertayne and vse the English with all fauour, authorising not only their residence but transport and free trade at their pleasures Concerning other particular Injuries complayned off long before, for which I was offered a *firmaen* very effectuall, but for a Clause concerning the Portugalles I had refused it <sup>1</sup> it was now new drawen, that article left out, and offered mee, beeing more lardge and ample in many poyntes for our redresse, which I alsoe thanckfullie accepted, resolving to take what I could, and after to seeke remedy for the rest, but with that was sent the 3 Articles signed by me long before, requiring a fourth that for all armes, as swoordes,

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<sup>1</sup> See p 141

pieces, and such [they?] should remayne in the Custome house and be sold there with some other frivoliuous motions which I rejecting absolutely It was deliuered without yt and the former articles alsoe forgotten to be remanded For my demand of Iustice against the parsonall wrongs offered to our Nation I was answered that Zulpheckcaroon did recriminat and Complainne as much against theyr extreame druckennes ryott quarreling and drawing their swoordes in the *Alfandies* against the kings officers, and that therefore I was to sett one against other and seeke to mend both in tyme to Come or if I would not that then the Prince would expect that Iustice were likewise done vpon such as had offended I knew to my shame this accusation true and so demurrd of my resolution to prosecute against his person beeing a fauoritt of the Princes vntill I had satisfaction in my other demandes it being free for me to renew it at my best advantage. Now I had many suites a foote and durst not venture to haue all my deslers at once or none.

*April 23.*<sup>1</sup>—I sent to Sacarolla this proposition to giue me another *firmaen* directed to Abram Chan to examine our account at Suratt, wher if any prooffe could be made, the wittnesses were and for as much as should be made manifest, to giue warrant to be deducted out of the Custome for first to send downe to examine wittnesses, to expect answer and after to attend payment, when in the meane tyme we were forced to cleare the Custome, or suffer our goodes to lye & take lesse I thought vnreasonable. He answered he had labored for vs, and had drawn him<sup>2</sup> to Confesse most part, to the summe of 14 or 15,000 *Vainoodies* <sup>3</sup> so that he was resolved he had all the rest

<sup>1</sup> Shakespeare's death-day.

<sup>2</sup> Zulfikár Khán.

<sup>3</sup> The *Mamúdi* was a Gujráti coin which circulated extensively in W India. Terry calls it "about twelve pence sterling." Peyton says it equalled 30 *Pice*, of which 33½ were equivalent to an English shilling. Terry's account of the coinage of India is interesting. He says

and therefore would putt him to sweare to euery particular by the Princes head, which was as much as could be done in the case of any Subject, and when he had answered wee should receiue a *firmaen* for all together Further he sayd that 700 and odd ryalls of 8 specified in our bill to rest in the Custome house was sent to the Prince in specie, for which we should haue warrant

*April 25* —Seeing this could not be effected with expedition I sent downe the two *firmaens* receiued to Suratt, with advise how I would proccede in the busines, giuing warning to arme themselues with what prooffe could be made against that which Zulpheckcarcon should here forswear.

TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT

(*Addl MS 6115, f 93*)

26 April, 1616

You may thinck I haue forgotten to write, so tedious vncertaintyes having shutt up all occasion I was willing to effect somewhat, and by the passadge therof to make iudgment of our estimation here and what wee might discreetly hope for in tymes to Come, as well in respect of our reception, as of our meanes to continew this trade from England, soe that nowe I will gieve you particular answers to all the parts of your lettres, as also some generall aduises and obseruations of myne owne

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(p 119) "The Coyn or Bullion brought thither from any place is presently melted and refined and the Mogol's stamp (which is his Name and Titles, in Persian Characters) put upon it The Coyn there is more pure than in any other part of the World, being (as they report) made of pure Silver without any Allay, so that in the Spanish Money, the purest of all Europe, there is some loss They call their pieces of Money *Roopees*, of which there are some of diuers values, the meanest worth two shillings and three pence, and the best two shillings and ninepence sterling By these they account their Estates and Payments They have another Coyn of inferiour value in Guzarat called *Mamoodies*, about twelve pence sterling, both the former and these are made in halves, and some few in quarters, so that threepence is the least piece of Silver current in those Countreyes, and very few of them to be seen That which passeth up and down for exchange under this rate is Brass or Copper money, which they call *Pices*, whereof three or thereabouts countervail a penny Those *pices* are made so massie and thick as that the baser metal of which they are made, put to other uses, is well nigh worth the Silver they are rated at Their Silver Coyn is made either round or square, but so thick as that it never

The Continuinge of this trade consists principally on two Ioynts our good reception and priuiledges to be oldeyned and performed to vs here and the vent of our owne comodities. Without the one, wee cannot alyde with honor, without the other wee will not, to no profit. For our reception and priuiledges they stand on doubtfull termes and will runne the chaunce of fortune. For the King respectes vs very well and is ready to grant all reasonable demandes. But this affection is forced and not naturall, and therfore not permanent nor assured ground to build on. The Prince dislikes vs, and though he saurour no Christian, yet the Portugall must, and hath pleaded for him (vnder pretence of more profit to his Port) disdainfully asking what wee bring but Cloth and Knives. Now this disposition is Naturall, like to Continew and in tyme vpon all aduantages to worke or weare out his fathers better opinionne which is att best but feare and temponing. For if euer the Portugall can giue vs one blowe, wee are lost here. For our second foundation of our residence in these parts, the venting of our owne Comoditye, though I haue no skill in particular merhandize yet I vniuersally discern they will sonner and faster weaken vs here then the want of priuiledges, for I see no Comoditye that will proue staple and certainly vendable able to retaine a ship yearly. Our Cloth will not off in many yeates here I am perswaded twenty will not sell the King is c luttred with the last and no man regards it. Swordes are worse lead and teeth, if they will vent, yet will they lide faster out then home. For one year gould or siluered vluettes, Crogrames, Chamletts and silk stufes may serue vs, but constantly noething. So that my opinion is, breefly seeing our state cannot beare the exportation of money except some new trade can be discovered from the East to serue this kingdome it must fall to ground by the weaknes of its owne legges.

breaks nor wears out. They haue pure Gold Coyne likewise, some peeces of great value; but these are not very ordinarily seen amongst them.

<sup>1</sup> This letter initiated an interesting correspondence on the prospects of the trade and the drain of silver from Europe which it entailed. Writing on the 26th of the following month, Kerridge and his colleagues answered the ambassador's remarks as follows: "It hath further pleased your Lordship to insiste on the principal necessary Causes For the Continuance of our trade the one our good reception and priuiledges, the other the vent of our Cominodities. To the First, itt hath not bine vnderstood (as wee conceaue) that our entertaynement proceeded from affection, but rather through Feare, occasioned by the example of Sir Henry Myddleton neither is itt the princes want of affection only but the portingales bringing in of more profitts by Costumes and presents then wee and the merchants of this place are alsoe vndone by our trade to the Southwards, which hath taken (as wee may terme itt) the meate out of their

*April 26* — I receiued intelligence that the Prince caused one of his seruants at the *Durbar* to aske the king why he

mouthes and overthrowne their trade that way, besides the oppression and wrong done them (Cheefely For our cause) by the portingales, soe that of Feared euills they chose in appeareance the leaste, though it haue prooued otherwise, For since our Coming this porte is vndone, which in their greefs they spare not somtymes to tell vs, and, had the portingals in their enterprises against vs prevayled (as your lordship rightly aleageth), wee had ere now bine expulced Soe that, as our entertaynment was in a manner Forced, our priuiledges and good vsadge (if at all as wee Feare) must accordingly bee obtayned and Continued For the second Foundation (the vendeing of our Comodities) we make no question but that store of goods may bee brought which will yeald both good proffitt and ready monys heere Lead, Tynn and dyuers others are staple Comodities, 150 or 200 choise cloths will sell alsoe to good proffitt, swords and the like are of small importe, in lew wherof dyuers other things may bee brought, and though perchaunce they Faile on yeare in present sales, yett merchants are to seeke out and sende (at adventure) whatsoeuer may bee hoped will yeald bennefitt. And though all these should Faile, the Comodities of this Country may haue such Currant vent in some of our neighbour lands as will produce more ready Coyne then the Company shall neede to send heyther to supplie this trade" (I O Records *Surat Records*, 841, f 36) Roe returned to the subject on the 19th June (*MS*, f 104) "Without mony this trade will fall, which is one motiue not to be too base to hould it vp That these Comodities will vent for siluer in other Countryes our neighbors is no answeare, for this [*silver*] comes not out of England which is now sent, and wee are as well members of Europe as Citizens of England, which is but one lymne and if the whole growe poore wee beare our proportion But the losse is more particular, for if wee did not send mony this way, the Merchant, who often sould for mony, gott more by returning it in specie very often then by investing it, and so it Came to the Kings mynt, which now cryes like a hungry belly against this trade." The factors replied (23rd July) with some spirit "That the Comodities from hence vendinge for silver in other Countryes Can be no aunswer, vnder Correction of your better Iudgment we apprehend it otherwise. For silver which Comes not thither Cannot Com thence, and consequently the state hath neither benefitt or preiudyce, but Comodities Carryed from hence and transported to Forrain partes geues Double Custom, the proceede wherof by reemployment bringeth Continuall proffitt both to the state and Commonwealth Our being members of Europe as Citizens of England were a verry good reason to Consider our proportion of the generall poverty, if the members of Europe were also citizens of England, who, seking their owne benefitt, waye not our Losse, As the duche transport a pound to our shillinge, the Portingall little lesse, besydes the somes Conuayed from many partes of Christendom into Turkey And more particularly, the monyes sent this waye, if the trade were not, would be transported into Turkey in greater somes to procure the Comodities of this place. Besides which, we intreat your Consideration that all the silver landed heer this yeere amounteth not to aboue 4000 li sterlinge, wheras the goodes retorned vpon the

used so good Countenance to the English that for their cause the Portugalls were barred the Port of Suratt who brought more proffitt to the king as many Ballaces<sup>1</sup> Pearles and Jewelles whereas the English came only to seeke proffitt with Cloth Swoordes, and knives of little estimation. The king answered only it was true but who could mend yt? Hereby the Princes good affection was manifest, and I had safre warning to be watchfull and to study to preserve ourselves in the kinges grace in which only wee were safe but I resolved to take notice of this

*Lyon* amounteth in fewer tymes the som, the rest is proccede of Commodities, the Customs wherof will bringe more profit to the kinges coffers then the want of a farr greater quantitey of silver to be Coynded in his mint; whereby you maye be pleased to perceave the Crye in this respect is without Cause. Roe, in a further letter of the 20th August (1554, L. 114), rejoined with some asperity that he "doubted not but that the king may gayne in Customes wher the Common wealth doth loose, that england might profit by Europes detriment. Yet I proposed a generall Care, wherein if the Dutch and Portugall sayle in their duties, it doth not follow you should err in your judgment.

However you esteeme that little losse the Parliamēt of England, which is the spirit and soule of the wisdom of England, more vales 10,000*l* money in regard of substantiall wealth then 100,000 in estimation in China dishes, silkes, spices, dyes and trash, that consume in one yeare the fuell of yearly pride and gluttony; for in the neede or perill of the Commonwealth none of these will sett out a flecte to sea nor pay an army. And if their authoritye prevaile with you, know if the last [*The Addled Parliament* (1614), in which Roe had sat as member for Tamworth] had proceeded they had limited both this and the Turkish Company supposing the Crye of the kings mynt to be as mournfull a bearing as if the liver the fountayne of blood should complayne in a naturall body. For they Consider not like you that more profit came to the Kings coffers by Customes of East India goodes then would arise by all the money that is transported; but they regarded that so much money in England were more esteemable then all that goods to the Common wealth, for that what soever comes in by Customes is the Kings owne and is payd by the money already in the land but the silver that Comes in the mynt is as it were new begotten and added to the stock of the kingdome, and is the property of divers men being enfranchised and naturalized by the kings stampe and impression.

It will be noticed that the factors, in defending the export of silver from England, took the line of argument adopted five years later by Thomas Mun in his *Discourse of Trade* (1621).

<sup>1</sup> The Balas ruby really a rose red spinelle. The word is said to be a corruption of *Balakhsht* or *Badakhsht* from Badakhshān, their place of origin.

and to make prooffe if I could settle a better opinion in the Prince of our Nation

TO MASTER LESCKE, MINISTER OF GODS WOORD AT SURATT <sup>1</sup>

(I O Records O C, No 359)

Adsmere, April 27, 1616

Mr Lescke,

I should haue beene glad to haue heard some newes from the church, for of the world I haue dayly too much *Vnum necesse est* <sup>2</sup> Though it was not my good happ to see you at my comming away, yet I left my well wishes, and shalbe glad to heare of you and from you Much I cannot doe, but both your place (to which I euer owed reuerence), your sincere carriadge (to which I must testefye), command me to offer any thing in my powre, which you shall freely vse when you will make tryall I know too well how slightly the ministry is regarded, but he that considers the saying of our sauour he that despiseth mee, despiseth him that sent mee, will know god takes the Injuries offered to his delegates as done to him I write not that I doubt any such measure toward you (your owne grauetye will withstand yt), but that I may lett you know my desire to carry straw to Gods building, and that I had rather wayte on the temple then in the courts of Princes

If you expect news from mee, I must freely say I neuer Imagined a Prince so famed would liue so meanly All his wealth is no woonder The *Norose*, at which tyme all is exposed, is a poore may game Religions infinite, lawes none In this Confusion what can bee expected?

I haue little els to say, but that which is most materiall for mee, that you will remember mee in your prayers God hath dealt mercifully with mee, and (as I may say) hath visited and yet redeemed mee, for I haue had a long tyme of sicknes and am euery day relapsing, yet his mercy hath often raysd mee, His name be praysd euer So, with the assurance of my good hart toward you, I committ you to the tuition of him who nether bruseth the broken reed nor quencheth the smoking flaxe

Your assured frend,

THO ROE

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<sup>1</sup> This letter has been reproduced in fac-simile its brevity, and the fact that it is entirely in Roe's hand, rendering it especially suitable for that purpose

The Rev William Lescke had come out in the same fleet as the ambassador, having been appointed chaplain to the Surat factory He did not get on well with his flock, and, in January, 1617, he was removed by Pepwell and sent home on charges of licentiousness and drunkenness brought against him by the factors

<sup>2</sup> Luke x, 42

Mr. Lafleur

I should have been glad to have heard some news from & surely for a  
little while I have been too much of a busy man  
as my health often troubled me. His name has been  
assurances of my good luck toward you. I cannot give you his position  
of him, who makes breadth & broken road more pleasant & smoother.

Yours most  
affectionately  
Apr 27 1916

Wm. B. Roe

Wm. B. Roe





*April 27*—I aduised Asaph Chan what had passd concerning Zulpheckearcon who returned me that I should not abate one *Pice*

*April 28*.—I sent to Socarolla who answered that Zulpheckearcon had beene putt to sweare according to promise to the particulars vnconfessed and that hee had Craued 3 dayes to call all his people to account what had beene taken without his knowledge or not in his Memorie which was granted, and that the *firmans* for the 700 Riall of Eight<sup>1</sup> and the debts Confessed was ready but to end togeather it was deteyned vntill the expiration of this tyme, when wee should haue satisfaction In all

*April 29*.—I roade to visit Asaph Chan in the Morning but hee was asleepe. At night I went to the *Durbar* about my articles from the King which were of most consequence. Asaph Chan after many Complementes excusing his sluggishnes, desired me to take no care for them he would gett them signed and send them that he tooke so to hart our busines that I might rest secure, and that he needed no other remembrancer then his affection to mee. This ouermuch kindnes was suspitious to mee, but I seemed to beleeue it sincere. So I desired him to tell the king I had some wyne left, which beginning to be hard I durst not present not knoweing how hee liked yt but if it were agreable to his Majestie I would send it to the *Gw-ell chan* which he accepted and I performed.

*April 30*.—I sent to Socorolla who answered hee would make a warrant for the payment of as much as was Confessed which should bee ready on the Morowe.

At night Etiman Dowlett,<sup>2</sup> father of Asaph Chan and

<sup>1</sup> See p. 164.

<sup>2</sup> Ilmâd-uddaula (Mirza Ghîsuddîn Muhammad). After his daughter's marriage to Jahângîr he was given a high post at court, but he does not seem to have taken an active part in the administration. He was kind to Hawkins at the time of the latter's visit (*Voyages* p. 414).

Normall, sent me a basquett of Muske-Millons with this Complement that they came from the handes of the Queene his daughter, whose seruant was the bearer

*May 1* —I solicited Socorolla for the warrant for our debt, but instead therof receiued that Zulpheckcarcon had not swoorne to all particulars demanded, beeing loath to venture perjurye, and therefore would on the Morowe send Hoja Nasson to my house to agree on euery poynt, and soe eyther pay mee ready mony at Adsmere or by bill of exchange at Suratt at my Choyce

*May 3* —I receiued lettres from the factory of Amadavaz that because they had demanded the 500 rupies taken from them, by virtue of the kings command sent them, the Gouvernor, Abdella chan,<sup>1</sup> beeing returned from the Armie in Decan, sent the *Cuttwall* to take theyr howse perforce for one of his trayne They resisted, and craued releefe

*May 4.*—I went to Asaph chan to acquaynt him with this affront and desired his Councell, pretending I was vnwilling to Complayne to the king and prouoke his indignation against a great man who had Contemned his Majesties *firmaen* that Commanded all sort of good vsage to our Nation, both because I would not on euery slight occasion trouble his Maiestie nor willingly draw on me the hate of the Nobilitye (who would all partake against a stranger) if I could by any faire way procure remedye and enjoy our libertyes with good liking He gaue me great thanckes and assured mee hee would see my redresse should be speedy and effectuall that therefore hee desired mee to forbear according to my proposition that hee would write on the Morrow to Abdella chan and to two other

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<sup>1</sup> Abdala Khán, governor of Gujará, who had just prosecuted an unsuccessful campaign against the Dekhan kings. As will be seen, he was soon after recalled to court in disgrace, but was pardoned through the influence of Prince Khurram. He was a strong partisan of the latter, and took a prominent part in his rebellion. In the subsequent reign, Abdalá Khán earned the title of Fírúz Jang by his suppression of Khán Jahán's insurrection. He died in 1644

friendes he had there, who should be solicitors for the English and that if after that he Continued to Inlure us he would cause him to be sent for and to answere yt to the king With this I rested Content. About my articles he sayd they were In some places obscure that he had Cleard them to the king and would procure them signed that he was neuer lyar nor of a double hart that I should find him so ready to doe my Nation any seruice as our cause were his owne. Only hee sayd we brought not so curious toyes for the king as did the Portugall, to which I answered fully, and to giue him prooffe I desired a *Scrite*<sup>1</sup> in what sorts the king would most delght, which hee promised naming for the present Pictures in brasse, the Coullors layd in especially a basson and ewre of such work some coulored french muff or Plush some good cloth of gould and siluer some suites of Arras In great Imagery and fine a saddle and seild Caparison, but aboue all an English horse and for our Cloth the finest sort, wberof the king would buy quantetyes I replyed that the Company could hardly venture upon Cloth of high pnce and the richest clothes of gould vnlesse they were sure of vent for toyes they would furnish the king of guift but mattres of great chardge theyr gaynes would not beare but If he would sett downe the particulars and quantetyes and prices and giue the kings *Chop* that they should be taken off and payd for I would promise his desire should be satisfied fully, which he sayd he would enforme the king Hee drew the swoord I wore and with extraordinarie Commendations prouoked mee to say it was at his seruice. He answered hee was no man of Complement that to take a swoord from soe good a frend was held vnluckye. I replyed the excuse was not strong enough against the affection with which it was offered that with

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<sup>1</sup> A written list (see p. 70).

vs one frend gaue another a swoord when he was to vse yt. He sayd small perswasions would serue from mee that he would vse yt at my seruice, and with more Complements then any Parisian tooke yt. He invited mee to dinner some dayes after (but naming none), where he promised to be merry and drinck wyne with me as a Curtesye. So I tooke leaue. About two howers after he sent his steward with 20 Musk-mellons for his first present. Doubtlesse they suppose our felicitye lyes in the palate, for all that euer I receiued was eateable and drinckable<sup>1</sup>—yet no *aurum potabile*

May 5 —In the Morning Came a Mogull Merchant from Hoja Nasson to desier a Peace, offering to bring Zulpheckcarcon to my howse and to make eauen the accounts and to pay the mony here or at Suratt. I replied I was ready to forgiue some Injuries, but his abusing my Master would alway stand betweene vs vntill he made amendes for the debts I desird him to dine with mee on the Morow, when I would be ready to make my demandes, which hee promised. At night I sent to Asaph chan for the 3 promised lettres. Hee answered the Procurator of Abdela chan was newly arriued at Court, with whom he had beene so round that he doubted not of good satisfaction to the english that he was to returne in few dayes that it had beene his watch,<sup>2</sup> which hindered him for performance of his promise, which hee would presently fullfill desiring to send for them in the Morning. This day I receiued lettres from Agra complayning of theyr house, but they had it rent free and it was lardg, and I held it not fitt to trouble the king vnnecessarielye

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<sup>1</sup> Presents of fruit were very usual compliments, see Favernier, *passim*

<sup>2</sup> The nobles were required to take turn in mounting guard

“It is the custome of all those that receiue pay or liuing from the King to watch once a week, none excepted, if they be well, and in the Citie” (Hawkins’ *Voyages*, p 432), see also Favernier’s *Voyages* (ed by Ball), 1, p 381

May 6.—Came Hoya Nasson to account for Zulpheck carcons debt. After some particulars read for want of one to write on their sides, he desired that some English might early on the Morow come to his howse wher should meete a *scrivano*<sup>1</sup> and finish that busines and that ready mony should be deliuered or bills to Suratt at choyse to which I agreed, and designed Masters Bidolph and Fetti place<sup>2</sup> to attend yt. This day I dispatched for Amadavaz 3 lettres from Asaph chan one to the Gouvernor Abdala chan the other to his brother /ulgar chan the third to Abbal the *Sinay* signifying both the kings pleasure for the good entreatment of the English and his owne desire and fauour on their part perswading to suffer them abyde in their house and to vse theyr trade with freedome, for that otherwise Complaynts would be addressed to the king by the Ambassador to whom his Maicstie had promised speedy Iustice. I wrote alsoe to Abdala chan in sayre termes to procure him my friend, knowing the easiest is the safest way but withall letting him know I must performe my duty if he neglected his. The Coppy is registred.<sup>3</sup>

May 7.—Hoya Nasson could not Attend our account.

May 8.—They Mett and the *Scriuane* of Zulpheckcarcon was present. They Charged him by particulars, wherof some hee denied. The Concluson was that Hoya Nassan would goe to him and shoue him our demandes and per swade him to pay vs if not we should on the Morowe receiue a resolute answere. Today I receiued lettres from Amadavaz that the English were remoued out of their

<sup>1</sup> A scrivener or writer (Port. *escrivão*).

<sup>2</sup> Francis Fetiplace appears to have arrived at Surat in Downton's fleet. He was at Ajmere till the autumn of 1616, when he proceeded to Agra, returning to the royal camp a few months later. He died at Agra about May 1621. Roe praised him as "a right true merchant, not ensely matched."

<sup>3</sup> See f. 98 of the MS.

howse by the Gouvernors order, but without force, in which they were too hastie, for they wrote to me for redresse, which I sent within two dayes, and they would not attend an answer, to the great losse of the Company

*May 9*—Hoya Nassan returned this answer that Zulpheckcarcon had Confessed many particulars denied by his *Scrivano*, and the rest hee doubted not but hee would pay, for that hee desired peace and Friendship with mee, and that in two dayes it should be finished At Noone the late *Buxy* of Suratt came to visit me, one well fauoured by the Prince, with whome, knoweing the qualeyte of our Iniuries, having beene an eye-wittnesse,<sup>1</sup> I had some Conferance about Zulpheckcarcon, in whose behalfe hee spake to make agreement I told him in conclusion that I would be noe longer delayed if in 2 dayes Zulpheckcarcon did not ingenuously confesse the Iniuries and debts, and giue me satisfaction, I would acquaynt the king not only with his villany toward vs but with the oppressions of his subjects, his robberies and all his Tiranney excersised in his Gouvernment, and in particular of the forcing the house of the Gouvernor of Gunduee<sup>2</sup> & taking all his goodes and drowning his Mother, keeping him in a dungion to preuent Complaynts He promised mee his endeouour to end all in the prefixed tyme

At night the king sent me a woeman slaue, seruant to Normall, who for some offence was putt away I was loath to receiue her, it beeing Midnight, but the officers would take noe refusall, having Command to deliuer her to my selfe, that I was enforced to lett one come into my bedside with her, and soe receiued her, a graue woeman of 40 years I demanded her fault The officer answered the king bad him assure me she was honest, only

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<sup>1</sup> See p 160

<sup>2</sup> Gandevi, a town and port 28 miles S E of Surat, now in Baroda territory

shee had offended the woeman The particulars shee after told me. For that night I was forced to lodge her in my dininge roome and early in the Morninge I sent to Asaph Chan to giue the king thanckes but that a woeman was vnfit for my house that shee had some Frenches on whom I would bestowe her If it might not bee displeasing to the king shee having beene soe neare his Person.

This night I was encompassed with fier it having begane on 3 sydes one wherof was soe vehement that it Consumed many thousand houses. Wee were all at our doore ready to shift for wee had beene<sup>1</sup> forced to loose all our goodes. Ther were burnt in one house 14 woemen and some men and many others otherwere. My house Master Edwardes bulite all of strawe sides and tops<sup>2</sup> so that it neither kept out wynd dust nor rayne to our infinite discomoditye and wee were Nightly afrayed of our liues the fiers being soe Common that to my remembrance no night did escape without some and soe terrible in the wyndes that all the streets beeing of straw houses and many places Grasse, hay Corne, and wood piles that there hath beene no possibility to come neare it licking up all eauen to the Townes end. It had beene thrice within a quoyts Cast of my house but the wynd fauoured or else we had lost all Soe that, beeing Prest by the Merchannts whose goodes were vtterly lost If the fier took vs and for our securitye having scarce had one night of rest, and finding by myne owne experiance I could build sufficient roomes of brieke and lome fier free euery way for lesse mony the[n] Master Edwardes his steward spent in straw I resolved to pull all downe, which I did in one day and in ten after I had finished 7 good Roomes, wherby the English shall Now bee sufficiently howsed for 20 years, with some reparation

<sup>1</sup> Should have been

<sup>2</sup> Probably of bamboo or some kind of reed such *cutcha* buildings are common in India. Roe had previously added some rooms (see p. 113).



by reason of the violent raynes, and secure both in theyr goodes and Persons

*May 10*—Asaph chan sent me woord that, by reason the woeman sent by the king had beene neare the king and queene and putt away in Cholar, he wished mee not to giue her libertie before he had spoken with the king, giuing me thanckes for my respect towardes his Maiestie in sending before I deliuered her<sup>1</sup>

*May 12*—I receiued answer that hee would send a *Banian* for her, and keepe her vntill the king might forgiue or dispose her, for I was in trouble with her, but had placed her in a seruantes house that was Married This night Hoya Nassan sent woord I should know a resolution concerning the debts of Zulpheckcarcon on the Morrowe This day I dispatched an advise to Suratt<sup>2</sup>

*May 13*—I receiued answer that hee had labored in the busines and had drawne him to agree to pay 17 thousand *Mamodoes*, which was all hee could doe, and desiered mee to accept it. It was 2900 lesse then the bill sent of the publike and priuat debt, but in consideration some things were ouerrated, both on the Companyes behalfe as alsoe of priuat mens, and that the losse was not very great, euery man beeing to beare a part, I sent Master Bidolph to see If [in] this offer the 750 rialles acknowledged by the Prince and the bribe of the Iudge of the *Alfandica* were not comprehended, but that those should be payd apart, then I gaue him order to make a finall end, knoweing it better to loose somewhat then wholly to draw the Princes indignation toward vs, who much desiered an end of this question, but withall I bad him make tryall to aduance as much more as could be

<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Surat a month later, Roe humorously summed up the tokens he had received of the king's liberality as consisting of hoggs flesh, deare, a theefe and a whore"

<sup>2</sup> The letter is given on f 99 of the MS

gotten without open warr. He returned with answer that all was Comprehended In this offer and that I must giue a generall acquittance for any further demand for that hee<sup>1</sup> had taken on him to satisfie the Royalties of eight and to Cleare all questions and that if I would not accept of this I should seek remedie. If I showed papers he had papers to answer them (Thus Confident he bare himselfe on the Prince) and that hee did offer to pay what wee could proue, which was not halfe beeing taken on the way. In the boate and in the Towne without any order. At Euening I sent the Princes secretarie woord of this answer that I was resolved to Complayne to the king and that having attended soe long for respect only of the Prince I hoped hee would not be displeased. He answered hee would acquaint the Prince what I said for his owne parte he would no longer dissuade mee from seekin Justice. I sent alsoe to Asaph chan to the same effect and to lett him know that he should not bee scene in the busines to displease the Prince but that I would deliver my Complaynt In writing my selfe. I only desired his fauorable good woord to the king in our behalfe. He gaue me many thancks for this respect toward him but hee entreated mee for his sake to forbear a few dayes that hee would speake with the Prince and Zulpheckarenn and procure an end. Hee desired I would not stand for 2 or 3 thousand *Mamodoes* for the Princes sake and his that other wayes it should not bee lost that he spake this for loue, knoweing the Princes affection to Zulpheckarenn and his vnreaconsilable disposition that wee should neuer haue quiett at Suratt whilist hee was lord therof without daylie Complaynts to the king which would much preiudice vs to sett the father against the sonne and giue great aduantage to our enemyes. He sent a seruant

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1 Zulfikâr Khân.

for my woeman and I was very glad to returne my present.

*May 15*—I sent Asaph chan an antidote for poyson,<sup>1</sup> giuing thancks for his free dealing and fauour, and, that he should see what power eyther the Prince or himselfe had to Command mee, I would venture beyound my authoritye to giue away that which was non of myne owne, and that, if hee pleased to spend one hower to hear vs both, he should be Iudg and decide the difference He replied he would not meddle in that kinde, the Prince beeing in a sorte a party, for he had most of the goodes, but he assured me he had dealt the night before very effectually with the Prince and that hee had not receiued any other then a Generall answer that the Next day, if he could procure it, hee would send me a resolution if I hard not from him in 4 dayes then I should vnderstand he could doe noe good, and bad me make readye a petition in the name of the Merchannts to the king, and hee would giue mee all my [his?] assistance

*May 16*—I dispatched a lettre to the Gouvernor of Agra<sup>2</sup> concerning a debt oweing by his brother, to see if with faire woordes I could procure it, hauing soe many of that kinde

<sup>1</sup> Probably a bezoar-stone, they were "much used in India against all poyson and other diseases" (Linschoten, II, 143), and thence derived their name (Pers *pādzār*). In April, 1617, Roe asked Bangham to procure for him a few of these stones, adding some particulars which are sufficiently interesting for quotation "For Bezars," he says, "ther are 3 sortes, the best are of Persia, others from Malacca, the last of Masolapatan and Bengala. The best are a blackish-greene of Persia The Prices in England are about 3*li* an ounce, if the stones be great and whole they are woorth 5*li* To avoid Counterfaytes with a very hot needles poynt peck them If it make noe signe, they are not false, if the nedle enter or burne them, they are made ones The best triall of the virtue is to lay them in Buffles milke, and the best will turne it like runnett and those are rich" Roe himself seems to have been rather sceptical of their efficacy, at least in ordinary diseases, for when, in 1624, the Queen of Bohemia commissioned him to procure some for her, he wrote that "Sir Thomas Smyth is alway furnished plentifully, yet they will not cure his gowt"

<sup>2</sup> See f 99 of the MS

that would Cloye the king and this some tymes proues the best and is ever the easiest way This Euenlinge the king went to POCARA<sup>1</sup> 4 *Course* off Adsmere a village of the *Lannians* where they resort for devotion full of their Pagodes and other gentilitiall Impletyes. When they haue any solemnitye he vseth to visitt it for sport.

May 21 — The king returned from POCARA.

May 22 — I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king and to desier his authoritie to haue one Jones a youth that was runn away from me to an Italian and protected himselfe vnder the name of the king to the infamy of our Nation. The king gaue order for his deliuerie but the Prince who euer wayted oportunitye to disgrace our Nation for the Cause of his fauoritte /ulpheekarcon (with whom I was newly broken off from conference and had sent the Prince word I would noe longer forbear openinge my Cause to the king) moued the king in priuatt to send for the youth first which at the *Gusleann* he did And the Prince giuing him countenance, he rayled to my face with most virulent malice, deslering the king to saue his life so the king resolved not to deliuer him to mee but to send him prisoner to Suratt. But the Prince to braue mee begged him for his seruant the fellow having quite renounced his Countrie. The king gaue him to the Prince, notwithstanding any reasons I could alleadge. Soe the Prince presently gaue him 150 *rupies* and the pay of two horse and forbad mee to meddle with him

<sup>1</sup> Pushkar where there is a celebrated temple to Brahmā. It is still a great place of pilgrimage for the Hindūs, and at the annual assembly it is said that nearly a hundred thousand bathe in the sacred lake.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Masulipatam (see p. 217), Roe stated that Jones "departed my house without Consent and liued a life scandalous both to mine and my Nations honor from which when I sought to withdrawe him by force and to punish him exemplarily hee fell to woorse, abusing both his Majestie, my selfe and all his Countrymen (1 O Records, O C, No. 352).

The Italian referred to was John Veronese, of whom see p. 142

*May 23*—At Night my man came and fell at my feete, asking pardon for his lyeing and madnes, and offered to submitt himselfe in any kind I tould him I would not now keepe him prisoner he was the Princes seruant but that before I could giue him any answeare he should make me publique satisfaction as farr as he was able This day I receiued lettres from one lucas<sup>1</sup> at Mesolapatan concerning Merchauntes affaires, which I understood not and deliuered them to Bidolph to be sent to Suratt

*May 24.*—Jones made meanes to come to the *Guzelchan* and there asked pardon of the king for his lyes, denieing euery woord he had spoken to haue beene done to protect him selfe from mee, whom he had offended, desiering the king to send for mee that hee might there aske my pardon The king was well pleased, But the Prince fell into a great rage

*May 25*—I went to the *Guzelcan*, where after many protestations of the king that hee neuer beleeeued him that hee was a villayne yet hee could doe noe lesse but protect him, hauing cast him selfe into his Mercy, the youth was sent for, who on his knees asked me forgiuenes and on his oath swore to the king that he had in euery particular belied mee, which hee professed to doe voluntarie for that hee neuer durst returne to his Countrie The king Chid him a little and tould me, he nor any good man euer beleued him But the Prince grew so angry that moevinge him with many questions to stand to his first woordes, which hee refusing was bid begone, and the Prince, publiquely Calling for him againe, bad him most basely returne him the 150 *Rupies* deliuered him, for that hee gaue it to mayntayne him against mee, which seeing he

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<sup>1</sup> Lucas Anthéunis He and another Dutchman, Pieter Floris, were the leaders of the Company's seventh voyage (1611), which was especially intended to open up trade on the Coromandel coast, and at Patani and Sum He had reached Masulipatam from Patani towards the end of 1615

went from he would haue his mony which the fellow promised, but he would haue it presently and so sent an vnder treasurer with him to the house wher he was lodged for into myne I would not suffer him to Come.<sup>1</sup>

*May 26*—I sent to Asaph chan the tyme being explered about Zulpheckcareon having promised to doe noething without him which promise necessitie vrged me too for that I am tyed to this Inconuenience, that my lingulist may neuer speake to the king but only to Asaph chan who is appoynted solicitor for our Nation soe that I can doe nothing without him neyther will he ever deliuer but what hee pleaseth. I sent him woord my Ietition was ready I only attended his answere He returned mee that I should forbear yet a few dayes that hee would see mee payd or pay it himselfe. I urdged a day which hee would not sett for said he, if I misse one, you will count me a promise breaker but that I should take his woord hee would see the mony satisfied.

*May 27*—I went to the *Durtar*, wher the king vied me

<sup>1</sup> Jones had been recommended to Roe by Lord Carew who, on learning of his behaviour expressed extreme vexation and regretted that the "monstrous wretche" was not hanged by the king or you when his filthiness and treasons towards you were manifested (Mackean's *Letters of Lord Carrer* p. 122). How much Roe was angered by being braved in the face of the court by one of his own followers is shown by the pains he took to secure the punishment of the culprit, who was now desirous of quitting the country. To send him prisoner to Surat was out of the question, as the ambassador had "promised the king, otherwise" so Roe stooped to gain his ends by a trick. He persuaded Jones to make his way overland to Musulipatam with the idea of getting a passage by a Dutch ship; then to secure his capture, an order on the English factory for 25/ was given him, and directions were secretly sent to the factors to seure him when he should present it; should he be suspicious and abstain from claiming the money he was to be inveigled aboard an English ship "under pretence of merriment, and sent home. Antheunis duly carried out his instructions, and Jones reached London a prisoner in October 1618, and was at once committed to Newgate. On January 20th and March 16th following he petitioned the Privy Council for release on bail (*Cal Dow State Papers*), but, upon a representation from the East India Company, it was determined to leave him where he was until Roe's return. His subsequent fate is unknown.

with extraordinary fauour , but the first woord hee asked when any english shippes would come I answered about fower Monthes Then he demanded what presents they would bring I named Arras and Pictures in brasse He asked for dogges I tould him I doubted not but hee should bee furnished alsoe this flecte So he seemed Content

I also sent to Asaph chan in the Morning about the debt, but hee answered hee would not meddle farther in yt the Prince he would not loose for vs So at the *durban* I expostulated with him about this answere that I only depended on him and now Contrarie to his promise to be rejected I thought it very vniust I desiered him to deale playnly, for I knew I was able to deliuer the king my Complayntes at any tyme in writing without him, which I was resolued to doe wherin I would lett the king know both our wrongs and how little meanes wee had to seeke redresse by reason no man would speake for vs which when I had done I must referr it to his Maiesties Iustice, and I was dischargd of my dutie to my Master He answered that I was willfull and impatient that he could not loose the Prince that I was a stranger and knew not the Pace of this Court nor the king soe well as hee that if I would vse him I must follow his Councell, which if I would doe hee was ready to assist mee if I thought my owne wayes better, then hee would no way meddle. Soe I tould him I had alway depended on his aduise and deferred my Complaynt for his sake 4 Monthes that I had sent the Prince woord I would Complayne was not without his Consent, having prefixed me a tyme when I should be free to doe soe, which was expired So we agreed that I should come to his house within a day or two and ther Conclude what was to bee done in this business, promising to perfect all my demandes if I would haue Patience. Thus I was enforced to seeme Content, because I had noe way to

seeke remedie for presents I had none and the king neuer takes any request to hart except it Come accompaned and will in playne tearmes demand yt which advantage the Prince takes vsdging the Portugalles bringing of Jewellies ballestes and Pearles, with much disgrace to our English comoditie.

May 28.—Ther Came diuers Portugallies Merchannts from Goa with many varietyes to sell the king and with rich Presents from the Vizeroy of Goa. This is yearly theyr Custome at this season to bring goodes and so to goe for Agra and invest in Indico. While these presents are fresh the English are lesse respected.

May 29.—The Portugallies went before the king with a present, and a Ballas Ruby to sell that weighed as was reported 13 *tole* 2 *tole* and a half beeing an ounce.<sup>1</sup> They demanded 5 *lekes* of *rupies* but the king offered but one. Asaph chan is also theyr sollicitor to whom they gaue a present of stones. They had diuers Rubies, ballaces, emralds and iewelless sett to sell which so much contented the king and his great men that we were for a tyme eclipsed. The Prince and the Iesuite fell out about presenting them which the Prince desired but it was promised before to Asaph chan. Concerning the Portugallies Credit here I euer made my Iudgment by report, but now experience shoves me the difference made betweene vs and them for they were sought after by euery body wheras they seeme to buy our Comodities for Almes. Besides, their Neighborhood and advantage to hinder that trade into the red sea, is euer more ready then ours to doe harme, because they are settled. So that only for a little feare we were entertayned but for our trade or any thing wee bring not att all respected.

May 31.—I went to Asaph chan to visitt him but hee

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<sup>1</sup> More exactly the *tole* was about 187 5 grains troy. This would make the weight of the ruby a little over 5 ounces troy.



was sick of a feuer, or rather of the Portugalles, from whom he daylie expected new guifts, and entertayned them with all kindnes So I resolved to write, which the Next day I did The Coppy is registred<sup>1</sup>

*June 1*—I sent my lettre, but withall I had receued aduise that the king gaue order I should not Come at Court So that with my lettre I sent to knowe the truth and reason Asaph chan read my lettre and made this answer that it was true the king had soe Commanded the Cause was for Certaine woordes I gaue the Prince when I was with the king about Iones my runaway therfore the Prince had intreated of the king to giue me no more audience But that if I would accept of the 17,000 *Mamodies* offered by Zulpheckcarcon and Clear all demandes of the Prince and him, he would bring me to the king and I should haue all right and fauour due vnto me, for to presse the Prince for mony hee could not, for that hee had not to pay his souldiers, beeing now ready to goe for the warrs of Decan, with whom Zulpheckcarcon went, and when hee was gone it would bee hard to gett any thing, and therfore hee Councelled me to accept of this offe<sup>r</sup> and make peace on all parts This Motion was somewhat strange, but I saw what was the purpose by the offer of Peace, not any thing I had sayd to the Prince, but that I tould Asaph chan I could deliuer my Complaynts without him at the *Durbar* if hee forsooke vs, which the Prince preuented by hindering my Comming And now was all way shutt up to write or speak to the king, only Abdalasan<sup>2</sup> offered me his Frenship, which I yet reserued, with due respect. I considered

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<sup>1</sup> At f 100 of the MS It is a dignified remonstrance with Ásaf Khán for the non-fulfilment of his promises regarding Zúlfikár Khán's debt ("you ought to bee so noble as not to goe from your word") Roe reminds him also of "the articles of securitye for our better usage which your lordship hath promised mee"

<sup>2</sup> Later, Roe describes him as commander of the troops in the royal

what pretence could be taken from any woordes spoken to the Prince, which were only these of which I will neuer repent I tould the Prince I was a kinges Ambassador and that I thought it stood not with his honor to protect a villayne against mee, considering what I was the king his father had my Masters lettire to testefye but that that was not all the discourtesy I and my Nation receiued from him Then hee Chardged me that I drew my swoord on a seruant of his Into whose hands he had deliuered my man within the Court which the king demanded of me if it were true. I answered noe. He said his sonne tould him soe. I replyed notwithstanding I would Mayntayne the Contrarie and for noe mans woord would forsake truth that I was bredd In a Ciuill Court, and knewe better what became me. So the Man was called and some others that reported It, and it was prooued a lye wherat the Prince was both ashamed and extreame Angerye. This beeing all that passed my Innocence made me Confident for though Asaph chan to fright me sent me woord of this Complaynt of the Prince some few dayes Past, wishing me to take Care we were but a few and might be soone subject to mischeefe, to which I answered the accusation was false and that for any force I was resolued I could not loose my blood in a better Cause. These, I say Considered and the Case now standing on so desperate termes I sent this answer That I  
*June 2* gaue him thanckes for his offer to bring me to the king, but that I was not so desierous as to doe that becomed me not If his Maiestie did Command vs out of the Countrie, wee were ready to goe yet to shoue how willing I was to Content the Prince though I had naught to doe with the Merchanntes mony nor awthority to

camp, and paymaster-general. He is probably the Khója Abúl Hasan who is frequently mentioned as a military leader by the historians of the time.

Compound to their losse, yet seeing hee pretended the Prince wanted mony, if he would giue me his *firmaen* to deduct the 750 royalls of 8 receiued in mony out of the Custome this yeare if it were not all payd, or, if it were, out of the next Customes if goodes came a shoore, or ells to pay yt in Suratt at 4 Monthes end, I would accept of Zulpheckcarcons offer and make an end of this busines with the losse of 2,900 *Mamodies*, which was more then I Could answere if the Prince would not doe this, I must doe my best to acquaint the king both with our wronges and the true Cause of Complaynt against mee, wherby his Majestie refused mee audience, only to hinder me in seeking Iustice and soe departe the Cuntrye

*June 3*—I receiued answere that hee would Moue the Prince to pay that money if Zulpheckcarcon had Confessed 17,000 *Mamodies* of his owne debt, it should bee performed he desiered me to haue Patience that he would make the Prince and mee frendes, and that the king should send for mee with more honor than euer, if I would end this controuersy

*June 4*.—I returned answer that I would be sent for before I would Come, neyther would I euer come upon ill Conditions to loose our mony that I expected if I Came some declaration from the king of better respect, for the worlds satisfaction, to accord with the Prince I was ready, and if he could accuse mee of any disrespect toward him, I would make such amendes as was fitt for vs both if not, I hoped his highnes would not expect I should giue away the Companyes Monny for good lookes The world was wyde enough we gott not soe much by this trade as that wee would buy it with too much Injurye The Mogull had promised the King of England that his sonne should be our protector,<sup>1</sup> which I doubted not but hee would bee vpon

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<sup>1</sup> See the letter brought to England in 1616 by Steel (*First Letter-book*, p 478)

better experience, but that I would attend his answers some few dayes, and accordingly eyther resolute of longer residence or prepare to retyre myxelfe and my Nation toward our Port to seeke better entertaynment.

*June 5*—The Princes Chlld dyed<sup>1</sup> wherat the king tooke great greefe, so that he Came not abroad neyther the Pnnce nor any other great man. Soe that noe busines could be proceeded In.

*June 6-8*—The king remooved to the Princes house, for that the chlld died in his, and Came not abroad, but gaue leave for diuers to visitt him. It was reported he would keep in at the Princes 8 dayes at Ftemon Doulatt 8 dayes at Hafaz Gemal 8 at Pocora 8 and then returne to his Custome.

*June 9*.—Mochrebchan<sup>2</sup> sent a *Banian* to my house with this Message that the night before he had watched with the king and tooke occaslone to aske why the English Ambassador Came not to visitt him. He answered hee knewe not. Wherat hee replied hee hard I was much discontent. The king demanded the reason that hee had euer vsed mee with more respect than any stranger and neuer giuen me any Cause. To which hee answered that it was reported In the Towne and tould the Ambassador that his Maiestie had giuen order that hee should not Come at Court nor haue any more audlence, to which the king replied it was veary falce he neuer gaue such order, nor knew not of any such, nor any occaslon that if I would Come to him I should be as wellcome as euer and no man should dare to stay or forbid me. Soe hee

<sup>1</sup> "A daughter of Sháh Jahán, whom Jahángír had brought up and loved more than his own life" (the *Intikádhí Jahángír-Sháhí*, quoted in Elliot and Dawson's *History* vi, p. 450). The chronicler goes on to say that this sad event happened on a Wednesday; and that for this reason and the fact that the Emperor Akbar had died on the same day of the week, Jahángír ever after disliked Wednesdays.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 42

demanded of the king if his Maiestie were pleased he should send me this Message, which hee Commanded him to doe This was strange to mee, that any body should presume to forbiidd me entrance without the kings knowledge, though I well sawe by Asaph chan it was Zulpheckcarcons busines that Putt this trick vpon mee by the Princes order and Asaph chans conniuece in the kings name But withall I feard some trick in this or mistaking in the Message, for that I neuer made meanes to Mochrebchan, but had rather refuséd it, neyther did I suppose him for many reasons our frend So I resolued the Next Morning to send Master Bidolph to him to vnderstand more certaintye

*June 10*—Master Bidolp went to Mochrebchan with Complements of thanckes for soe vnderseued a fauour, but that I well vnderstood not the *Banian*, but desiered to bee enformed from him of this passage He began all the discourse, adding many good woordes that hee spake of mee that I came from myne owne Country to see his Maiestie, and that it was very vniust without Cause to refuse me admittance to his Maiesties presence, wherat he said the king was very angry and Calld Asaph chan, demanding if hee had giuen such order, who protested no, that hee neuer heard of yt (yet it was hee that sent mee woord it was true) So his Maiestie gaue mee order (sayd hee) to bring the Embassador to him, whensocuer he desird to come, and to send woord that I had beene abused, for he neuer had any thought to refuse seeing mee So that whensocuer I would visitt the king (which hee perswaded me to, for his Maiestie would take it kindly, though hee came not out), if I would send to his house he would goe and bring mee to him, and no man should dare to stopp mee When I was fully resolued of the truth, I yet stayed from accepting this offer, for beeing vpon new termes of frendship with the Prince and Asaph chan,

and pretending only to rely on him I feard if I tooke another way they would become more vrluent enemyes than euer, and this kindnes of Mochrebchans was but a flash or if it Continued he had not power to effect all my busines. It was Asaph chan whom I must wholly recouer and that faction or stand on fickle tearmes. So I resolved to trie him fully and Clearly before I forooke him that I might Iustly say he left me first and in my greatest necessitie.

This day Zulpheckcarcon beeing by when this passed publicly betweene the king and Mochrebchan concerning mee, and as I suppose, seeing now that I could not be kept from the king with any trick and fearing this would exasperate me to take vp the first oportunitie of Complaynt, came to Abrams the dutchman and offered frendship saying the account was finished and that hee was ready to pay the 17,000 *Mamoodies* offered for himselfe and his followers and that the 750 Royalles of 8 were the Princes debt, which hee would pay so that he knew no Cause why we should not be freendes. I requested the Merchantes to goe speake with him and that, if hee were Constant to this offer, I would accept it and finish all broyles vntill I had gotten better footing

*A warrant vnder my hand given to the Merchantes how they should deale with Zulpheckcarcon about his Debit*

First, I would haue demanded of Zulpheckcarcon in Generall what his offer is Concerning the finishing of the account and paying the debt

If hee offer the 17 000 *Mamoodies* for all, comprising the Princes [debt?] and the 3 Cloathes  $\frac{1}{2}$  Newly mentioned Then breake off all speech and vterly refuse yt. If he offer the 17 000 *Mamoodies* for the rest of the goodes and require only a dischargd for them giuing a note of his hand that the 750 royalls is the Princes debt, for which hee will eyther gett payment here or procure a dischargd for so much in the Custome at Surat, or else to remayne answerable, then you shall accept yt. When you are agreed of the Summe and come to speake of the manner of payment, for which somme I would the agreement

were in writting if it could bee procurd and signed by him, then yow may lett him know that you vnderstand that 3 Cloths and a halfe were deliuered to such at Suratt, and that it shalbe at his Choyse whether hee will pay for them here or to giue you his lettre to the debtor there that hee hath not satisfied for yt, but that hee doth chardge it vpon them, requiring theyr present payment and giuing you such a Note or mentioning it in the quittance receiued, and then so much rateably shalbe abated here of the Summe agreed on of these two propositions [I?] only desire that you will presse him to a resolute answer, that I may vnderstand from himselfe his purpose, that I may accordingly proceed in the prosecution of Iustice

*June 11* —I sent to Asaph chan what Message I had Receued from Mochrebchan, but that I Could not Change my frendes, though I would acknowledg it a great Curtesie from the other, beeing both vnderdeserued and voluntary, desiering him to beeleeue the truth that I had not made any meanes to Mochrebchan to doe yt, but had only relyed on him, which hee might easily bee assured off by demanding him that if hee pleased to lay asyde all Iealousy and to accomodate the difference betweene the Prince and mee, whose fauour I especially desiered, and to Continew the protection of our Nation, I was not so fickle to take euery occasion to forsake him, who had beene our ancient and best frend and that I would attend a day or two that hee might bring me to the king, that no notice might be taken of any discontent betweene vs, which would perhapes, if the king asked the reason of this Chang, call many matters in question that were better passed ouer on all sides desiering him to deale soe fairly as to send me his resolution, assuring him I would remayne his frend till hee did to openly reiect mee

*June 12* —Mochrebchan sent to mee to know if I would goc see the king, but for that hee was yet in the Princes howse I would not affront<sup>1</sup> him, attending vntill I had

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<sup>1</sup> Meet. In *Hamlet* (iii, 1) the king arranges that the prince, "as't were by accident, may here affront Ophelia"

answere from Asaph chan whom I must not loose if I would stand here. Besides, I determined before I went to him, to know whether any fitt reconcillation could bee effected betweene the Prince and mee, and that I might have satisfaction from Zuipheckcarcon without Complaynt first using all faire means that were honest and became my Masters Ambassador to make smooth my way which when I could not effect, I resolved to fly to a very round Complaynt, both of our publique wrongs and robberies committed vpon vs by the Gouvernor the Princes mayn teyning him in yt, and Asaph Chans Negligence and falsbood for the Princes sake, and iastly I would discover the trick putt on mee to keepe mee from Court, to this end only that I should not seeke Justice, which I would desier very roundly of the king or lycence to depart with all my Nation.

This Night I received lettres from Suratt<sup>1</sup> of the receipt of the *firmans* sent downe, which for a few dayes vseth to preuaile, and gott our goodes from the Customer and procured an agreement on all particulars some difference in price, which was referred to Abram chan the Gouvernor, then absent, our very good Friend. In this lettre I receiued great encouragment to putt the king to tryall for an absolute reformation and for new priuiledges, or to breake off the trade, the oportunitie beeing very good for that many shipes were expected from the red sea this season and soe wee might dispute our Cause with aduantage. I Confesse, if it were myne owne priuat canse, I would neuer endure halfe those Iniuries wee haue suffered they are insupportable the Prince beeing soe proud and in such esteeme with his father that nothing but Chasteninge can humble him But I serue for a publique cause,

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<sup>1</sup> See *Surat Letterbook* 1616-17 (I O Records) under date of 26 May 1616.



wher are diuers dispositions to please, diuers opinions to satisfye, and I know not how it wilbe construed that I dissolue that which was neuer tyed, all the factors here seeming discontent, and write resolutly, but if this Councell did not please in England, I cannot tell whether they would change aduise, and cast all on mee, *More vulgi, suum quisque flagitium aliis objectantes*<sup>1</sup> This is one of those Councelles that cannot bee praysed vntill they bee Acted, so that necessitye shall Compell mee, and then it will Iustefye mee But this I dare affirme, if their Shippes be taken but once in 4 years ther shall come more cleare gayne, without losse of honor, then will aduance in seauen years by trade, and nothing is vnjust in retribution and returne of the Injuries done vnto vs

Ther is a resolution taken that Sultan Caronne shall goe to the Decan Warres and the day prefixed, having Consulted all the *Bramans*<sup>2</sup> Prince Paruis is Called home, whom it is reported wrote his father that if hee would send his elder brother<sup>3</sup> hee would obey, but to dishonor him by imploying this, he would first fall on him and after finish the warr All the Capptayens, as *Channa chana*, Mahobet chan,<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "In the fashion of the vulgar, each one imputing to others his own transgression"—Tacitus, *Hist.*, II, 44.

<sup>2</sup> *Ie*, Bráhmán astrologers, of whom there were always many at court. "The Great Mogol puts so much confidence in his Astrologers that he will not undertake a journey nor yet resolve to do anything besides of the least consequence, unless his wizards tell him it is a good and a prosperous hour to begin and set upon such an undertaking, and at the very instant he hath his directions from them he sets upon the thing he undertakes and not before" (Terry, p 236) See also Bernier's *Travels* (Constable's edn, pp 161, 244, 245), and compare the entry under date of March 3rd, 1617

<sup>3</sup> Sultan Khusrú

<sup>4</sup> Mahábat Khán (Zamáná Beg) is a familiar figure in the history of the times. Son of a Kábulí named Ghayúr Beg, he had been a personal attendant of Jahángír when Prince, and upon the latter's accession he was made paymaster of the royal household. He rose steadily in the emperor's favour, and Roe specially notes (see pp 200, 217) how highly he was regarded. When, in 1623, Sháh Jahán rebelled against his father, the conduct of the war was entrusted to Mahábat Khán, who brought it to a successful conclusion. Soon after

chan John<sup>1</sup> refuse to stay If this Tyrant come to Command so well he is beloved. It is true all men awe him more then the king Now that hee Is to receiue the Armie. The king Cannot be remooued from his resolution to send him so that his sudeyne departure 22 dayes from this present must hasten mee to finish this busines and to know a resolution, for after his departure with his minione Zulpheckcarcon there is no hope to recouer a penny nor any Iustice against him

*June 13.*—I Received lettres from Amadavaz, signifying that the Course I tooke with the Gouvernor by Asaph chans lettre had soe farr prevayled that the 500 *rupies* was at slight payd all manner of frendship offered a new house or whatsoeuer was wanting Concerning the *firmaen* sent for restitution of Custome taken the year past at Cambaya and Barooch They are offered that of Baroch back and all kyndnes from the Gouvernor of Cambaya, promising to take such order next yeare as shall prevent all vnkyndnes. I answered this packett and aduised to accept it, though neuer so little the example of restitution was more then the mony

*June 14 and 15.*—The king yet kept at the Princes house.

*June 16.*—The Merchannts went according to my order to Zulpheckcarcon, wher after much dispute too and fro and many complaynts of vnkindnes against mee, in conclusion hee denied to pay 17,000 *mainhoodies* promised

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(1626), the intrigues of the empress threatening his rum, he seized the person of Jahāngīr and held him prisoner for a considerable period. He then allied himself with his former opponent, Shāh Jahān, who in a short time succeeded to the throne. Subsequently Mahābat Khān was entrusted with the government of the Dekhan. He died in 1634.

<sup>1</sup> Khān Jahān Lódí, who was, like Mahābat Khān, of Afghān origin, held important commands, and at the time of the death of Prince Parwīz had charge of the troops in the Dekhan. Distrusting Shāh Jahān's intentions towards him, he rebelled in 1629, and allied himself with the King of Ahmadnagar; but the confederates were defeated, and Khān Jahān slain in January 1631.

making New reckonings that the Prince had this, others that, and for his owne debt remayned but 3,000 *mamoodies* but to finish for all and to haue a generall release, hee offered 12,000 *Mamoodies*, objecting still the 1,000 *Mamoodies* of Master Sadlers account,<sup>1</sup> without naminge for what or else to stay the Comming up of the Iudge of the Custom house, and so to pay whatsoeuer he would say was taken But this delay I durst not abide, for that his departure was suddaine now In my last aduise from Suratt they Confesse Master Saddlers debt was mistaken (yet they chardge some 260 *rupees* by particular for trifles) and concerning the 750 rialles formerly Charged to the Custome house, and beeing confessed by the Princes officers to bee receiued here, I, as was reason, euer demanded restitution, but in this second they write that they haue come to account with the Customer and are agreed on all particulars, without once mentioning the Royalles So that I Concluded that mony was found in the Custome house and I had wrongfully demanded it, though without faulte, by Socoralles mistaking So I knew not what to say in this uncertainty, Yet I had rather aske to much then too little, Therefore they still demand it. Zulphheck-carcon answered hee neuer tooke that mony away, but that it rested still in the Custome howse, and were not those sent the Prince, but beating this question, at last hee said those royalles sent vp were the 2,000 *Mamoodies* Paid in royalles to him for licence to transport vp our two Carauans of Cloth,<sup>2</sup> hereby confessing the bribes playnly, and vpon examination wee found the summes to agree, no more beeing receiued which, Seeing that I heard not one

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<sup>1</sup> Richard Sadler was entertained in January, 1614, went out in Downton's fleet, and was appointed a junior factor at Surat It would seem that he had died before this date, and no one could supply particulars of his claim, which was evidently for a matter of private trade

<sup>2</sup> See the entries under March 10th and April 10th, 1616

word from Suratt of the 750 Royalls I resolved that my opinion was true that the mony was found and allowed below so that I gave nuer that Clayme and fell to a reckoninge apart of goodes only Charged to Sulpher carcon which beeing 19,900 *Mamoodies* and Master Saddlers 800 mistaken his offer of 17,000 *Mamoodies* considering price of Cloth insisted on and many trifles of priuat mens hard too proue, and the necessitye of a peace with the Prince, they offered him a generall acquittance for the mony by him agreed on. But hee then as absolutely refused it yet some tymes hee was Content sometyme not soe that noe Conclusion could bee made. But he desired a new reckoning, and to pay his owne and assigne vnder his hand who should pay the remayner This was a tedious course to seeke out money from diuers men and they as absolutely refused yt all was taken by his authoritie and wee would seeke no further This was the error of the first account sent vp for had not the 750 royalls beene Charged and Master Saddlers 1,000 *Mamoodies* (both mistaken) I had accepted his first offer of 17,000 *Mamoodies* with little losse and finished all long since with good will and had avoyded much trouble and the Princes displeasur but seeing one stood doubtfull the other directly charged I could not yeld to loose 6 or 7,000 *Mamoodies* for I could not haue one *Pice* without a generall quittance as well agaynst the Prince as the Gouvernor and all vnder him. But yet hee seemed very desierous of frendship taking much vnkindnes at mee for bitterness against him. They answered hee deserved it, for his violence vsed to our Nation but that which I tooke worst was his slight and base wordes given of my King, my Lord and Master He replied hee spake not ill of him, but, as was the Custome of this Countrey, hee only magnified his owne for his hard vsage and discourtesyes to our Nation hee sware he had expresse order from the

Prince in 4 seuerall *firmaens*, not only to doe all hee did, but to turne vs out and suffer vs no trade They answered they could neuer beleue yt, for that they were in presence when I demanded of the Prince if it were true (for that it was so published at Suratt) and hee forswore it openly, giuing it vnder his hand and seale that it was a lye<sup>1</sup> He replied with many oathes it was true, and to satisfye their incredulitye and to dischargdge himselfe, he asked if they would beleue the *firmaens* so hee sent for them, and caused one to bee read before our interpreter, wher the Prince gaue express order not to suffer our goodes to passe out of towne but to keepe them in the Custome howse, and ther to giue leaue to sell and when they had traded to Command all aboard and to depart, forbidding any longer residence, and that if anything came downe not traded for in towne hee should not suffer it to goe aboard, with many other Clauses of vexation & wrong to be done vs. Now, sayd hee, you see my innocence, and that I executed my Commission with fauour. They answered it could not be denyed, but that now the Prince had giuen mee a *firmaen* for our residence, Iustice, and good reception It is true, said hee, yet shall the next Gouvernor use yow woorse, for, whatsoeuer the Ambassador can procure outwardly, the Gouvernor should haue advise vnderhand how to execute his Masters will; which I know well But, said hee, I am sorry for any thing is past, and if your Ambassador will make frendship and force me to pay no more then due, I will endeauor to reconcile him and your Nation to the Prince. They answered I was ready to embrace peace, but would not giue away the companies mony He replied 3 or 4,000 *Mamoodies* would not make vs rich nor him poore. But of this his weaknes, to discouer his Masters secreettes and the Princes double and

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<sup>1</sup> See pp 115 and 162

vnderhand basenes, I will make aduantage off if wee come not to composition. Now is euidently seene the miscery of our estate and the Princes faith Who can bee secure, or resolute wisely, when outwardly wee shali haue sayre woordes, *firmaens* and all desire, and in secreett aduise to wrong and abuse vs?

June 17.—I sent both to Hoja Nazzan who had finished the account for both and had offered the 17,000 *Mamoodies* in his name,<sup>1</sup> and to Mochrebchan before whom the Gouvernor was Content to pay it to lett them know for the Princes sake and peace I was ready to accept the offer made but that Zulpheckcarcon was started backe and would not pay it that if they would tye him to his woord I was content to be the looser if not, I would goe instantly with full complaynt to the king wherein hee would wrong his Master whose name would come in question many wayes. Hoja Nassan answered he should not flye from his woord though hee had not confessed by particular so much debt, yet in grose he was content to pay it and soe this day hee would meete our Merchantes there and procure his *Chop*. This day the king remooued to Asaph Chans to moorne there.

June 18.—Mochrebchan sent to me to Come to Court that my longer absence would bee iii taken that his Maestie did expect mee and that hee which would effect any busines with the king must bestow some labor In visit Ing him. For Zulpheckcarcon hee answered that hee was agreed to pay vs 17,000 *Mamoodies* and that hee was a base fellow to refuse it that hee would Compell him to satisfye vs, or pay it him selfe and tell the king that hee did it on the others woord, and soe take the debt vpon him.

Asaph chan returned me answere of my last Message that hee was most reddy to doe mee or my Nation any

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 176.

Curtesye, as he had euer that on the Morrow the king went to Hauaz Iemall and returned the Next day, when he would send to mee to come to his house and goe with mee to the king, and that all matters past should bee forgotten wishing mee to take no notice that my absence was any other then voluntary desiering me to beleeue he had twenty tymes more Creditt and affection to doe my busines then Mochrebchan that the next day he would himselfe carry me to the Prince and fully reconcile vs, and so accord all differences that I should proceed in my busines without Crosses or lett and that I should haue reformation in all my pretences aduising mee to accept of Zulpheckcarcons offer, and that for a little losse I should not breake off, now that all matters were so neare composed and so desiering me not to hould him in Iealousy, for hee was euer as much my frend as he durst declare against the Prince

The king commanded one of his brothers sonnes, who was made a Christian in pollicye<sup>1</sup> to bring him into hatred with the people, to goe stricke a lyon on the head, which was brought before the king, but hee beeing afrayd refused yt. Soe the king bad his youngest sonne<sup>2</sup> to goe touch the lyon, who did so without any harme Wheratt the

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<sup>1</sup> Hawkins says (p 438) "At my being with him he [the Mogul] made his brother's children Christians upon the prophecie of certaine learned Gentiles, who told him that the sonnes of his body should be disinherited and the children of his brother should raigne, and therefore he did it to make these children hateful to all Moores, as Christians are odious in their sight" See also Bernier (p 287), and Roe's letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, 30 Oct., 1616 (given later) The youth referred to was probably a son of Prince Dányál, Jahangir's youngest brother

<sup>2</sup> Prince Shahryār, who was now about eleven years of age. Probably the lion had been tamed Tavernier (Ball's edn., i, p 80) describes the process Terry mentions (p 197) that a tame lion was kept at court "The Mogol, at my being there, had a very great Lion (I often saw) which went up and down amongst the people that frequented his Court, gently as a dog and never did hurt, only he had some keepers which did continually wayt upon him"

king tooke occasion to send his Nephew away to a prison where hee is never like to see day light.

*June 19.*—The King remooved the Prince and all the Court to Hauas gemall

*June 20.*—The Merchants went to Socarolloes before whom they were referred to make agreement and Conclusion with Sulphheckarcon but hee was gone with his Master His *Servants* mett who answered hee was that day to goe after him to bring eyther his *Chop* to Hoja Nasson for soe much to receiue in Suratt or ready mony So that I hope this quarrell is at an end.

*June 21.*—I dispatched letters to Baramport to Mahobet chant to desire a Command to his lieutenant at Baroch to giue our Merchants entertaynment and trade at his Port and to suffer them to hire a house for their residence, and to procure his fauour for them in doing them Iustice and right also I signified that his officers had the last yeare exacted certayne mony at the passadge of our goodes to Suratt which was not due for which I craued restitution and redresse for tymes to Come. This I did for that I knew not to what Inconuenience the Prince might drue vs by his underhand dealing for though now I was in hope to make a frendship with him who was lost long before my annuall yet I could not discerne his hart and had experience of his falshood and therefore would prepare a retrayt in necessitye. Besides I knew that any such doubt or report would startle him <sup>1</sup> for though he would that wee

<sup>1</sup> See L. 109 of the MS.

<sup>2</sup> With this end in view Roe had desired the factors at Surat to make a show of moving to Baroch. They accordingly informed the Governor and others that this was their intention. However nobody believed them, although "for respect" a hope was expressed that they would not think of removing. Later on, Herridge with the help of an English sailor sounded the river at Baroch, and found it very shallow and treacherous. Any anchorage there would be much exposed to wind, and the surrounding district seemed to them very barren and sparsely inhabited. This report satisfied Roe that the proposed change was impracticable.



were wholly banished, yet hee would not that wee quitted his Port and seated soe neare him, wherby he should haue no profit by vs, and yet the Portugall equally hindered Lastly, if ther may bee found any roade for our shipes, the place is fitter in respect that all the Cloth and Cotten yearne sent home is bought there, besides Carriadges from thence to Suratt and all other Comodities sent from aboue passe that Towne, so that both the way to our shipes and the duties of Baroch would bee saued, and, which is noe small respect, the Gouvernor is not only a friend to our Nation but a man full of honor and liberallity, scorning all base gettings and of all men in most high fauour with the king, beeing his only minion, in whose presence Asaph chan is but a shaddow<sup>1</sup> The solicitation of this I Committed to Master Banghame.<sup>2</sup>

*June 23*—The king returned to this house, and sate out according to his usuall Custome

*June 24*—Asaph Chan sent to me to Come to the King, but I refusd that day, except I might haue a *Chop* to all porters, or some officer sent to Conduct mee, least any affront should bee offered by base people This day I receiued from Hoja Nassan a particular of 17,000 *mamoodies* agreed on by Zulpheckcarcon, wherof part of the debt was the Princes, part others Soe I sent to know what order I should haue for the mony Zulpheckcarcons *scriuano* answered that I should not trouble my selfe further that hee had order for my satisfaction, and was procuring the Princes *Chop* for his part, which had passd two seales, and was Collecting the rest, and that he would finish it all in a few dayes

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<sup>1</sup> Kerridge, writing to the Company in March 1615 (*O C*, No 270), said much the same about Mahábat Khán, characterising him as "the kinges greatest mynyon and of longest Contynuaunce, of greatest powre and lvybertye of all the nobylltye"

<sup>2</sup> See p 82 " As there stated, Bangham was cape merchant at Burhánpur, where Mahábat Khán then was

The Prince had a sonne borne<sup>1</sup> and now beeing preparing for this warr all mens eyes were on him eyther for flattery gayne or envy. Non for loue. He receiued 20 *lacks* of *rufies* toward his Chardge (200,000 *li* starling) and began to deale mony liberally. But Notwithstanding this show of his fathers affection and greatnes a Chan perswaded the king that the voyage would be dangerous in respect of the Prince Paruls, whose honor was soe wounded that he would not returne without reuenge. The king replyed lett them fight I am well content and ho that prooues himselfe the better Captaine shall pursue the warr.

*JUNE 25*—Asaph chan sent one of his Chiefe seruants to the Court gate to attend mee, but I had resolved I would bee sent for. So hee, perceiuing I stayd long doubted that I would not Come, caused him to Come a foote in hast to fetch mee. So I went and was receiued by the king after the ould manner no difference, without taking any Notice of my absence. The Prince bowed himselfe. And soe I stayd his Maiesties going in without farther speech. Asaph chan and diuers others saluted mee and I returned.

*JUNE 26*.—I sent to Asaph chan that as I was at an agreement with Zulpheckcarcon, payment only wanted which was most materiall that therfore If hee would accord all other matters with the Prince, I was ready to visitt him. I heard noe answer.

*JUNE 27*—I went to visitt Mochrebchan to thanke him for his voluntary kindnes. Wee had long speech. The effect was hee sought to withdrawe mee from Asaph chan offering to doe all my busines, in hope of the first sight of raretyes from England. telling me that it was Asaph chan

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<sup>1</sup> Shuja, his second son. He was afterwards a competitor for the throne, but was defeated and took refuge in Arakan, where he perished (1660).

that putt that tricke vpon mee, for when the king called him to know who had forbidd mee the Court, he answered hee knew not indeed that hee had giuen order I should not enter the *Guzelchan* without especiall leaue, for that it was his Maiesties priuacye, wher were none admitted but those that were his nearest seruantes, & for that his Maiestie often did vse to drinke there, to be barbd,<sup>1</sup> and such other businesses as were vsfitt for strangers to see & that the Persian Ambassadors neuer came without sending a day before but that other order hee neuer gaue, nor knew of any I answered that I did accept his loue in the highest degree that Asaph chan was as Icalous of me for his sake, but that I could not absolutely quitt him first both the articles I demanded were referd to him and remaynd in his hand, so that I was tyed to him, and also, I knew well that if he had no affection to doe mee good yet hee had power to crosse mee that I was resolved to procure and hould euery-bodyes loue and not to runne myselfe into open factions though in my hart and inward affections I could make difference of frendes, as I did of him, from whom I had found so free and Noble kindnes But really I trusted neither, the one was sower, eager of bribes, proud and knew his owne strength, the other fickle, flattering, and loued to haue his power belceued to be more then it was, but neyther Card for vs longer then some end of their

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<sup>1</sup> "An incidental remark in the Persian Dictionary entitled *Bahār-i-Ajam* informs us that Sher Shāh wore his hair, *mori guntls*, in curls As the drying of the curls after the morning bath took some time, Sher Shāh transacted public business in the *ghusul-khānah*, the bath and dressing-room The custom, with some modifications, was retained by the Chaghtāi emperors, during whose reigns the morning, and even the evening, audience-rooms were called *ghusul-khānah*" (Professor Blochmann, in *Journal of Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. xlv, pt 1, p. 297)

"Barb" is the verb, now obsolete, from which "barber" is derived — "Shave the head and tie the beard" and say it was the desire of the penitent to be so barb'd before his death" (*Measure for Measure*, iv, 2)

owne enticed them Soe I playd at their game, held correspondence with both, and resolved to vse both as long as I could and to quitt him when I must needes that could doe mee least good. Hee asked mee what then he should doe for mee. I answered Continew his affection to our Nation and for my particular I desired him to remember my seruice to his Maiestie and to recommend our cause in generall termes and to signifye to his Maiestie that I well sawe our Ignorance in tymes past of what Comodities were fitt for his Maiestie had made our trade fastidious, but that if I knew his Maiesties Mynd he should see how able wee were to serue him. Hee replyed hee would doe it, but withall he said wee brought too much Cloth and Ill swoordes and almost nothing else that euery body was weary of yt that hee aduised wee should forbear two or 3 yeares, and instead therof seeing our shippes went to China<sup>1</sup> and Japan to bring all the rareties of those parts (which were more acceptable here then Gould), and from our Countrie the best Cloth of Tissue and richest stuffs of silke, gould and siluer that wee had but especially good quantety of Arras for hangings, saying that the king would buy for a *Leek* or two of *rupies* and euery great man in proportion. And this, I thinke is true, and would serue for two years. I replyed wee Considered this, but the Merchanntes sought proffitt that those things were deare with vs, and the Chardg of bringing halfe as much as the goodes and that wee feared few would Come to the Price, for that our best Clothes of gould and tissue were woorth 100 *rupies* a *Cobde*<sup>2</sup> with vs, and soe meaner to 40 *rupies* and ther was

<sup>1</sup> The English had not yet opened a direct trade with China they however procured Chinese products from the junks that frequented Bantam, Patani, and other ports.

<sup>2</sup> A cubit or ell (Port. *covado*). It varied in length, not only with the locality but also with the material it was used to measure. At Surat they used a greater covad for measuring English cloth and a smaller one

Arras from 20 *rupies* to 150 *rupies* a sticke (much about a *Cobdee*) so that if I should aduise of such things, they would answer that I had little skyl in those matters, but that if his Maiestie would make a bill of what sorts and conditions he desired, and what quantetye and what rates, and sett his *Chop* to it that hee would take yt, and such other great men as desired the like, I would send into England and might then wright with Confidence, and I doubted not but his Maiesties will should bee in all things accomplished He answered he would acquaynt him with my motion, which would highly Content him, and cause a bill to bee inade and sealed, and for his part hee would giue mee another Wee had some speech about the Prince, whom hee rayled at freely. that hee neuer went to him, nor had power to doe mee kyndnes there: but that, when hee was departed, hee could not harme mee I answered as long hee had the Gouverment of Suratt his fauour was as Consequent to vs almost as his Maiesties, and that I had had a bitter experience of his affection notwithstanding his faire pretences, besides the bearing vp of Zulpheckcarcon Hee replied hee knew it well, and would shortly tell mee how it should bee remedied for Zulpheckcarcon, hee desired mee not to stirr nor send after soe base a fellow that in 4 dayes hee would see the mony paid Wee exchanged many complements and many professions At last hee prest vpon mee too bottles of Muske, that were sent him for a present from his gouernment, held aboue 100 ounces,

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for calicoes and silks The former is variously stated as 35 ins, 35½ ins, and 36 ins, the latter as 26½ ins, 26¾ ins, and 27 ins There is a curious entry in Elkington's note-book (1614) in the I O Records (*Fact Misc*, 25) to the effect that the greater "covett" was "at first but 33 ynches, but yearly they augment it as thay list, broad Cloath being onely measured by it, and think was first made at the Comming of English ships" From this it would appear that the variation was an ingenious device of the native dealers to get more broadcloth for their money

woorth 500*l.*, with much Importunltye, but I refusd so great an obligation least for that Cause I should bee tyed to him to the prejudice of the Company, for hee would expect some recompence. I cannot bragg of this follie but it is a vice that few in my place are guiltie off but I had resolved rich or poore to doe nothing unwoorthy the Honor of my Master nor the good name of an honest man. The king this euening went to Hauas Iemall.

*June 29.*—At night the king returned.

*June 30.*—I went to visitt Abdala Hassan from whom I had receiued a former kindness vnexpected<sup>1</sup> for that wee were mere strangers. This obseruance I was enforced too partly by gratitude, but principally by necessitye. *Obsequium amicos parit*<sup>2</sup> I needed them and to the Markett I could not goe (for all are to be sould) for want of guistes. Yet hee is noe taker and I tooke knowledge of yt, to his Joy. Hee offered me much kindnes, eyther to speake to the king or deliuer any wrighting. I accepted of yt generally, but at first would not engage him into busines beeing yet dependant on Asaph chan. He answered they were all one and that I could not keepe a better way. I replyed I had not much to aske the king my principall busines (which I had In command from his Maiestie my Souerayne) was the procuring better priuiledges for the Continuance of loue and Commerce betweene both Nations which demandes had long remaynd in Asaph chans handes, to whom they were referrd. If I had answere of that, my busines after would passe with more ease for that, if it pleasd the king to scale confirme and publish those articles, I presumd no man would dare to infringe them and that our Merchannts should trade securely free from violence and Iniurye and then I should haue no

<sup>1</sup> See p. 184.

<sup>2</sup> "Obsequiousness procures friends" a well known quotation from Terence (*Andria* I i, 41).

cause to offend any by Complaynt, and should haue little els to doe but to wayt on the king and visitt my frendes if his Maiestie vtterly refusd them and the Alliance and leauge of the king of England, I had noe more to doe but to returne vnto my Countrie I had dischargd my dutie Hee answered I should not feare but that the king would Continew a frend to his Maiestie and our Nation, and that noe reasonable demand would bee refused mee I replyed I had expected long and saw fewe effects, and what had passed last yeare at Suratt and in many parts I was sensible off but that for some respects I would not violently pursue Iust Complaynts Hee said hee vnderstood mee that the Prince was sorrie for what was past Demanding if Zulpheckcarcon had payd his mony, I answered no wee were agreed (to our losse), mony only wanted He said hee would that night acquaynt the Prince and procure present payment. Hee is Captaine of all the souldiers entertayned at Court, and Treasurer to all armyes He entertayned me Courteously, with few Complements but much ciuilitye Wee sate to see his souldiers shoote in bowes and Pieces Most of them with a single bullett did hitt the Marke, beeing a hand-breadth in a Butt Wee had some discourse of our vse of such weapons, and soe I departed

*July 2*—I went to visitt the king and to moue him about our Articles, if oportunitye fauored He only bowed him selfe at my Comming, and was poseest with much busines, for that the Princes going for Decan' was altered, at least deferrd He had gott mony to pay his debts, and his warr was ended

*July 5*—I sent to Asaph chan to know a resolution concerning my demandes, and upon what tearmes I stood with the Prince, for that I knew if he remaynd our enemye Suratt would bee no port for vs that our shippes were ready in 3 monthes to arriue that it concerned mee

to know whertoo I should trust, for vnlesse I might haue our residence confirmed and those priuiledges granted which I had demanded and eyther assurance of frendship or at least iustice from the Prince, I must take my leaue. He replyed hee would that night speake with the Prince, and in 4 dayes answer mee absolutely

*July 7*—He sent me woord that concerning my propositions for Priuiledges and the Kings Command for redresse in all our former Iniuries, that that day or the morrow he would delluer it to the seale They were accorded too<sup>l</sup> amply and In few dayes I should haue them that he had conferrd with the Prince who was very willing to bee our frend, and if I would come to him I should be very wellcome, and whatsoever I could require reasonably at his handes should bee performed

*July 9*.—I went to visitt the Prince but sent before, who returned I should bee very welcome. He expected a present, but when none appeared hee proceeded to busines, and supposing I would iterat Zulphcheekarcons delays openly his Officer Socarolla came to mee and said for the Princes Part of the debt wee should haue a *Chopp* for Suratt whensoeuer I would send and that Zulphcheekarcons remayner should bee payd ready mony by order from him. So that if the Merchannts will follow the getting it In (in which their is little done) they may be satisfied for my part is ended. I haue made agreement and deuided the debt, and procured order for payment, but cannot runn vp and downe to *Banians* and officers, in whose handes now it rests.

*July 10*.—I receiued aduise from Agra that not one *Cobde* of Cloth would sell but at vearly lowe rates they lay the faulte on the last yeares sales for swoordes no man would looke on them and Hydes not at the price they



Cost in England Concerning the debt of the Gouvernors brother<sup>1</sup> left by Master Young,<sup>2</sup> they first solicited it, but could not procure a penny, then they made vse of my lettre mentioned to the Gouvernor, who sent presently to Command satisfaction Master Shalbanck was imployed to him, beeing a daies Iourney out of Towne Ther hee<sup>3</sup> pretendes Master Browne offered him abatement, or els that hee would retourne some Cloth So that Master Shalbancke finished with him with the losse of about 90 *rupies*, for which hee excuses himselfe vpon Browne and vpon their Neede, that, having not sould one penny-woorth of goodes in 3 monthes, they had not mony lefte to pay horsemeat, for that before his Comming he had Command from mee for example sake not to doe yt. If I had the assistance of one honest sufficient man, that loued the Companyes profit better then their owne ease or pleasure, or had had that authoritie ouer them which was requisite, or that it had not been published to them that I had none, I would haue Caused many things to haue had another face.

*July 11* —I receiued from Amadavaz the long expected wyne, one runlett 3 quarters full, conteyning 6 gallons and one glase, the other runlett was leaked It was sowred with long keeping, yet it came fittly for my new reconcilements, and will serue turne.

*July 12* —I sent to the *Guzelchan* one Case of Aligant. It was somewhat sower, yet soe much in request that it was receiued with good acceptance I sent such excuse with it as was requisite.

*July 13* —In the Morning I sent Sultan Carronne 3 bottles of Aligant, and a lettre concerning the Portugalls,

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<sup>1</sup> See p 178

<sup>2</sup> Robert Young, who seems to have gone out in Downton's fleet He was principally employed at Agra and Lahore, and returned to England in 1626

<sup>3</sup> The debtor

the differences betweene our trade and theirs, and to procure all the Customes in and out to serve for the Companyes use. The Coppie is registred. The Prince Caused (as is the barbarous custome all busines passing in publike) the lettre to bee twice read by his secretary, and often interrupted it with speech to him, in the end sent woord that at night, when hee Came downe, hee would read it himselfe, and consider yt, and that I should receive answere from Merze Socoralla.

TO SULTAN CARONNE.<sup>1</sup>

(Addl. MS. 6315 f. 96.)

1st Maye, 1616.

Most Royall Prince,

I Cannot but confesse and acknowledge the great Justice you have done our Nation in the debts and extortions of Zulphheckaroon, wherof I will speedily aduise my lord the most mighty King of England, that his Maiestie may render your Highnes condigne thanckes and that your fame and renowne may be knowne in all parts. But I cannot but greeue when I consider that your highnes good opinion and grace toward vs is auerted by some misfortune or misinformation, which by many Circumstances is manifested to mee, Principally in that fauour your highnes hath declared to the Portugall, our enemyes. Butt if your highnes were pleased to regard the difference betweene our proceedings and theirs, that wee only desire open trade for all Nations, to the enriching of your highnes kingdomes and the advancing of your Customes, wheras they haue ever sought to keepe in subjection your subjects, suffering none to trafique but them selues and exacting duties for licence to passe vpon your seas, contrary to all honor and Justice, calling their King in Europe King of India. In prooffe wherof our readines to embrace Peace & their obstinacy in yt is sufficient wittnes, though theyr force is no way terrible to

<sup>1</sup> Copies of this letter in English and Persian, are among the 10 Records (*O. C.*, Nos. 360-1). The Persian copy is endorsed by Roe "copy of my lettre to the Prince, 1 May 1616." As this date appears on all the copies, it is evidently not a slip but it seems equally clear that the above is the letter which was presented to the Prince on July 13th. We must therefore suppose that this endeavour to "settle a better opinion in the Prince of our nation" (p. 168) was written on May 1st, but that its delivery was postponed, probably on account of the renewed hopes of an amicable arrangement with Zulfikar Khán.

The difference in tone between this and Roe's previous letter to the Prince (p. 139) is significant.

vs, that are so poowrfull in shipping that all Europe is not able to equall his Majestie therin

And if your highnes suppose that the Portugall hath or would bring eyther more raretyes or more profit to your port, I dare affirme your highnes hath receued wrong enformation First, for curious and rare toyes, we haue better meanes to furnish your highnes then any other, our kingdome abounding with all arts and our shipping trading into all the world, wherby there is nothing vnder the sunne which wee are not able to bring, if we knew your highnes pleasure, what you did most affect, wherof whensoever you shall please to giue a writing, you shall haue experience of our readines to doe you seruice Secondly, for profit, our kingdome is Naturally the most fructfull in Europe and the most abundant in all sorts of armes, cloth, and whatsoever is necessary for mans vse, besides which, your Highnes I suppose knowes not wee yeerly bring into your Port in ready mony 50,000 Rialls<sup>1</sup> of Eight, for which wee only carry away Callicoes and Indicoes, to the enriching of your highnes kingdomes with siluer

And that your highnes may better perceiue what profit doth arise by our trade at Suratt, and that hereafter we may not bee vexed by officers at the *Alfandica*, wherby we shalbe enforced to trouble your highnes with daylie Complaynts, wee are desierous to rent our Customes of your highnes, both in and out, and will yearly pay your highnes at one payment 12,000 *Rupies* for our sayd Customes, So that your highnes wilbe pleased to discharge vs of all other duties and troubles, which I suppose is a farr greater summe then euer your officers made you any account And in all mattres wherein your Highnes shall Command, you shall fynd our Nation most ready to obey you, and myselfe in particular will not omitt all occasion to doe you seruice, wherein I doubt not I could some wayes giue your highnes content, if I had oportunitye to speake with you Your Highnes Noble Nature will excuse my bouldnes, and that I wayte not on you myselfe, for that for want of language I could not so well expresse my desires, as by writing The great Creator of Heauen and earth blesse you and multiply on your head all felicitye and Honor

To doe you seruice,

THO ROE  
the English Ambassador

At night I went to the *Durbarr* to visitt the king So soone as I came in hee sent Asaph chan to mee that hee

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<sup>1</sup> There is probably some exaggeration here. On Roe's own testimony (p 121), Keeling's fleet had brought but 43,572 rials, and this was for Bantam as well as Surat. According to the factors (p 166 *n*), only about 20,000 rials were landed at the latter place.

heard I had in my house an excellent Paynter and desired hee might see some of his worke. I replyed according to truth that ther was none but a young man, a Merchant, that for his exercise did with a pen draw some figures but very meaniy far from the Arte of painting. The king replyed that I should not feare that hee would take any man from mee by force that hee would neyther doe me Injune nor suffer any other, and prayed that hee might see that man and his woorke, whatsoeuer it was. I replied I had no such doubt of his Maestie and for his satisfaction I would bring him to the *Guzellchan* with such toyes as hee had which perhaps was an Eliphant or a deare or such like in paper. At this answere the king bowed himselfe, and returned that if I desired an Eliphant or the figure or any other thing in his Cuntre, I should not buy it nor seeke any other way but to him that what soeuer I had a minde too hee would giue mee and that I should freely speake to him for he was my frend. I made a reuerence and answered that I humblye thancked his Maestie. Eliphantes were of no use to mee neyther was it the Custome of my Nation especially of my place, to aske anything if his Maestie gaue mee but the woorth of a *ruffy* I would receiue it and esteeme it as a marke of his fauour. He replyed that hee knewe not what I desired that ther were some things in his Countre rare in myne, and that I should not make daynty to speake to him for hee would giue mee such things as should bee most wellicome and that I should bee Cherfuii for that hee was a frend to our Nation and to mee, and would protect vs from any Injurye but desired that I would that night come to the *Guzellchan* with the youth that Paynted and his Picktures. So Asaph chan wishd me to send home to fetch him to his house, whither if I would goe and stay with him vntill the king Came abroad I should bee veary wellcome, which I promised. I neuer receiued so much

grace and fauour from the King as at this tyme, which all men tooke notice off, and accordingly altered their fashions toward mee Especially it hapned well that the Iesuite was made interpreter of all this by the kings appoyntment

When the king rose, I went to Asaph Chans house (hauing sent for Master Hewes,<sup>1</sup> the supposed Paynter), Asaph chan beeing gone somewhat before I found him satt on a poore Tarras in the ayre on a sheete with other great men His Porters stayed mee at the doore at my entrance, so that as soone as I came to him I said I was come according to his request and did often desire to visitt him, but his seruants stopped me as if I were a sutor I entreated him to reforme it, for that it was a discourtesye to one of my place He Called his steward and Master Porter, and Commanded them that if I came my selfe no man should presume to stay mee but lett me passe into him, and that all my seruants at all tymes should bee brought into a roome to sitt downe and that his house should euer bee free for them So I satt, and for Complement acknowledged the fauour the king had done mee so publiquely to proceed from good reports made by him of me and our Nation, which wee would with all due respect endeauour to requite. He replied he was euer my frend in his particular, but that the kings good opinion and fauour to mee proceeded from his owne good disposition I answered seeing he was so modest not to take it vpon him and so refuse the thanckes, yet I desired him that hee would vse this oportunitye and season of his Maesties gratiuousnes to mooue at night the sealing of our Priuiledges, for that our shipes were ready to arriue, and if

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Hughes He was admitted a factor in Nov 1614, and went out in the same fleet as Roe. In 1617 he was sent to Agra and later still (1620-21) was one of the pioneers who opened up trade at Patna, where Mukarrab Khán, who was then governor, treated the English factors with great cordiality Hughes seems to have died in 1623 or 1624

they found no alteration they would land no goodes, and I should bee reputed very Negligent in my dutie, to my vtter disgrace and ruine in my Masters fauour, who would not lay the fault on any other nor beelue any excuse having receiued such assurance of loue from the Great Mogul by his last lettres, and that I had a Picture of a friend of myne that I esteemed very much, and was for Curiositye rare, which I would giue his Maiestie as a present, seeing hee so much affected that art<sup>1</sup> assuring mysele he neuer saw any equall to it neyther was any thing more esteemed of mee. He answered it was not good to Moue yt publicly it might bring forth opposition and dispute but that I should relye on him hee would see them sealed speedely that the kings consent was already passd by reference to him but for the Picture he desired I would send for yt presently that hee might see it, and present it to the king (so nothing in this kynd once named is lett siuld, and I was engaged to my gult). I sent for yt and astonishd him hee seeming to take extreame content, eauen to admiration, assuring mee it would bee the most welcome gult i euer presented. Suddenly hee rose (the king beeing come out) and desired me to staye there that hee would goe to the king and send for mee leauing mee musique and Company Within halfe an hower two of the kings seruants came for mee and after some speech with Master Hewes, wherein hee was Satisfied Asaph chan asked mee for my little Picture and presented it to the King He tooke extreame Content showing it to euerie man neare him at last sent

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<sup>1</sup> Jahāngīr considered himself a connoisseur in such matters. "I am so fond of pictures," he says in his memoirs, "and have such discrimination in judging them that I can tell the name of the artist, whether living or dead. If there were similar portraits finished by several artists, I could point out the painter of each. Even if one portrait were finished by several painters, I could mention the names of those who had drawn the different portions of that single picture (Elliot and Dowson's *History of India*, vi, 360).

for his Cheefe Paynter, demanding his opinion The foole answered he could make as good Wherat the king turned to mee, saying my man sayth he can do the like and as well as this what say yow? I replied I knew the Contrarie But if hee doc, said he, what will you say? I answered I would giue 10,000 *rupies* for such a Coppy of his hand, for I knowe non in Europe but the same master can performe it<sup>1</sup> Nay, said the king, I will call 4 Paynters, my Cheefe woorke men, and what will you giue mee if they make one so like, that you shall not knowe your owne? I replied I had nothing of valewe to giue his Maiestie, but at the arriuall of the shipes I would giue the best rarity I could procure. He answered that was long but what wager would I lay in the meantyme? I replied I knew not what to offer in wager to so great a Prince, nor became it me to name it, but if his Maiestie were pleasd I would lay any in my Power to pay Why, said hee, if yow will not lay with mee, lay with the Paynter I answered no, Sir, as I am vnfitt with your Maiestie, so your Paynter is no equall match for mee but I will wager with Asaph chan or Abdalazan or any of your lordes So he Commanded Asaph chan, who offered 5,000 *rupies* I replied I was Content, but mony was no honourable bett, especially among frendes but I would lay a good horse. Soe the match was agreed on, but Asaph chan recanted in Priuat.<sup>2</sup>

After, the king fell to drincking of our Allegant, giuinge tasts to diuers, and then sent for a full bottle, and drincking one Cup sent it to mee that it beegan to sower soe fast it would be spoyld before hee Could drinke all, and that I

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<sup>1</sup> From Roe's accounts (*Addl MS* 6115, f 276) we learn that the painter thus characterised was Isaac Oliver, the celebrated miniaturist (1551-1617), that the painting was "a small limned picture of a woeman," and that it cost in England 6*l*, and would have sold in India for 150 rupees

This interesting episode is entirely omitted in Purchas's version.

<sup>2</sup> For the conclusion of this incident see p 224

had none. So hee turned to sleepe the Candles were poppd out and I groppd my way out of doores.

This day a gentellwoeman of Normalls was taken in the kings house in some action with an Eunuch Another Capon that loued her kild him The Poore Woeman was sett up to the Arme pitts in the Earth hard ramed her feete tyde to a stake to abyde 3 dayes and 2 nights with out any sustenance, her head and armes bare, exposed to the sunns violence if shee died not in that tyme she should bee pardoned.<sup>1</sup> The Eunuch was Condemned to the Eliphantes. This damsell yeilded in Pearle, Jewelles and ready mony 160,000<sup>2</sup> *rupias*

*July 14.*—I sent Asaph Chan a bottle of wyne, putting him in mynd to dispatch the sealing of our Priuiledges. Hee Called to his Secretarie for them and promised to send them scald with expedition.

*July 15.*—I sent to Zulpheckcarcon for mony He desired that I would forbear 6 dayes for that his mony and the Princes was ready but for som goodes deliuered to others there was difference that hee had sent to Suratt for testimony against such as denyed and wee should be cleared with all together I gaue order to Master Fettiplace to returne that I was Content to forbear tenn dayes for mony but that I desired he would firme the agreement in generall with his hand and seale, that I might be secure from any new cauclles, which hee promised to doe the next day

*July 16.*—I Could not gett the brokar to goe, by whose

<sup>1</sup> Terry (p. 407) says that the fault she had committed was kissing the eunuch that the latter was cut to pieces in her sight and that she lived a day and a half, "crying out most lamentably, while she was able to speak, in her language, as the Shunamites childe did in his *Ah, my head! my head!*" which horrid execution, or rather murder was enacted near our house.

<sup>2</sup> Purchas says "sixteene hundred thousand," which is obviously wrong



Negligence all our busines was deferrd and delayd I had not power to dismisse him, though hee did more hinder vs then all other letts together, neyther had the Merchanntes any will, for I mooued it often So that I can doe no more He offereth his bill for the mony, and that is a warrant for the Princes part, if they will fetch it, if not, I am blamelesse

*July 18*—I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king, but could not yett gett a dispatch of my demandes

*July 19*—I sent to Socoralla for the Princes answer to my lettre concerning the farme of Coustomes<sup>1</sup> Hee said that it was referrd to Asaph chan and him that they must meete and Conferr about yt and then I should receiue yt. At euening I sent to Asaph chan, desiering him to fauour my request, for renting the Princes dues at Suratt, It beeing referrd to him and Socorolla, in which by a speedie answer hee should doe mee Curtesie, that I might tymely aduise therof to Suratt He promised that hee would that night Consult about yt and giue me all assistance, and for my other busines in his hand it should bee ready in two dayes Thus I was fedd with hopes and delayes to no effect.

*July 22*—I receiued lettres from Bramport in answer of those to Mahobet chan,<sup>2</sup> who at first<sup>3</sup> granted my desiei, making his *firmaen* to Baroch most effectuall, to receiue our Nation and to give them a house near the Gouvernor strictly Commanding no man to molest them by sea or land, nor to take any custome of them or any way trouble them vnder colour therof finally that they might buy, sell, and transport any Comoditye at their pleasure without any molestation Concluding that they should expect to heare no other from him and therefore they should be carefull in execution I receiued with yt a lettre from himsele

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<sup>1</sup> See p 209

<sup>2</sup> See p 199

<sup>3</sup> At once

(which was more Civilitye then all the Indyex yeelded mee) full of Curtesye and humanitie and great respect protest-  
ing his desier to give me Content and that what I had  
demanded I should make no doubt of performance and if  
I had any other occasion to vse him hee desired me to  
write and it should bee performed

The Coppies are woorthy the seeing for the rareness of  
the Phrase the *firmān* I caused to be sent to Surat.<sup>1</sup>  
So that Broach is provided for a good retraite from the  
Princes Iniuries and the Custom given whereby 1500*l*  
per annum wilbe saved besides all manner of seaches and  
extortions.<sup>2</sup> For the performance of this no man maketh  
any doubt, for that all men Confesse that hee neither  
Careth for the Prince and soe seareth not,<sup>3</sup> nor needeth any  
man being the only beloved man of the king and second  
person in his dominions and in all his life soe liberall of  
his purse and honnorable of his woord that hee hath  
engrossed good reports from all others. And Concerning  
Custome, the king takes none the Gouvernors make it their  
proffitt which hee professeth to scorne that hee should  
abuse the liberty of the kinges Ports.

July 23.—I wrote to Mahobat chan complements and  
thanckes<sup>4</sup> and sent away lettres to Mesolapatan concerning  
a factory at Bengala<sup>5</sup> At night I solicited Asaph chan for

<sup>1</sup> The original letter from Mahābat Khān is among the L. O. Records (O. C. No. 380). In the *Calendar of State Papers (E. Indies)* it has been wrongly entered as the original *firmān*.

A translation of the latter forms No. 381 of the same series.

<sup>2</sup> There seems to have been some misunderstanding as to this. The factors at Surat declared that the customs at Broach belonged to Khoja Nāsar (*Surat Letterbook* ff. 63 and 84); if so, Mahābat Khān had no power to remit them. As already mentioned, however (see p. 199 *n*), the idea of transferring the English headquarters to that town was soon abandoned.

<sup>3</sup> Kerridge wrote (July 23rd, 1616), that Mahābat Khān hated the Prince and his favourite, Zūlfikār Khān.

<sup>4</sup> The letter is copied at f. 112 of the MS.

<sup>5</sup> In answer to the letter received by Roe on May 23rd. Roe's original letter is now among the L. O. Records (O. C. No. 382), and there is also a copy in *Add. MS.* 6115 (L. 113). In it he says that he

my Articles His answere was short tary a whyle , which I vnderstand not

*July 25* —I sent to Zulpheckcarcon at the Princes He desiered the Merchanntes to come to his house and hee would dispatch them

*July 26* —I sollicitd Sacarolla for the Princes answer He replied that Asaph chan and hee had not mett, and that I must moue him to yt, for that else it would bee forgotten

*July 28* —I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king, who referd me to Asaph chan, with whome I went home and

"was requested to procure a *firmaen* or Command for Bengala, it beeing supposed that some shipping would be this yeare directed thither," but that finding *farmāns* of little use he is waiting for the conclusion of the proposed treaty, of which a copy shall be forwarded in due course to Masulipatam, ready for any English ship that may be sent to Bengal

Roe had already suggested to the Surat factors that an attempt should be made overland to open up trade with Bengal, "so desiered by the Company and impressed into me by Captain Keeling," and also with Iahore and Sind, but Kerridge and his companions doubted whether they would sell much cloth in Lahore, and pointed out the risk in Sind from the Portuguese settled at Láríbandar "Bengalla generally," they wrote, "is a whott country, the moste of the Inhabitants very poore gentiles, and vpon the sea Coaste, where there is any hope of bennefitt, the Duch & Portingales haue trade, wherby wee Conceauē that the transportation by land theither wilbe more hazardous & chargable then the bennefitt by the sale of a smale quantety can answer" (*Surat Letters*, May 26th, 1616) To this the ambassador retorted "that Bengala should bee poore I see no reason, it feedes this Countrie with wheate and rise, it sendes sugar to all India, it hath the finest Cloth and Pintadoes, Musck, Ciutt and Amber, [besides] almost all raretyes from thence by trade from Pegu

If wee keepe Iasques in our hopes, wee must plant at Syndu and vnite our forces, they wilbe els too farr distant to assist one another, and it is the fittest place of all these dominions, considered in ytself, for our residence The Number of Portugalls residing is a good argument for vs to seeke it, it is a signe ther is good dooing An Abby was euer a token of a rich seoyle, and store of Crowes of plenty of Carrion It is to bee vnderstood wee must fire them out and maynteyne our trade at the Pikes end"

(*Addl MS* 6115, ff 102-108) However, as the factors were unwilling, Roe ceased to urge the proposal, and so the matter rested for the present In writing to the Company (November 2nd, 1616), the factors merely said that the suggested voyage to "Port Pequeno" [Sátgáon] could not be made for want of small ships "fitting that purpose"

with all earnestnes pressed the dispatch of my demandes and that hee would meete Sacarolla about the farme of our Customes. He answered me with many Complements of frendship and Inue but delayed mee with sentences<sup>1</sup> and Morality that kings were to be attended and that things must come from them of their owne mynde without importunitye that patience would bring all to passe. I answered I had worne out all my store with so tedious delays and that if I had not depended on his promise I would haue some way at least procured a refusall and so departed but that I hoped he would effect yt for that the king my Master would impute the faulte to my negligence and I durst hardly see his face without a better account of that Committed to mee. He replied I must not vse such speeches for the king could not blame me for anything out of my Power that hee knewe the myndes of kings were in Godes handes only and no man could rule them but himself that hee spake not this with any purpose that I should not haue them but to giue me content, least I should with impatience mistake his good meaning and affection towards mee. I answered I was free from Ielousy of him but if I were more importunate now the Comming of the shipes enforced mee that I was resolved noe goodes should be landed vntill I had some better assurance of our vsage. Hee said all was past and that these Articles I should haue, but that the kingdome of Suratt was wholie in the Princes Power the king would doe nothing to preiudlee his authority That I should visitt the Prince and giue him a Present and make frendes among his seruants for from him I must expect my best reamedy and our quiett residence. I answered I had no presents vntill their annuall that all other means I vsed to

<sup>1</sup> Adages or aphorisms (Lat. *sententiae*). Ben Jonson, in his *Discoveries* complains of the fondness of Terence and some of the Greek poets for "the sticking in of sentences.

procure the fauour of the Prince, and the assistance of those neare him, but it became not mee to seeke to every body in that which was a free demand of leauge betweene Princes, which I thought they should as readily accept as the king of England should offer yt. Concerning the farme of Customes hee promised to send for Socorolla and giue me answere Many faire woordes were cast away on both Parts, and so I returned only with New promises

*July 31* —I went to visitt the Prince and, because I would haue occasion to speake, as well as to follow Asaph Chans aduise, I presented him a very delicate Piece scrued, with a fier loock, made in Leige, that would Carrie Poynt blanck as farr as a Muskett and weighed not 4*li*<sup>1</sup> He saw first all the qualetyes and after, as I suppose, sent for Zulpheckcarcon, whom I had not seen since his arriuell at Adsmere. When hee Came, the Prince poynted him to mee, wherat hee came and saluted mee My enterpreter was Called for and hee asked mee why I was angry with him I replied the Cause was Publique for many Iniuries offered our Nation, and for yet deferring any honest satisfaction Hee replied with protestation that hee was my Frend. that what hee had done was by Commandement, poynting to the Prince confidently and Carelessly, Ther, saith hee, is hee that did it but for his owne affection he swoore hee would doe mee any seruice, and that I should not refuse to bee his Frend that hee would feast mee, and make any recompence, for that was not his owne faulte. I replied that as long as the busines stood vnfinished I could not accept nor embrace his Friendship hee had daylie promised to seale the agreement, and made the Merchanntes attend in vayne, which I tooke in great scorne He answered if that were all betweene vs, that I should send this day it should bee signed and the mony paid.

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<sup>1</sup> "Cost in Liege 52s"—Roe's Accounts.

that hee Cared not for such trifles to doe me seruice hee would doe a thousand tymes more, soe that I would bee reconciled. I answered when I saw his performanee I would readiely embrace him and both visitt him and in vitte him to mee and that if his harte were answerable to his professions, hee should for amendes of past wronges mooue the Prince to a better opinion of our Nation and procure for us such Priuiledges as hee In his owne experience best knew were necessary for vs this performed and our reckonings evened I was very ready to exchange any curtesy with him. Hee replied if I would come oftner to the Prince, he would effect all my busines and vse his best Credit, and soe wee parted. The Prince harkened to this discourse, and many of the Principalls were gathered about vs supposing wee would have Chidd or at least expecting some better sport then wee made them (for they delight in contraversies as a Pastime), but his faire woordes prevented yt. This obseruance I made of him that hee seemes to bee a free and good Naturd man for that hee Confidently avowed the fault In his Master & seemed as it were to scorne to have done such outrages of his owne disposition, and his professions appeared harty his Carriage to the Prince carelesse and familiar vnlike all other men. At afternoone I desired Master Fettiplace and Iadowe<sup>1</sup> to goe make experience of his Promises.

*August 1.*—Master Fettiplace went to Zuipheckcarcon for his *Scrito* for our mony according to agreement, but hee refused to scale it, vnder pretence that hee would first Collect the mony from diuers that had parte of the goodes and for his owne hee gaue a bill to receiue 3 500 *mamoodies* of Abram chan, but would not tye himselfe to answer other mens debts.

*August 2.*—I wrote to Asaph chan eyther to procure the

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<sup>1</sup> The broker

scale to my demandes before the shipes arriuall, with all the reasons I could urdge, or to deale soe Nobly as to giue me a reasolute answere, and to meete Mirze Socorolla about the farme<sup>1</sup> The Coppy is registred<sup>2</sup> Hee returned for my Articles they could bee sealed without delay, but that by the negligence of his seruant they were mislaid, else they had bene finished, and required another Coppy for the farme of Customes, hee would advise thereon and doe me all Frendship,<sup>3</sup> but in plaine termes hee beggd a rich present for the Prince

*August 5* — I seeing how Zulpheckcarcon notwithstanding all promises vsed vs, I resolued I would trye the vttmost and bee no farther abused with delaies Soe that I tooke the occasion of his watch day at the Princes, where hee must needs bee, and ther publiquely to demand satisfaction before his face and lett his highnes know with what euasions my long patience had bene tyred But before I went in, I sent Iaddow to signifie the intent of my Comminge, whereatt hee entreated mee not to Complaine nor speake of yt for that day, and if I would trust him soe farr as to forbear vntill the Princes going in, hee would returne with mee, and giue mee full satisfaction So that I ventured once more, not for his sake, but for that I knewe it would not bee a wellcome motion to the Prince that was soe vnpleasing to his Minion When the Prince rose and departed I, that neuer thought myselfe suer of soe vncertaine a man, desiered Merzie Socorolla to heare the Conditions agreed on and lett him know that at Zulpheckcarcons entreaty and promise to finish it now, I had that day forborne complaint, desiering [him] to wittnes

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<sup>1</sup> Of the Surat customs

<sup>2</sup> See f 114 of the MS The letter is, however, dated July 31st

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to Pepwell of September 10th, 1616, Roe says that his offer was accepted in principle No actual arrangement, however, was made, as they failed to come to terms, see letter to Company, February 14th, 1617-18

to the Prince If I were enforced the iust cause of greivances I receiued by his daylie falshood repeating the debt the abatement and my desier with the others promise. With much adoe I got him to Confesse the sumes but then bee-  
 ing free for 4 or 5 dales and hauing now escaped mee hee sought all means to deferr giuing his *scritto* for the whole which was that I insisted on Breefly, after many disputes Socorolla tould him plainly it was dishonest to putt vs off to any other seeing hee tooke our goodes howeuer hee bestowed them for the Princes part, it was gluen as a present but that if hee would doe as hee ought, giue me content by his bill for the whole debte and take it vpon himselfe that hee would moue the Prince to pay as much as hee had receiued and soe farr ease him if not, hee would hinder him all in his power and assist mee next daye to Complayne. Diuers others councelled him and perswaded him soe at last he gaue his woord Publiquely desiering me to goe with him to the Court of Guard wher hee sate and I should haue my desier Socorolla Intreated mee to doe soe and finish yt and for the mony hee promised to see It performed. When wee were sate hee offered mee presents and much kind vsage. I desiered a dispatch of that I staid for and before I could accept of none. Soe hee drewe the bill himselfe and sealed in the presents of diuers and read it to our Interpreter and Master Bidolph, who said It was well and sufficient wherat wee tooke handes. And pressing mee to take a Gould *shalh*<sup>1</sup> I answered wee were but newly frendes

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<sup>1</sup> A shawl embroidered with gold, or with gold inwoven. "Shawl is the Hindustani *shāl*, from the Sanskrit *śaṅṅā* variegated, the word referring to the various shades, grey fawn, etc. of the fine wool (*pashmina*) of the Himalayan goats (*ivland*) of which the famous shawls of Kashmir are made" (Note by Sir George Birdwood).

This is perhaps the earliest occurrence of the word in English. In the seventeenth-century records at the India Office it is found in such forms as "shells" and "shawools"; see Sir George Birdwood's *Report on the Asiatickian Old Records* p. 40, etc.



when I saw any constancy in his Carriage and the mony paid, I would bee more free with him, yet I would receiue no obligation Thus this long and troublesome busines is finished, in which I was so farr from any sistance of Iustice that I got the disfauour of him that should haue been my Iudge, and Asaph chan my procurator could find noe other means of reconcilment but by agreement with myemie. Yet the losse is not great or none to the Company, for it is in their powers to make shares, more beeing recouered then their debt by 300 *mamoodies* or therabouts, and in theirs not only all things at their owne rates, but the 2,000 *mamoodies* giuen is Comprised and restored (which was almost a shame to demand, beeing called a guift<sup>1</sup>), and I shall desier those that deale in the busines not [to] ease themselues in their dispatches, soe gently parting with mony, and cast the burthen and envy on mee to recouer it. What paines and aduentures I ran, what I bare shutting myne eyes and ears against many ill vsages, I best know that soe often felt Nature and honor repine and object a stupid patience.

This night the king sent 4 or 5 messengers for mee to [come to] the *Guzelchan*, but the first mistaking his arrand and my owne indisposition deferrd my goeing

*August 6*—I was sent for to the *Durbar* The busines was about a Picture I had lately giuen the king<sup>2</sup> and was Confident that noe man in India could equall yt. So soone as I came hee asked mee what I would giue the Paynter that had made a Coppy soe like it that I should not knowe myne owne I answered a Painters reward—50 *rupies* The king replied his Painter was a *Canallero*,<sup>3</sup> and that too smalle a guift, to which I answered I gaue my Picture with a good hart, esteeming it rare, and ment not to make

<sup>1</sup> See p 194

<sup>2</sup> See p 213

<sup>3</sup> A gentleman—a term the king had doubtless learned from the Portuguese.

comparisons or wagers if his Scruant had done as well and would not accept of my gulfte, his Maiestie was most fitt to reward him. Soe with many passages of Iests mirth and brages concerning the arts of his Countre hee fell to aske mee questions. How often I dranch a day and how much and what? What in England? What beere was? How made? and whether I could make it heere? In all which I satisfied his great demands of state. He concluded that I should come to the *Guzelchann* and then I should see the Pictures. At night hee sent for mee, beeing hastic to triumph in his workman and shewed me 6 Pictures, 5 made by his man all pasted on<sup>1</sup> one table so like thnt I was by candle-light troubled to discerne which was which. I confesse beyond all expectation yet I shewed myne owne and the differences, which were in arte apparent but not to be ludged by a Common eye. But for that at first sight I knew It not, hee was very merry and Ioyfull and craked<sup>2</sup> like a Northern man. I gaue him way and Content, praysing his mans arte. Now, saith hee, what say you? I replied I saw his Maiestie needed noe Picture from our Country. But saith hee, what will you giue the Painter? I answered seeing hee had soe farr excelled my opinione

<sup>1</sup> Purchas has "in one table, as if using the word in the sense (then not uncommon) of "picture." Evidently the six were fastened (slightly for the Mogul detached one afterwards) upon some flat surface, probably of thin board.

Regarding the miniature presented by Roe, Sir George Birdwood has kindly given me the following note: "This must have been one of the small portraits in watercolours on paper or vellum which became so fashionable in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, when the English school of miniature painting commenced with Nicholas Hilliard (1547-1619), and was continued by John Hoskins and the two Olivers, and reached its highest excellence in Samuel Cooper (1609-1672) in the reign of Charles I. It was not until the reign of James II that ivory was used in this country for miniature painting. No contemporary miniatures of the Great Moguls on ivory are known to me. All the portraits of the period I have seen are on fine, smooth paper and are stippled.

<sup>2</sup> Roasted. "Then is she mortal borne, howso ye crake" (*Faerie Queene* bk. vii, c. 7 st. 50).

of him, I would double my liberalitie, and that if hee came to my house, I would giue him 100 *Rupies* to buy a Nagg, which the king tooke kindly, but answered hee should accept no mony but some other guifte, which I promised. The king asked what? I said it was referrable to my discretion. So hee answered it was true, yet desired I would name yt. I replied a good sword, or Pistoll, or Picture, wherat the king answered yow confesse hee is a good woorkman send for him home, and shewe him such toyes as you haue and lett him choose one, in requitall wherof you shall choose any of these Coppies to shewe in England wee are not soe vnskillfull as you esteeme vs. Soe hee pressed mee to choose one, which I did. The king, wrapping it vp in paper and putting it vp in a table booke<sup>1</sup> of myne, deliuered yt with much Joye and exultation of his mans supposed victory<sup>2</sup>. Wherat I showed him a Picture I had of his Maiestie farr infearior to the woorke I now sawe, which caused mee to iudg of all other by that which was deliuered mee as the best. He asked me where I had it? I tould him. Why, said hee, doe you buy any such things? Haue not I the best, and haue I not tould yow

<sup>1</sup> Note-book

<sup>2</sup> The following is Terry's hearsay account (p. 135) of this incident, which, it will be noticed, is incorrect in some particulars. "It happened that my Lord Ambassadour visiting the Mogol on a time, as he did often, He presented him with a curious neat small oval Picture done to the life in England. The Mogol was much pleased with it, but told the Ambassadour withall, that happily he supposed there was never a one in his Countrey that could do so well in that curious Art, and then offered to wager with him a *lecke of roopies* (a sum which amounted to no less then 10,000*l* sterling) that in a few dayes he would have two Coppie made by that presented to him, so like that the Ambassadour should not know his own. He refused the great Wager, but told the King he would adventure his judgment on it. Two Coppies taken from that Originall were within few dayes after made and brought and laid before the Ambassadour in the presence of the King, the Ambassadour viewing them long, either out of Courtship to please the King, or else unable to make a difference 'twixt the pictures, being all exquisitly done, took one of them which was new made, for that which he had formerly presented, and did after Profess that he did not flatter, but mistake in that choise."

I will giue you what soeuer you desired? I thancked his Maiestie, but that I heid it not Ciuiltie to trouble him in such trifles, especialiy as a begger. Hee repired it was noe shame to aske of him and bad mee speake at ali tymes freely pressing mee to Aske somewhat. I answered I would not choose my guifte what soeuer came from his Maiesties handes I would receiue as a marke of honor. He replied if you desier my Picture I will giue you one for your selfe or for your king. I answered if his Maiestie would send the king one I would gladly Carrie y<sup>t</sup> and knewe his Maiestie would take it Frendly and esteem it much but that since his Maiestie had embouldned mee I would desier one for my selfe, which I would keepe and leaue to my posterity as an ensigne of his Maiesties fauour. Hee replied your king doth not desier one, but you doe therefore you shall haue it and soe gaue present order for the Making. Then hee turned to rest and wee were blindfold dismissed.

*August 8*—I receiued iettres from Agra which signifie that Indico is like to bee at good rates and Cheape Cloth sells not att all, hides for losse. Concerninge the debt of Mahamett Hassine left by Robert Young<sup>1</sup> vpon my iettre the Gouvernor wrote to him to pay it who refusing he sent for his officers and burd the Cause and Iudged the debt dewe to the English, and gaue sentence for payment. Yet ther was after abated about 90 *rupies* of which Master Crowther frees himselfe.

*August 9*.—This empty day of other busines enuities mee by the strangenes of the action to mention breecfly a sentence of the king and execution accordingly 100 theeuues were brought Chayned before him and accused Without farther Cereimony as In all such Cases is the Custome the king bad Carry them away and lett the

Cheefe be torne with doggs, kyll the rest. This was all the processe and forme The Prisoners were deuided to seuerall quarters of the towne, and openly in some street, as in one by my howse, wher 12 doggs tare the Princepall, and 13 of his fellowes, having their handes tyed downe to their feete, had their Neckes cutt with a sword, but not quite off, and so left naked, bloody, and stincking to euery mans vew and incomodytie<sup>1</sup>

*August 10*—I receiued lettres from Amadavaz, with which a Copy newly arriued, from Master Kerridg to Jhon Browne, concerning a dutch shipp of 300 tunns at Ankar at the barr of Swaly She had been at Ba[n]tam, and laden with south Comodities, had dischargd most part at Moha in the redd sea, wher shee tooke *Chickenes*<sup>2</sup> and royalls for her goodes, and with about 100 tunns of spices and that mony Came to Suratt, pretending to seeke trade. Her People seemed not willingly to disclose their purpose but that they expected a fleete from Holland and would ryde vntill the season, and accordinly declare Her arriual, it seemes, made our factors at Suratt much afayd, eyther of their purpose to doe some spoyle on the Coast in reuenge of Certeine debts oweing, or of settling a factory in India, where they would both out-present, out-bribe, and out-buy vs in all things, ether of which would be very preiudiciall to our proceedings, especially if they should robb Sultan Caronns ship expected this season in retorne from Moha. So that although I had not aduise particularly addressed to mee (of which I woonder)<sup>3</sup> and this

<sup>1</sup> For numerous instances of Jahāngīr's cruelty in punishing offenders, see his so-called *Memoirs* (*Tārīkh-i-Jahāngīr*), translated by Major Price

<sup>2</sup> The Venetian gold ducat (*zecchino*, *cecchino*, or *sequin*) It was long current on the shores of India, and was held to be worth about four rupees For an interesting note on the subject, see Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary* Mandelslo values it as high as 8½ or 9 rupees

<sup>3</sup> The Surat factors sent off the intelligence on July 26th, but their letter did not reach Roe until August 14th (see p 243) In it they

Comming casually yet I went to visitt the king and enformed him of all my Iealousyes,<sup>1</sup> which were noe other then to begett some in him. Hee enquired what this ship brought? which I declared according to relation What the fleete was like to bring? If they Intended trade? Or if they were men of warr, vpon whom the storme were most probable to fall? I answered that for their trade they Could bring nothing but Easterne Comodities, from China or the Islands for that their owne land yeilded nothing fitt for these parts but that they liued upon transport of forraigne goodes, and seeking new trades, gayning by all Nations that needed others and had not vse of shipping but that they most affected a footing in these

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stated that the ship was the *Nassau*, which left Bantam in the previous September and, capturing on her way a Portuguese vessel laden with cinnamon, entered the Red Sea and anchored at Mocha after disposing of most of her lading, to great profit, her commander encouraged by some Gujarati merchants, determined to visit Surat, after spending the monsoon at Socotra, falling however to fetch that island, he was forced to proceed in spite of the danger of approaching the Indian coast at this season. The governor wrote Kerridge, was afraid either to entertain the Dutch or to drive them away and so was temporising: he had refused them a house, though he offered to buy their cargo at current rates and he was trying to frighten them away by representing their danger of shipwreck or of attack from Portuguese vessels. The English, it seems, entertained the Dutch merchants hospitably but were evidently alarmed by the prospect of competition from this quarter; and Kerridge expressed a strong hope that the expected fleet from England would drive them away "for such," he said, "is their practice against the English wher or when soeuer they have power to effect it." Roe's reply however was "concerning the Hollander I have received instructions from England how to deale—not by force, as you intended;" and, although he spared no pains to secure their dismissal, he was careful to avoid all show of hostility.

For a fuller account the narrative of the Dutch commander Pieter van den Broecke, published at Amsterdam in 1648, should be consulted. Therein he expressly says that "the English did their best with presents and bribes to cause our departure;" and in his letter to the Directors at Amsterdam describing his voyage (I O Records *Hague Transcripts*, Series 1, vol. II, No. 78) he specifies the amount thus given as 800 rials. He also mentions that there was an English ambassador at court with a large train of from twenty-five to thirty men.

<sup>1</sup> Doubts or suspicions. Cp. *Julius Caesar* 1, ii "That you do love me I am nothing jealous."

Parts, and some hould and retrayt, both for the keeping in awe of those with whom they traded, and for a security for themselves from all violence or vnconstancy, which Course they had held in all parts to the South and East where they had any recourse, building forts for defence of themselves, wherby by little and little they became masters of the Port,<sup>1</sup> wherof at Mesolapatan was a Neighbouring example. But I thought if they Came as men of warr, they would not attempt any thing on this Coast, especially in presence of our flecte, which wee expected as soone as they arriue, nor in any place where wee had residence, for reuerence to his Maiestie the king of England, to whom they did owe eauen that liberty wherby they molested others. But rather they would prosecute their Mortall quarrell against the Portugalls, eyther at Damon, Chaul, or perhapes at the head, Goa itself, for that if they came with such intent, they would doe somewhat woorthy their labour. The king was somewhat troubled at my relation, but, as if all things were to little to concerne such mightines, it passed away without any resolution.

*August 11* —I visited Asaph chan, and Cast new doubts into his head, pretending seruice and much affection to the Prince that, because the Hollanders were in leauge with the English, I would not speake that openly to the king which I had reason to feare in behalfe of the Prince, whose shippes were now abroad, to whom all the Coast was now subiect therefore I had reserued matter of most Consequence for his highnes, wherin if hee would bee pleased to heare mee and to follow my aduise, I would perhaps prevent that which would both trouble and dishonor him in all which, seeing it proceeded out of an earnest scale to doe

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<sup>1</sup> Roe's drift will be easily perceived. He knew how distasteful the idea was of any European power getting a footing in the Mogul's dominions.

his Highnes seruice I hoped hee would Iudge of my good meaning and purpose, not according to euents which were subiect to Casualties which had often more force in execution of counsell then the wisest and most aduised reasons. He gaue mee great thanckes for my Care and loue to them desiring me to goe on the morowe to the Prince, whom hee would prepare that eueninge for a Conference with mee, withall admonishing mee (with deepe protestations that he spake it with the like affection and loue to mee that he saw I carried toward them by timely warning) that I should by all meanes Indeaour to prevent that the Dutch should neither robb the Princes ships nor spoyle the Coast for that it would bee very ill taken of the king and dangerous for vs In respect that he had often hard that they were a Nation though not subiect yett som way dependant vpon the king of England. I answered though I had no reason to doubt the kings Iustice and wisdom in discerning and doing right, yet hee might see that I had their safety already In my Care, which made mee so farr wade Into the busines almost against our frendes yet the loue of Iustice compelled me to yt, for that wee were frendes to the dutch but not to any of their vnlawfull attempts that I could by noe means answer, nor by any equitye be required to yt, for what they should doe at sea but after the arriual of our flecte, or where wee were seated I supposed they would offer no violence, and to that end I would both use my Credit and authoritie, and also giue such dayly aduise and Intelligence as came to mee and that for prevention of what might happen at sea, I would deliuer my opinione to the Prince. Now though these doubts which I sowed (especially of any enterprise on the Coast) were not so vrgent as I pretended yet they serued my turne for many purposes first, to Imprint in the Prince an opnlon of my desier to doe him seruice and good affection of our Nation toward



him, and hereby to procure a more familiartye of discourse, secondly, I would vnder that pretence lay such rubbs in the Hollanders way as should not easely bee remooued, a matter of no small consequence to this trade, by whose admittance wee were vtterly lost, at least I would so farr norish Iealousy as to keepe them from any footing, lastly, and which is not of least vse, I would tell my owne tale in the Hollanders person, seeing it is necessarie that the Prince know how wee wilbe reuenged if we continew to bee misused, and yet not convenient that I deliuer so much playnly, as our busines now standes Asaph chan seemed greatly pleased, assuring mee of fauour from the king to our Nation and of very gratfull reception from the Prince of my endeauours, wherat I tooke occasion to tell him how little encouragment I had yet receiued, especially in the delay of those articles propounded in the Name of my Master, which was a busines most concerned mee and was the only siment to ioyn the affections of both Nations to auoyed and disperce all Iealousyes, whereby a perfect leauge and a kind of naturall loue would growe by Continuall trafique, commerce and entercourse one with another He answered it was his faulte, but that ther was tyme enough, it beeing 6 weekes to the shippes arriual, before which I could make little vse of yt but that if hee had any honor in him, I should receiue them sealed within 3 dayes, and that what soeuer else lay in him to doe mee or my nation seruice I should Command I answered in the same mettle of obedience, but to shorten Complements hee said wee should bee brothers, and that the title should bee sufficient to expresse all profession

*August 12* —I went to the Princes, to whom (as if I had reserued the secrett and misterie of the busines only for him) I desired what I deliuered might bee priuatly, which was done First, I told him I had great reason to sus-

pect that the dutch fleet expected had some ill purpose by the Carriage of the shipp arrived who offered to land no goodes but dealt closely reserving their resolution vntill the Comming of their fellowes pretending that they entended a factory, which if they did they would vnlade and not venture to ride in soe terrible a roade open to the sea upon a lee shoare, a thing strange and with vs held impossible, that any shipp could gett in from the westward In this season much lesse bide at Anchor the force of wyndes ordinarye vntill the change of the Monson But for preuentlon, I vnderstood they desired to bring their ship which drew but 12 foote water over the barr and to ride in the ruer, yet without Command of any fort <sup>1</sup> which gaue mee the most suspition for shee would bee master of the ruer and goe out at Pleasure, But that which did almost Confirme mee that assuredly they ment to surprise his hignes ships was That about tenn yeares since The Hollanders had a facturie at Suratt where all their Merchannts died leauinge much goodes and mony in their house, which being veiwed and taken by Inventorie, *Channa Channa* and diuers great men deuided and tooke amonge them yet sending lettres to Mesolapatan of the Particulars, offering to repay it ail to any that should bring lawfull authoritie to receiue it, whervpon this last yeare The Hollanders sent ouer land two principall Merchannts from Mesolapatan to Suratt, hoping to haue found such Iustice as their promise pretended but Contrary they were beaten and ill vsed, recouering scarcely their Chardge and some Indico that was kept vnsould, but for the mayne of the mony it was pretended to be in the handes of *Channa Channa* and other great men, These Merchants thus baffatted at Suratt resolued to trie the vtmost by faler meanes, and desired leaue of mee to goe in my Company

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<sup>1</sup> Out of the reach of the guns of the fort.

to Brampore, wher beeing, as they pretended, refused audience and all satisfaction they returned to Mesolapatan, but first reavealing to mee their intents that they feared this refusall before they vndertooke the voyage, but yet to bee free from all scandall they had made tryall but that it was resolved the yeare following (which is this present) there should Come a fleete to the Port of Suratt, wher, if satisfaction had beene made, they would trade, but finding the Contrarie with some shipes they would shutt vp the riuer and with others range too and againe and surprise all that Came out of the redd sea and all other trading on the Coast,<sup>1</sup> all which Considered, and that this

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<sup>1</sup> Roe's account of the beginnings of Dutch intercourse with Surat is in many respects inaccurate. The facts appear to be these. The first Dutchmen to visit that port were two merchants named De Wolff and Lafer, who failed for want of support. Later on (the date is not specified), David van Deinssen and another merchant proceeded thither. The latter died, and Van Deinssen fell ill, but, as a Portuguese laid claim to some ivory in his possession, he was forced to journey to Burhánpur, in order that the Khán-khánán, as overlord of Surat, might hear the cause. He decided in the Dutchman's favour, but the worry proved too much for the latter, and he committed suicide. His goods and money at Burhánpur were taken possession of by the Khán-khánán, while most of those at Surat were sent up to that officer at Burhánpur (apparently as the estate of an alien dying in the country cp the attempt to seize Aldworth's effects). On hearing of this, the Dutch at Masulipatam threatened to take a Mogul vessel and compensate themselves. In reply the Viceroy (Mukarrab Khán) and Sháhbandar (Khoja Hasan Alí) wrote in Oct 1614, assuring them that the goods in their possession would be delivered to anyone authorised to receive them, and at the same time, in view of the war then being waged with the Portuguese, they invited the Dutch to send a fleet to assist in the siege of Damán, offering in return to give them that town when taken. This invitation was not accepted, but, as stated above, two merchants were sent overland to Surat to claim Van Deinssen's goods. One of these merchants appears to have been Pieter Gilles van Ravesteyn, who was later the head of the Dutch factory at Surat. They recovered part of the property and sent it to Bantam in Keeling's ships, returning themselves by way of Burhánpur to claim the portion taken by the Khán-khánán. In this, apparently, they were unsuccessful, but Van Ravesteyn in his letter home makes no complaint of ill-treatment such as Roe alleges, and he recommends that further efforts be made to establish trade in Gujarát [See Transcripts at I O of Dutch Records (Series I, vol II, No 71, and vol III, Nos 87, 88), Peyton's Journal (*Addl MS* 19276), and O C, No 181 (I O Records)]

shipp desiers to Come over the barr, I had great reason to suspect that now that was In execution which was so long threatned that this shipp should stopp the entrance to safety while the others tooke the booty, the rather because the Hoilanders were soe incensed at the insolencies offered them and that they were a people strong at sea and revengfull and would neyther forget to [nor ?] pardon Iniurye. I put his highnes in mynd how easy it was to take his shippes and all others trading into the redd sea, and what losse it would bee to him and to all his subiects to haue the trade either shutt vp or to expose his goodes to yearly and Certaine danger that therfore his highnes should well advise how those were entreated that beeing too strong in shipping were so able to requite all Iniuries.<sup>1</sup> Hee gaue mee many thanckes, with much profession of his gratitude for my good affection showed him in this Intelligence, but withall was much troubled desiering me to giue him some counsell what to doe and how to behaue himselfe at present, and to avoyd the danger of his shippes. I answered I was very vnfitt to giue him advise, being so naturally Pregnant, haueing so many wise men about him but, seeing hee so pleased to Command, I would venture my opinione and referr it to his Iudgement to execute according to his wisdome That hee should write to the lieutenant at Suratt to giue them all good woordes, but if it were possible (vnder pretence of care of their safety) to fright them from Comming over the barr with the many shellofs, sandes and dangers of the riuer and then his highnes should bee sure they would either away for feare of the weather and not returne vntill the season of Chaoge, when I hoped our ships would be arriued to doe him seruice and to prevent any injury or if they resolved to ride it out it

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<sup>1</sup> In all this Roe was "telling his own tale in the Hollander's person."

was 100 to one they would be Cast away, and soe the question ended But if no perswation could preuaile but that they would ouer the barr, then the Leiutenant should perswade them to bring the ship vp to the towne, vnder pretence of better riding and more Conuenience of refreshing (which may else be refused them) and so draw them vnder the Command of the Castle, wherby they could not depart without leauc, and if their fellowes had done any thing at sea this would bee a good Pawne to redeeme yt But because it is casier and wiselier done to prevent mischeefe then to redresse it or punish yt, his highnes might send a Post ouer land to Syndu in 6 dayes, and thence send an aduisall frigott to his shippes to giue warning to looke out for a fleete and to keepe in sight of land, so that if such bee discouered they may shift vnder some fort or gett into Syndu and that after, if the fleete arriue at Suratt peaceably and desier satisfaction and trade, his Highnes in honor would I doubt not cause them to haue iustice, But for trade I must referr it to his wisdom. Only thus much I would signifie they would bee very vnruely ashore, disorderly especially by drinke, and that, if any iustice were done in such Case, they would make it a quarrell, beeing desierous of any occasion, for that accept they might Command here (which would not befitt his greatnes) as they did in all other their residences, they professe them selues they shall gaine more by stealing in one yeare then by trading in many <sup>1</sup> So that if his highnes could be quietly ridd of them, it were a happines and ease to him But, howeuer, if his highnes saw cause to entertaine them, I hoped it should noe way bee in our preiudice, who had beene priuiledged many years by his father and were most ready to doe him seruice. Hee answered mee they should noe way disadvantage vs that in all that

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<sup>1</sup> This reminds one of Roe's own sentiment expressed on p 192

I had deliuered he would follow my Councell and would not resoluue anything Concerning the Hollanders without my aduise, desiering me to Contlnew to enforme him, and hee would apply him selfe wholly according to such instruetions as hee should receiue of mee with many promises, good woordes and Complements. So that I haue arriued at one of my proposed endes, and am In a faire Course to all, but successes are subject to the Chance of circumstances, and the myndes of Princes alter with tyme or are ouerswayd with Passions and some tymes bought with too easy a Price.<sup>1</sup>

Here I mooued Mir[z]ie Socorollo for the Princes resolution for so much of Zulphecarcons debt as hee charged the Prince withall for that Master Bldolph the day before had showed him his hand and scale for the whole, wherein was Mentioned to be oweing by his highnes 5 500 *mamoodies* and hee deslered to show the bill to the Prince and to know his pleasure. He answered he had moued the Prince and had order for so much, and would eyther pay It on the morrow or giue warrant to receiue so much at Suratt, and for 3 500 *mamoodies* which Zulpheckearcon had previously giuen his bill to Abram chan, hee would write his lettre to Command the deliuey, which made 9,000 in all, the remainder, which was to bee paid by Zulpheckearcon hee would see performed at the Arriuall of the Iudg of the Custome house, who was dayly expected.

I am loath to omitt any Curtesie done me—I had so fewe—and because this was one of the greatest and for the

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<sup>1</sup> All mention of the arrival of the Dutch and Roe's action thereupon was suppressed by Purchas, doubtless in accordance with his expressed intention of recording as little as possible of the bickerings that, at that time when he wrote, were fast envenoming the relations between the English and the Dutch. In the same fashion he omits the entries under the 26th and 27th of this month.

manner new and from a person of so great qualety, I cannot but in gratitude confesse it. His name is Gemal-Din-Vssin,<sup>1</sup> a man of 70 yeares, vizeroy of Patan and lord of four Cittyes in Bengala, one that hath beene often Embassador, and of more vnderstanding and curtesye then all his Countriemen, and to be esteemed hospitable and a receiuer of strangers, not secrettly ambitious. Hee often made meanes that I would come to his house, which at last I did, and was receiued with extraordinary familiarity and kindnes, offering me a *leeck* of *rupias* and such other Curtesyes so great that they beespake their owne refusall His fauour with the king, his Creditt, his councell, all was offered that could fullfill Complements And this I must confesse that from a person reuerent in yeares it seemed more cordiall, and for in some discourse speaking so playnly of his fellowes in Court truthes in myne owne experience, I resolued hee was a good-Natured and right-harted ould man Hee tould mee much of the Customes of this Countrie, of their seruitude, of their want of lawes, of the encrease of this empire, wherein hee had serued 3 Princes<sup>2</sup> in grace and fauour (of which tymes hee showed mee a booke or Annall of all memorable Actions, which hee had daylie Committed to record and had nowe composed them into a historye, the Copy wherof hee offered

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<sup>1</sup> Mīr Jamāluddīn Husām He had served Akbar in various military and political capacities, and under Jahāngīr had risen to high rank Eleven of his sons held commands in the army, and he himself is said to have been raised subsequently to the unique distinction (for a subject not of the blood royal) of 12,000 horse (*Memoirs of Jahāngīr*, translated by Major Price) He was at this time *subahdār* of Patna or Bihār, but was shortly afterwards transferred to Sind (see p. 245), in 1621 he was pensioned, and amused himself with the compilation of a Persian dictionary, which he presented to the emperor two years later In Hawkins' list of the Mogul nobles (Hakluyt Soc. ed., p. 420) his name appears, as a *mansabdār* of 3,000, under the almost unrecognisable form of "Mirza Shieinchādin"

<sup>2</sup> Jahāngīr, Akbar, and apparently Humāyūn, though, as the last-mentioned had died 60 years before this date, Mīr Jamāluddīn must have been very young when he was in his service.

mee, if I could procure it translated<sup>1</sup>) concerning the kings reueneue and the manner of raying it besides Con-  
fiscations gifts and Cuttings upon great men that the  
Gouerment of euery Prouince did yearly pay a rent, as  
for his Gouerment of Patan only hee gaue the king 11  
*lacks* of *rupies* (the *rupe* sterling is 2 shillings 2 pence)  
all other profitts were his wherein hee had regall authoritie  
to take what hee list which was esteemed at 5000 horse  
the pay of euerie one at 200 *rupies* by yeare wherof hee  
kept 1500 and was allowed the surpluse as dead pay<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Lord Carew in his letter to Roe in January 1617-18, expressed a hope that the ambassador would find some means of procuring a translation of this interesting work; but nothing seems to have been done in the matter.

In response to an enquiry Mr. Fithé has kindly informed me that the work is not included in any collection of Persian books or manuscripts known to him but he adds that there is in the Royal Library Berlin, a short collection of memoirs by Mir Jamaluddin Husain, which may possibly have been extracted from it.

<sup>2</sup> This appears to be the net contribution to the royal exchequer after deducting all expenses of administration. For particulars of the various provincial subsidies see Thomas's *Revenue Resources of the Afghan Empire* where this passage is quoted (p. 24 n.).

<sup>3</sup> The following is Terry's account (p. 410) of the well known system of military tenure here alluded to—"The Mogol, in his far extended Monarchy, allows yearly pay for one Million of horse, and for every horse and man about eighteen pounds sterling per annum, which is exactly paid every year raised from Land and other Commodities which that Empire affords, and appointed for that purpose. Now some of the Mogol's most beloved Nobles have the pay of six thousand horse; and there are others (at the least twenty in his Empire) which have the pay of five thousand horse; exceeding large Pensions above the revenue of any other Subjects in the whole World, they amounting unto more than one hundred thousand pounds yearly unto a particular man. Now others have the pay of four thousand horse; others of three or two, or one thousand horse, and so downward; and these by their proportions are appointed to have horses alwayes in readinesse, well mannd and otherwise appointed for the King's service so that he who hath the pay of five or six thousand most alwayes have one thousand in readinesse, or more, according to the King's need of them and so in proportion all the rest, which enables them on a sudden to make up the number at the least, of two hundred thousand horse of which number they have alwayes at hand one hundred thousand, to wait upon the King wheresoever he is."

Compare also the account given by Hawkins (*op. cit.* p. 419), who mentions the names of the principal *mansabddars*, as these captains were styled.



besides this the king gaue him of Pension 1,000 *rupies* a day and some smaller gouernments , yet hee assured mee ther were diuers that had double his entertaynment, and aboue 20 equall Hee praysed the good Prophet Jesus and his lawes, and was full of very delightfull and fructfull discourse This visitt was past some few dayes, and I thought that his curtesye had beene at an end, but this day he had borrowed of the king his house and Garden of Pleasure Hauaz Gemall,<sup>1</sup> a mile out of towne, to feast mee in , and ouer night earnestly inuiting mee, I promised to Come At Midnight he went him self and Carried his tents and all furnitur and fitted vp a Place by the tancke side very handsomly In the morning I went. At my Comming hee came to meete mee and with extraordinary Ciuiltie carried me into his roome prepared, wher hee had some Company and 100 seruants attending two of his sonnes (beeing a father to thirty) Hee entertayned mee with showeing the kings little Closetts and retyring roomes, which were Paynted with Antique, and in some Panes Cories of the French kings and other Christian Princes , wanting no Courtship That he was a poore man, slaue to the king That hee desired I should receiue some content, and that therfore hee had drawn mee to a slight banquet, to eate bread and salte together to scale a frendshipp, which hee desired mee to accept that ther were many great men able to shoue mee more Curtesye, but they were proud and falce wishing mee to trust to none, for that if I had business to the king of any weight, cyther concerning the Portugalls or any other, they would never deliuer truth who were my enterpreters, but only what cyther pleased them selues or would Content in the relation That therfore I should neuer be rightly vnderstood, nor effect my busines without abuse, nor neuer

clearly know my estate, vntill I had an Englishman that could speake Persian and that might deliuer my mynd without passing the toong of another which the King would grant mee if I could fynd any for that hee had conceiued a good opinion of mee and the last night at the *Gusselchan* having brought before him the Jewells of Sheek I end<sup>1</sup> Gouvernor of Lahor lately dead hee remembred me of him selfe, and seeing a picture of his owne that pleased him he deliuered it to Asaph chan commanding him to send it mee to weare for his sake with many wordes of fauour towards mee which would make all the great men respect mee. In this tyme came in dinner soe sitting on Carpetts a Cloth was layed and diuers banquetting sett before vs and the like a little apart for the gentellmen that Companioned him to whom hee went to eat, they houlding it a kynd of vncleanes to mingle with vs. Whereat I tolde him I hee promised wee should eate bread and salt together that without his Company I had little appetite. Soe hee rose and sate by mee, and wee fell roundly to our victualles. The substance was made dishes of diuers sorts reasons, nmondes, Pistachoes and fruct. Dinner ended hee playd at Chesse, and I walked. Returning after some discourse I offered to take my leaue. Hee answered hee had entreated mee to come to eate that what was passed was a Collation that I must not depart till I had supped which I easely agreed too. About an hower after came to visitt him the Ambassador of one of the Decan kings whom hee presented to mee vying him with Clullitye, but in a much inferiour manner

<sup>1</sup> Shaikh Farid-i Bukhārī. He had rendered important services in securing Jalāldīr's succession, and had been rewarded with the command of 6,000 horse and the *sikāh* of Cujārdi whence he was transferred to the Punjab in the fifth year of the reign. He died at Pāldin, and was buried at Delhi.

In Hawkins has already cited he is called by a copyist's or printer's error "Sheik Serki."

in respect of his fashion toward mee Hee asked me if his Maiestie my Master would not take in scorne the offer of seruice from so poore a man and if hee would vouchsafe to accept of a Present from a stranger for that hee would send a gentellman with mee to kysse his Maiesties handes and to see our Cuntrye I answered him as became ciuilitye and good manners So he sent for one Presently and questioned him if hee would venture the Iourney, who seeming willing hee presented to mee, and said hee would prouide some toyes of the Cuntrye for his Maiestie and send him in my Company By the manner this seemed to me to be earnest While wee thus spent tyme our Supper came, two Clothes beeing spread as in the morning, and before me and my Chaplayne<sup>1</sup> and one Merchant were sett diuers dishes of salletts and meate rost, fryed, boyld, and diuers rises He desired to bee excused that it was their manner to eate among themselves his Countrymen would take it ill if hee eate not with them So hee and his guests, I and my Company solaced our selues with a good refreshing The meate was not amisse, but the attendance and order much better, his seruants beeing very diligent and respectfull Hee gaue me for a present, as is the manner when one is envited, 5 Cases of sugar Candy dressed with muscke, and one lofe of most fine sugar white as snow, about 50 *li* weight <sup>2</sup> desiring mee to accept of 100 of such against my goeing Which, said he, you refuse of mee, thincking I am poore, but it costs me nothing it is made in my Gouerment and Comes gratis to mee I answered hee had too far already obliged me that I would not refuse his Curtesye when I was ready to depart Hee replied hee might be then vnfurnished, and therefore desired I

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<sup>1</sup> The Rev. John Hall, of whom see p. 245

<sup>2</sup> "Spent in the house-keeping" (Roc's Accounts)

would nowe speake, that hee might not loose his offer and labour too. Thus professing himselfe my father and I his sonne, with Complements I tooke my leaue.

*August 14*—I receiued letters from Suratt<sup>1</sup> beeing nothing but a bundell of contradictions to whatsoeuer motion I made in my opininn for the advancement of the Companys affayres, wherein I saw they tooke more pleasure to Argue then to execute and to shoue their witt and authoritye then to yeild to anything not of their owne propounding their reasons beeing a mist of errors with which they sent a formall resolution of Councell to abyde the Injuries and not to dissolue the factorye pre supposing neyther restitution of extortions reparation of wronges, Payment of debt nor confirmation of priuiledges Contrary to their owne motions severally made, which beegatt the question<sup>2</sup> which they now interpreted they intended that the Princes shippes shoud be taken and I att Court, but that indiscret motion I could not tast. With these I receiued a confirmation of the Hollanders arriual with their opinions to haue me procure their disgrace (wherby I was sure they would seeke revenge, and the blame and hazard lye on vs) or els to consent that the expected Generall should beate them out,<sup>3</sup> contrary to that profession I euer made in Comparison of the Portugall that wee sought open and free trade without purpose to wrong any What was fitt to be done I had not neglected before this aduise, and found no reason to alter it. Want of Power saued mee much labour but disadvantaged much our busines.

*August 16*.—I sent to Asaph chan for my promised

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<sup>1</sup> See *Surat Letterbook* (I O Records), under date of 23 July 1616; a part has already been quoted (p. 166 *n*). Roe is somewhat severe on the factors, whose letter is not quite so unreasonable as is here implied.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 191

<sup>3</sup> See note on p. 229.

Articles Hee swoore by his God I should receiue them that night or the Morrow

*August 17* —I went to visitt the King, who, as soone as I came in, called to his woemen and reached out a picture of him selfe<sup>1</sup> sett in gould hanging at a wire gould Chaine, with one pendant foule pearle, which hee deliuered to Asaph chan, warning him not to demand any reuerence of mee other then such as I would willingly giue, it beeing the Custome, when soever hee bestowes any thing, the receiuer kneeles downe and putts his head to the ground<sup>2</sup> (which hath been exacted of the Embassadors of Persia) So Asaph Chan came to mee, and I offered to take it in my hand, but hee made signe to putt of my hatt, and then putt it about my neck, leading mee right before the king I vnderstood not his purpose, but doubted hee would require the Custome of the Country called *Size-da*, but I was resolved rather to deliuer vp my present Hee made signe to mee to giue the king thancks, which I did after my owne Custome Wheratt some officers called me to *Size-da*, but the King answered no, no, in Persian So with many gracious woordes sent mee, I returned to my place You may now Iudg the kings liberallitye This giuft was not woorth in all 30 *li*,<sup>3</sup> yet it was five tymes as good as any hee giues in that kynd, and held for an especiall fauour, for that all the great men that weare the kings Image (which none may doe but to whom it is giuen) receiue noe other then a meddall of gould as bigg as sixpence,<sup>4</sup> with a little chayne of 4 inches to

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<sup>1</sup> See p 227

<sup>2</sup> The *sydah*, or prostration (see entry under date of Oct. 19, 1616)

<sup>3</sup> In a letter to the factors at Ahmadábád, Roe speaks of it as worth "not aboue 600 rupees," and in one to Surat he reckons its value at about 500 or 600 rupees This is double the value here assigned

<sup>4</sup> These appear to be the "portrait-coins . . . in the nature of medals or presentation pieces" referred to in Mr Stanley Lane-Poole's *Moghul Emperors and their Coins*, p lxxx.

fasten it on their heads which at their owne Chardg some sett with stones or garnishe with pendant Pearles.

*August 18.*—I receiued a warrant from the Prince for 5 500 *mameodies* part of Zulpheekcarcons debt.

*August 19.*—Gemal-din ussin (who invited mee to Hauar Gemall<sup>1</sup>), beeing newly made Gouvernor of Syndu came to mee to dinner with two sonns and two other gentellmen and about a hundred seruants. Hee ate some banquetting stuff made in my house by a moore Cooke, but would not tuch such meate as I had prouided of my owne fashion, though his appetite was very good a kynd of superstition forbidding him. But hee desired mee that 4 or 5 dishes might bee sent to his house such as hee would choose, beeing ali backd meates which hee had neuer scene, and that hee would dirc on them in priuatt which was accordingly don And soe offering vs the Towne of Syndu and all other Curtesies in his Power hee made hast to fill his belly I gaue him a small present according to Custome.<sup>2</sup>

This day soddenly dyed to my great greife and discomfort my minister Master Hiall a man of a most gentle and mild Nature religious and of unspotted life.<sup>3</sup> Hee had beene ill but 5 dayes and that but caseli In the morning he had walked abroad, and lay downe in a Garden on the wett Earth supposing him selfe In no danger At noone hee ate with very good appetite. In two howers after he dyed. Thus it pleased God to lay a great affliction on mee and my famely for our sinnes, taking from vs the meanes

<sup>1</sup> See p. 240.

<sup>2</sup> A book containing 48 sheets of pictures, "beeing the whole historie of our sauour Christ," which cost in England 24s. (Roe's Accounts).

<sup>3</sup> "He was one of the best and quietest and humblest men that euer I knew" wrote Roe to the Company (November 24th, 1616). Little is known of him, except that he belonged apparently to Petersfield, in Hampshire and that he graduated from Roe's own college (Magdalen) in 1600, and later became a fellow of Corpus Christi (see Foster's *Alumni Oxonienses* and Terry's *Voyage*). He was only thirty-seven at the time of his death.

of his blessed woord and Sacraments for our neglect of so heauenly benefitts, which was to mee (God knowes my hart) the heauest punishment I did feele or feare in this Country<sup>1</sup> Godes will be done My houshould was sickly, my Cooke new dead, and I had as little Ioy or consolation as I beleue any euer had, noe Comfort, no conuersation, no such dispatch in my busines as might giue me Credit or Content, no such entertaynment as my qualetye required nor which might haue appeasd and made other inconueniencies tollerable, no hope of proffitt in myne owne estate This was all that made mee liue a resolution to performe with an honest hart all I had vndertaken, according to my power, comitting my selfe wholly to my Creator

*August 20*—I dispatched answer to Suratt<sup>2</sup> with bills of 9,000 *mamoodies*<sup>3</sup> of Zulpheckcarcons debt and a Copy of his agreement, to shoue such as hee Charged with part of the Goodes, though hee now stood bound for all, with those I sent the Persians *firmaen* for Iasques<sup>4</sup> and Copyes of all the proceedings therein, to bee ready att the arriual of our fleete, if occasion required them, aduise about Barooch, the dutch, and all necessary busines

This day and the night past, fell a storme of rayne called

<sup>1</sup> The ambassador wrote at once to Surat for another chaplain "Heere I cannot liue the life of an Atheist, lett mee desire you to endeauour my supply, for I will not abyde in this place destitute of the Comfort of Godes woord and heauenly Sacraments" The post was offered to Mr Leske (see p 168 *n*), but he was unwilling to accept it So the matter remained in abeyance until the arrival of Pepwell's fleet with two young ministers on board "The graver of them," wrote the Surat factors to Roe (September 26th, 1616), "about 25 yeares of age, is Called Edward Terry, was a fellowe of Corpus Christi Colledg in Oxford He is verry desirous to staye in the Countrey and would willingly imbrace your Lordshipps service. The Generall hath spoken to me in his behalfe and geuen him fayre Comendations" Thus it was to the occurrence of the vacancy at this time that we owe the *Voyage to East India*

<sup>2</sup> The letter is given at f 114 of the MS Part of it has already been quoted on p 167

<sup>3</sup> One for 3,500 received on the 1st, and one for 5,500 which the Prince sent to Roe on the 18th

<sup>4</sup> See p 128

the *Oliphant*<sup>1</sup> vsuall at goeing out of the raynes but for the greatnes very extraordinarye wherby ther rann such streames into the Tanck whose head is made of stone in show extreamiy strong<sup>2</sup> but the water was soe growne that it bracke over in one place and ther came an alarum and suddeyne feare that itt would giue way and drowne all that part of the Towne where I dwelt in soe much that the Prince and ali his woemen forsooke their house my next neighbour carried away his wife and his goodes on his Eliphantes and Cammells to fly to the hiilssyde. All men had their horses ready at their doores to saue their liues, so that wee were much frightened and satt vp till midnight, for that wee had no helpe but to flye our selues and loose all our goodes for it was reported that it would runne higher then the topp of my house by 3 foote and carry al away beeing poore mudd buildings 14 years past a terreble experience having showed the violence the foote of the Tanck beeing leuell with our dwelling and the water extreame great and deepe so that the topp was much higher then my house, which stood in the bottome in the Course of the water euery ordinarie raine making such a Current at my doore that it runne not swifter in the Arches of London bridge and is for some howers impassible by horse or man. But God other wise disposed it in his Mercy The king Caused a sluice to bee cutt in the

<sup>1</sup> At a consultation held September 3rd 1637 (1 O Marne Records, Misc. I), mention was made of "The (ennerall reports of all or most of the Cheefe Portugall Gentlemen and fryers as well of this place [Bombay] as others neere Aioyninge, That before the new Moone in September It was impossible for any shipp of Charge to gett Cleere of the Coast without apparent and eminent dainger (if bound to the Southwards) by Reason they Constantly expect every yeare at that Season an extraordinarye storm vpon the Coast, Called by them the *Elophant* which Comes with such Vyolence and soe variable that noe Shipp or Vessell may pass without eminent dainger as aforesaid. Cp. also the quotations in Yule's *Anglo-Indian Glossary* a.n. Therenot explains the name as derived from the shape of the clouds at the time of the storm.

<sup>2</sup> The dam referred to can still be traced (H. B. W. Carrick in *Indian Archaeological Survey Reports* (First Series), vol. xxiii, 46).



night to ease the water another way Yet the very rayne had washed downe a great part of the walls of my house, and soe weakened itt all by diuers breaches in, that I feared the fall more then the flood, and was soe moyled<sup>1</sup> with durt and water that I could scarce lye drye or safe, soe that I must bee enforced to be at new chardge in reparation Thus were wee every way afflicted—fires, smokes, floodes, stormes, heate, dust, flyes, and no temperate or quiett season

*August 22.*—I receued from the Prince another warrant for 5,500 *mamoodies* formerly mentioned<sup>2</sup>, for that the first, it seemes, was not sufficient

*August 24.*—I visited the king at the *Durbarr* and there demanded of Asaph chan the sealing of the Priuiledges long granted by the king and by him deferrd I got his oathe to receue them on the morninge

*August 26*—I went to the Prince to know the resolution of the Hollanders receptions, wher I found it was resolved that, by reason of the expectation of the shipes from the redd sea, Content should bee giuen them in trade, but as yet no factorye nor house of residence granted, other then a warehouse for the landing of their goodes

*August 27*—I went to Asaph chans, but he was among his woemen and came not that day abroad I caused him to bee watched at night by Iaddowe, who tould him I had beene at his house and that if I receued any more delayes I should bee enforced to Complayne Hee excused him selfe with Complements enough that hee was very sorry, Commanding Iaddowe to lett him know ouernight whensoever I resolved to Com to him, and desiering him to

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<sup>1</sup> The usual sense of this word is "to defile with dirt," or (from the cause of this dirtying) "to drudge" ("Moile not too much under Ground"—Bacon's essay, *Of Plantations*) Here, however, we have the original sense of "to soften by moistening" (cp Fr *mouiller*)

<sup>2</sup> Page 245

satisfie me for that on sunday, when hee spake with his sister Normall, the scale should bee giuen.

This day I receiued aduise from Suratt that noe end could bee made with the Customer for cloth rated yet no desire to Compiaine, for that the Gouvernor had promised to Arbitrate the busines, and that a sayier of a frigott from Socatra reported that the English flecte was there ariued with 4 shippes and one Pinnase the men sick and weake.<sup>1</sup> That the Gouvernor of Suratt offered the Hollander ariued at the Barr to buy all his goodes by the great<sup>2</sup> and soe to dismisse him which hee refused requiring to bee receiued on all the same conditions and Priuiledges which the English enjoyed To which was Answered that hee durst not Consent to that without warrant, the English havinge obteyned there residence by sute but to giue them Content they offered them a house to remayne in and to land their goodes and leaue to trade vntill the Princes answere and resolution were knowne, on this Condition that, if his Highnes would not Consent they should depart vpon the first warning eyther in their owne shipp or if shee wear gone, in the first Passadg to the Sowthward The Conditions accepted the Hollander came ouer the Barr at Swally and there Moored resoluing to ride yt all weathers, and landed goodes daylie pretending that hee would only this yeare buy Cloth and Comodities for the sowthward, and be gonne with his shipp within 20 dayes, for that hee feared the Portugalles and had noe desier to bee found there by vs, but that If hee Could obteyne licence hee would leaue some Merchant in the Towne.<sup>3</sup> With

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<sup>1</sup> The fleet of 1616, of which see later The report was false, for the ships did not touch at Socotra.

Wholesale.

<sup>2</sup> The desired permission was granted, for fear that otherwise the Dutch would retaliate on the native shipping. A stock of merchandise was accordingly landed and placed in the charge of a factor with three assistants, and the *Nassau* sailed for Bantam on August 30th.

those lettres I receiued one from the Gouvernor of Suratt, promising mee all frendship

*August 29*—The king went to Hauaz Jemall, and so a hunting Ther was taken a resolution to remooue to Mandoe, a Castell neare Bramport, wher is no towne, for that Sultan Paruis, beeing come from the warr in disgrace, and beeing with his trayne neare Adsmere, the king Commanded him to Bengale, excusing himselfe to bee seene, and soe hauing dispatched him without such incomodytie as was feared would arise if the two brothers mett, he entended him selfe to settle Sultan Carome in the warrs of Decan, to which all the Cheefest were soe Contrary that the king feared to send him downe (as was the resolution some monthes past<sup>1</sup>) and therfore dissembled it vntill the other Prince were withdrawne and hee established by his owne Countenance, Comming so neare as Mandoa which remooue, if it proceed, will putt vs to extreame trouble and Cost, for that wee must build a new house both for our selues and goodes, the Castell standing on a hill without any other buildings neare yt.

*August 30*—The king returned in the night, and about 11 a Clock sent mee a very fatt wild boare, and so great that hee desiered the tuskes back, with this messadge that he kyld it with his owne hand, and that therfore I should eate it merrilye and make good Cheare This occasion I addowe, that was sent for to the king to bring yt, tooke to tell Asaph chan that I desiered to visitt him on the morow, and hoped to receiue from his handes the Priuiledges granted by the king He answered hee could not dispatch them so soone, but that they should on Sunday be sealed, and that he was loath to see me vntill he had giuen me Content

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They had bought little at Surat, as they found calicoes there to be dearer than in Java (*Surat Letterbook*, under date of August 20th and 31st, 1616, *Hague Transcripts*, Series 1, vol II, No 78, Van den Broecke, *Op syne Reysen*, already quoted)

<sup>1</sup> See p 192

*August 31*—I went to the *Durbar* to visit the king, and there I acquainted Asaph chan with the newes I had receiued of our fleete at Socatra, that therefore in all probabilltyes they might by that day bee arriued at Suratt that his long delay had much hindered our busines for that I was resolued neyther presents nor goodes should be landed before I had receiued them<sup>1</sup> Hee acquainted the king with the Comming of our fleete but with no Complaynt against him selfe, protesting on the Morrowe I should bee dispatched

This day I receiued adulse from Agra wher no Cloth no[r] Comoditye would vent, insomuch that factory spent moore then they tooke and is needlesse vntill the season of Investing, but I had no power to saue you many a thousand *Rupies*

*September 1*—I sent for my Priuiledges, but receiuing another excuse of the kinges Natlultye and a great feast for two dayes I resolued I was abused, and so tooke this way to serue the present necessltie I went to the Prince,

whose Port wee were att and with whom

*September 2.* was our greatest busines, for what Priuiledges soeuer I ohteyned without his fauour wee should still bee subiect to vexation and Inlury, I acquainted him with the nearenes of our fleete, desiering his Command for their entertaynment and good vsadge, and that hee would grant vs such priuiledges as I would propound, or els I was resolued not to dischargd there.

Hee began roundly that the former yeare he had bene neglected that hee had Chosen that Gouverment only for the Ports sake, and yet euery body cauen his owne men were serued before him, which hee tooke in ill part but if I would vndertake to him that whatsoeuer toyes came to bee sould might be first showed to him, hee would grant

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<sup>1</sup> The required concession of privileges from the king

mee my full desires and giue such order that no man should in any sort molest vs, promising to take nothing from vs, only to satisfye his Curiositye and to that end hee would giue mee a *firmaen* that whatsoeuer I would send for should come vntouched, unseene to my handes, soe that I would bringe them before him I replyed concerning his fathers presents, and such others Hee agreed to all reason, and requiring mee to giue him vnder my hand on the moriow my promises and demandes and hee would Confirme them, so that I should find him our best frend, soe with very good vsadges I departed The promise and Conditions I drew the sam day and putt them into Persian for the Morrowe

This day was the Birth of the king and solemnized as a great feast, wherein the king is weighed against some Jewelles, gould, siluer, stuffs of goulde [and ?] siluer, silke, butter, rice, frute, and many other things, of euery sort a little, which is giuen to the Bramini<sup>1</sup> To this solemnitye the king commanded Asaph chan to send for mee, who so doing appoynted mee to come to the Place wher the king sits out at *Durbarr*, and there I should bee sent for in But the Messenger mistaking, I went not vntill *Durbarr* tyme, and soe missed the sight But being there before the king came out, as soone as hee spyed mee, hee sent to knowe the reason why I came not in, hee having geuen order I answered according to the error, but hee was extreame angry and Chydd Asaph chan publicly He was so rich in Jewelles that I must confesse I neuer saw together so vvaluable wealth The tyme was spent in bringing of his greatest Eliphantes before him, some of which, being Lord Eliphants, had their chaynes, belles, and furniture of Gould and siluer, attended with many guilt

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<sup>1</sup> See the account given in the following year The festival is there spoken of as occurring on the *first* of September, this is apparently due to the difference between the two calendars

banners and flagges, and 8 or 10 Ellyphantes wrytting on him clothed in gould silke, and siluer<sup>1</sup> Thus passed about twelve Companyes most richly furnished the first having all the plates on his head and breast sett with rubyes and I merlides, beeing a beast of a woonderfull stature and beauty They all bowed downe befor the king making reuerence very handsomly and was a shoue as woorthy as I euer saw any of beasts only The keepers of euey Chiefe Ellyphant gaue a present So with gratulous complements to mee he rose and went in

At night about 10 of the Clock hee sent for mee. I was abed. The message was hee hard I had n picture which I had not showed him desiering mee to Come to him and bring yt and If I would not giue It him yet that hee might see yt and take Coppyes for his wives. I rose and carryed yt with mee. When I came in I found him sitting crosse legged on a little throne all cladd in diamondes, Pearles, and rubyes before him a table of gould on yt about 50 Peeeces of gould plate sett all with stinnes, some very great and extreemly rich, some of lesse valew but all of them almost couered with small stones his Nobilitye about him in their best equipage whom hee Commanded to drinck frolicquely, seuerall wyues standing by in great

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. Hawkins's *Relation* p. 425; also the following passage from the MS. diary of John Jourdain, who was at Agra in 1611 (Brit. Mus. *Stowe MS.* 858, f. 55) "The kinge hath every 24 howers a fresh guard both of men and woemen; every nobleman takes his tourne to bee cheefe of the watch for 24 houres, and every daie aboute 5 in the afternoone they doe their dutie to the kinge and soe departe. The kinges Ellyphantes doo also keepe watch and come as dulle to the kinge to doe their dutye as the men; for when the kinge beholdes them they all att once putt their trunkes over their heades, giueinge the *Salam* to the kinge; then they departe, for they will not be gone before the kinge lookes on them. Then they March by degrees with their pages before them and there wives after them. Every Ellyphant shall hath two or four younge ellyphantes for their pages and two wives, which followe them, alias shee Ellyphantes. They are very Ritche trapped with velvet, Cloth of gould and other Ritche stuffes." The muster of elephants is elaborately described in the *Shah Akbari* (Blochmann, vol. I, 213).

flagons    When I came neare him, hee asked for the Picture    I showed him two    Hee seemed astonished at one of them , and demanded whose it was    I answered a frend of myne that was dead    Hee Asked mee if I would giue it him    I replied that I esteemed it more then any thing I possessed, because it was the Image of one that I loued dearly and Could neuer recouer    but that if his Maestie would pardon mee my fancy and accept of the other, which was a french picture but excellent woorke, I would most willingly giue it him.    Hee sent me thancks, but that it was that only picture hee desiered, and loued as well as I, and that if I would giue it him hee would better esteeme of it then the richest Iewell in his house    I answered I was not soe in loue with anything that I would refuse to Content his Maestie    I was extreame glad to doe him seruice, and if I could giue him a better demonstration of my affection, which was my hart to doe him seruice, I was ready to present it to him    At which hee bowed to mee and replied it was sufficient that I had giuen it    that hee confessed hee neuer sawe so much arte, so much bewty, and Conjured mee to tell him truly whither euer such a woeman liued    I assuered him ther did one liue that this did resemble in all things but perfection, and was now dead<sup>1</sup>    He returned mee

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<sup>1</sup> The identity of the lady thus referred to is an interesting question. Roe's description of her is so lover-like that one may presume her to have been no other than his lately-wedded wife. She was a daughter of Sir Thomas Cave, of Stanford in Northamptonshire, and had been married in 1610 to Sir George Beeston (Nichol's *Leicester*, iv, 352). The date of her subsequent marriage to Roe I have not been able to discover, but probably it was just before his departure for India. As first shewn by a passage in one of Carew's letters (Maclean's edn, p. 79), pointed out by Mr S. Lane-Poole, the marriage was kept a secret, and this, together with the fact that she had a pension from the Exchequer of £200 a year in her own right (Brit. Mus. *Harl. MS.* 2039, f. 179), explains why Roe made no provision for any payment to her from his salary during his absence. In a letter (undated, but apparently written towards the end of 1616) Roe refers to their separation and the embarrassing position in which his wife was placed,

that hee tooke my willingnes very kindly but that seeing I had soe freely giuen him that I esteemed so much hee would not robb mee of yt only hee would show yt his ladyes and Cause his woorkmen to make him 5 Coppyes and If I knew myne owne I should have yt. I answered I had freely and willingly giuen it and was extreemly gladd of his Maesties acceptance. He replyed hee would not take yt that hee loued mee the better for louinge the remembrance of my frende, and knew what an injurye It was to take it from mee, by noe means hee would not keepe yt but only take copyes and with his owne hand hee would returne yt, and his wiues should weare them for indeed in that arte of limninge

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"My absence was a fault, but wee tooke one another on condition. If her mother and all her freindes persecute her for my sake, her constant vertue will bee more honoured and I bound to a stricter gratitude. If I retorne, they may repent it. He begs his (unknown) correspondent to visit her and her nacle, "to whose discretion I haue referred her and the revealing of the marriage" (Brit. Mus. *Harl 115* 1576, f. 514). The resolution to keep the matter secret would also account for the ambassador's diplomatic statement that the original of the miniature "was now dead. In one of his letters to Sir Thomas Smythe (who was doubtless in his confidence) he asks that "my lady may have her choice of some quilts after Smythe has made his own selection; and letters in the British Museum (*Egerton 115*. 2086, f. 45, and *Harl 115* 1576, *ut supra*) show that Roe received a packet from her by the 1616 fleet entrusted to the care of William Methwold. These are the only references to her which I have been able to discover during the period of the embassy. By the time of Roe's return all necessity for concealment had evidently disappeared; for (as will be seen later) his wife met him on landing, and accompanied him to town. They were never again separated. She shared his long exile at Constantinople, and her intrepid behaviour during a sharp engagement with Algerine pirates on the return voyage is proudly related by her husband, whose references to her are always charged with the tenderest feeling. How much she was to him cannot be better shown than by the words of his will "here I take my last leave of her my most faithful, loving and discreet companion in all the troubles and infirmities of my life, beseeching God that we may meet in the joys of heaven; and I desire that my whole will may be interpreted for her best advantage, for I am not otherwise able but with love to requite her merits to me. Lady Roe survived her husband over thirty years, dying in December 1675, she left special instructions that she was to be buried by his side "in as private a manner as he was; and they rest together in that nameless grave in Woodford Church.



his Paynters woorke miracles The other beeing in oyle he liked not.

Then he sent me woord it was his byrth day and that all men did make merry, and to aske if I would drinck with them I answered what soeuer his Maiestie Commanded I wished him many prosperous dayes, and that this Ceremony might be renewed 100 years Hee asked mee what wyne, whether of the grape or made, whither strong or small I replied what hee Commanded, hoping hee would not Command to much nor too strong So hee Called for a Cupp of Gould of mingled wyne, halfe of the Grape, halfe Artificiall, and dranck, causing it to bee fyld and sent it by one of his Nobles to mee with this message that I should drinck it twice, thrice, four or five tymes off for his sake, and accept of the Cupp and apurtenances as a present I dranck a little, but it was more strong then euer I tasted, so that it made mee sneese, wherat hee laughed and Called for reasons, almondes, and sliced lemons, which were brought mee on a Plate of gould, and hee bad mee eate and drinck what I would, and no more Soe then I made reuerence for my present after myne owne manner, though Asaph chan would haue caused mee kneele, and knocke my head against the grownd, but his Maiestie best accepted what I did The Cupp was of gould, sett all ouer with small Turkeyes and rubies, The couer of the same sett with great turquises, rubyes and Emeraldes in woorks, and a dish suteable to sett the Cupp vpon The valew I know not, because the stones are many of them small, and the greater, which are also many, are not all Cleane, but they are in Number about 2,000 and in gould about 20 oz<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Terry (p 397) mentions the presentation, and takes occasion to reprehend the Mogul's niggardliness "unto my Lord Ambassadour, whom he ever used with very much respect, and would moreover often ask him why he did not desire some good and great gifts at his hands, he being a great King, and able to give it the Ambassadour would reply, that he came not thither to beg any thing of him all that he

Thus hee made frolique and sent me woord hee more esteemed mee than ever any I rancke and demanded if I were mery at eating the wild bore sent mee a few dayes before? How I dresd it? What I dranck? and such Complements that I should want nothing in his land which his Publique and many graces I found presently in the fashion of all his Nobillitye. Then hee threw about to those that stood below two Chargers of new *rufyes* and among vs two Chargers of hollow Almondes of gould and siluer mingled<sup>1</sup> but I would not scramble as did his great men, for I saw his sonne tooke vp none. Then hee gave *shashes*<sup>2</sup> of pould and girdles to all the musitians and wayters and to many others. So drincking and commanding others his Maiestie and all his lordes became the finest men I euer saw, of a thousand humors. But his sonne, Asaph chan and some two ould men and the late king of Candahor<sup>3</sup> and my self forbore. When hee Could

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desired was that his Countrey men, the English, might have a free, safe and peaceable trade in his Dominions. The Mogol would answer that he was bound in honour to afford them that, we coming from the furthestmost parts of the world to trade there and would often bid the Ambassadour to ask something for himself; who to this would answer that if that King knew not better to give than he knew to ask, he must have nothing from him. Upon these terms they continually both stood; so that in conclusion the Ambassadour had no gift from him, but that before mentioned [the cup and stand], besides an horse or two, and sometimes a Vest, or upper garment, made of slight Cloath of Gold, which the Mogol would first put upon his own back, and then give it to the Ambassadour. But the Mogol (if he had so pleased) might have bestowed on him some great & sincerely gift, and found no greater miss of it, than there would be of a Glasse of water taken out of a great Fountain. Yet although the Mogol had such infinite Treasures, yet he could finde room to store up more still the desires of a covetous heart being so unsatiable, as that it never knows when it hath enough; being like a bottomlesse purse, that can never be fill'd, for the more it hath, the more still it covets."

<sup>1</sup> Cp. Clavijo's *Embassy to the Court of Timūr* (Hakluyt Soc. ed.), pp. 139, 146.

<sup>2</sup> Turban-cloths. "Shashes are long towells of Callico wound about their heads (Sandys's *Travels* p. 63).

<sup>3</sup> Mirza Rustam, a Persian prince (great-grandson of Shāh Ismā'īl), who, finding his position at Kandahar precarious, had in 1593 made over the city to Akbar, receiving, in exchange the *sūbā* of Mūltān and other dignities. Kandahar was recovered by the Persians in 1621.

not hould vp his head, hee lay downe to sleepe and wee all departed At goeing out I mooued Asaph Chan for dispatch of my Priuiledges, assuring him his Maiestie could giue mee no present so acceptable, if hee pleased not to dispatch mee (which I doubted not if it lay in his power) but that some other hinderance was in my way, I would on the morrow mooue the king Hee desiered mee not to doe soe, for the king loued mee and had giuen order for yt that the preparation of this feast had hindered him, but that now hee would send it mee, and doe mee all seruice

*September 3*—I went to the Prince and deliuered the Conditions demanded on my part, and withall a breefe of what I required in his *firmaen*, to all which hee agreed I gaue him for a Present a siluer watch very small,<sup>1</sup> which he tooke kyndly, but tould mee the Pictures I showed his father the night before, If I had giuen him, hee would haue better accepted then any thing, demanding if I had no more I answered they were toyes, only valewable in my fancy, which I neuer purposed to giue, nor esteemed them woorthy presents for Princes but that, showeing them for the arts sake to the Paynter, hee had enformed the king and so his Maiestie had Commanded them that I had but only that which his Maiestie had returned, which should bee at his seruice. At night I sent to his secretary for the *firmaen*; who promised in two dayes to finish yt.

*The Copy of the conditions demanded by the Prince on my part, and therewith what I required of him to be expressed in his Firmae, deliuered him as aforesaid*<sup>2</sup>

Most excellent Prince,

Wheras your highnes doubts the good respect I and my nation bear your excellency, I humbly desire you to beleue that

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<sup>1</sup> Cost £7 (Roe's Accounts)

<sup>2</sup> There is another copy in the I O Records (Pepwell's Letter-book) The two are practically identical

I will doe all my endeauour to glue you Content and satisfaction and your highnes may therto bee perswaded, because the cheefe Place of our residence and the Port of our shipes is in your highnes dominion and therefore it is most requisite by all meanes for our owne good to seek your sauour For the tyme past, neyther the most famous King my lord and Master could know nor the Merchants in England, that your highnes was the lord of Suratt, it beeing newly giuen you and therefore I hope your highnes will not take any thing in ill part, assuring your excellency that his Maiestie the King of England will both send your highnes very acceptable presents and receiue very kyndly your good vsage of his subjects, beeing your friend and Confederate and I also his Ambassador will take care and endeauour to giue your highnes all due respect, and that whatsoeuer I can procure woorthy your seeing shalbe brought before your eyes and bee at your disposing The Gooles comming in our flectes are of three sorts. One are presents sent by my lord and master to the Kings Maiestie, your Royall father and to your highnesse, which I desire your highnes wilbe pleased to grant your *firmness* that they may bee sealed only by your officers and soe deliuered to the English to bee sent vp to mee vnsearchd or without violence, beeing the presents of a king, that I may according to my duty present them to the King and your highnes. Other toyes are sent to mee to giue to our frendes heart, and for the Merchants to sell, all which if your highnes will alsoe giue your Command that they may be sealed and sent vp, I will truly bring them before your highnes that yow may take your eloyce of what soeuer pleaseth you, and I will send my Command to search the shipes for all things that are rare to present them to you before any other shall see them. And wheras some thinges may bee the goodes of priuatt men, which I cannot take away I will also Command that such bee brought before Abram chan, that hee may buy them for your highnes, desiering that hee may haue order to pay for them to the owners, who are to depart with the shipes. In all this I giue your highnes my woord I will performe it saythfully The last sort is Cloth Quicksiluer Mar fill,<sup>1</sup> and other marchandise, for which I desire your highnes Command that it may be landed and rated reasonably and that it be not detayned in the Custome house to the great losse of the Merchanten, but satisfyeing your highnes customes may haue free liberty to sell and transport yt without trouble and that our people may not be misused but haue leaue to passe freely to their shipes and to buy fresh victualls without custome, wherein I desire your highnes will giue Command that the Country People may haue liberty to bring meate to sell at Swally for that [after]

a long voyadge there are many sick and weake And lastly, that your highnes will giue Command to the Customer to pay for such goodes as hee hath agreed for the last yeare, wherein by his hard vsage the Merchantes haue susteyned great losse, and your highnes shall find both my selfe and all my Nation most ready to doe you all seruice

*September 4*—I receiued my Articles back from Asaph chan, who tooke now att last many exceptions, and margined them with his Pen in most Insolent sort, scorning that any man should article att all, saying it was sufficient for mee to receiue a *firmaen* from the Prince, who was lord of Suratt, and for lycence to trade at any other Port, of Bengala or Syndu, it should neuer be granted, but in Conclusion pretended the length and forme to be such as would offend the king Some Articles hee consented too, and to them, beeing reduced to the forme of a *firmaen*, hee would procure yt sealed Now is it easy to Judg what vexation it is to trafique with these faythlesse people 7 Mounthes I had promise from weeke to weeke, from day to day, and no exception, but fynding I had so drawne them that I should nott much neede the Prince and if wee disliked wee might refuse his Gouverment, Hee vtterly renounced his woord in Chollar and rage I durst not yet leaue him nor take notice of his falshood He that first took him for our solicitor engaged vs into this miserye,<sup>1</sup> knowing him to be the protector of our enemyes and a slaue to bribes, which they multiply vpon him But now I had a wolfe by the eares I seemed only to apprehend his dislike of the lenght and Phrase, and sent him a lettre to enterprett mee, and a breefe of the substance of all required on their

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<sup>1</sup> A hit at Kerridge, who, on going up to court in 1613, had accepted Asaf Khán's offer of assistance in his business and "founded him reasonable and honest" Subsequently, at his own request, Asaf Khán was allowed to present Edwards to the Mogul, "yett Continued to be the Portingals agent also" (Kerridge to Roe, July 23rd, 1616)

parts conteyned in generall woordes, touching only such particulars as hee liked and left quite out all the Conditions demanded formerly by him of mee, desiring him to putt it in forme, and procure the seale, or to giue me leane to receiue my owne deniall from the king and soe to depart the Countrey. These I finished in Persian the same day and sent them to him. They are recorded in their order

*The Copie of my new Demands upon refusall of the former Articles<sup>1</sup>  
sent this 4th of September, 1616<sup>2</sup>*

Whereas the most famous King of England hath sent his Ambassador to our Court with lettres to desire our friendship and to giue leaue for free trade for all his subjectes in all parts of our Dominions, which wee take in good part, and are willing to consent vnto, wee therefore Command all our Gouvernors and officers of all our kingdomes to receiue the said subjects of the King of England with friendship and to suffer them to land their goodes in Peace and to assist them with fresh victualles for their mony, without taking any Custome for the said victualles, and, having soe landed any goodes and satisfied for the duties of the Port according to agreement, they may haue liberty to sell to any person, in which the Gouvernor nor any other shall not hinder them, nor force them to sell at a lower Price then they shall bee Content withall oot taking any things from them without payment. And further wee Command that the said English may freely passe and goe with their goodes to sell them in any place at their pleasure, and that noe exaction bee taken from them as they passe, having payd their duties at the Port and that they alsoe may buy any goodes in this Countrey and carry downe and into their shipes, without any manner of vexation or payment, but only at their Port. And further wee Command that such Presents as shalbe sent vnto vs by the King of England shall not bee opened nor searched by any body but having beene sealed by the Gouvernor shalbe sent to the Ambassador resident at our Court to be deliuered to vs, taking no Custome for them. And that, if any English shall dye in any of our dominions, wee Command that no confiscation bee made of any of their monyes or goodes, but they shall remayne to the factors that are living,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 152.

<sup>2</sup> A comparison with another copy (I O Records Pepwell's Letterbook) confirms the material accuracy of this transcript. The covering letter to Asaf Khán is given at f. 118 of the MS.

or, if ther bee none alue, the officers of the Place of their residence shall take note in writing of all such monyes, goodes, hooches, bills of debt, and Papers as shalbe found in their house, which beeing sealed vp shalbe deliuered to the English at their request. And finally wee Command that no manner of Iniury bee any way offered them · but that they may quietly buy, sell, trade, and passe vp and downe in our dominions without any extortion, payment, or hinderance what soeuer, but only the duties of the Port wher they land or ship their goodes This wee strictly Command and Chardge, because it is our Gratiuous Pleasure to Content our frend the King of England, as by our lettres wee haue heretofore promised on our royall woord, and therefore wee expect that no man dare to break our said Gratiuous Command

*September 5* —Mochrebchan sent to speake with mee, who reaucaled to mee in great frendship that Asaph chan was our enemy, or at beste a false frend. that hee had faltered with mee in my busines with the king. that hee would vndertake yt and effect yt. I gaue him thancks and seemed to accept of yt; but yet I had hope of Asaph Chan, or at least was not Cleare of him, because the New demandes were in his hand, and I knew his Power, but how to trust the other I as little knew. Besides hee was to depart to the Gouverment of Amadauaz within ten dayes, and so, when I had declared a defection from Asaph chan, hee would leaue mee without any frend. I resolved to bee driuen by Necessytye.

*September 7* —I went to visitt the King.

*September 8* —Asaph chan sent mee that answer that absolutly hee would procure nothing sealed that any way Concerned the Princes Gouverment that I should only expect from him what wee desired, whose *firmans* were sufficient. And so reaucaled that purpose which hee had long in practice to make vs wholly depend on the Prince. Now I had Just Cause too looke out, and was blamles if I ought new frendes when hee had forsaken mee I resolved to try the Prince, and to seeme to depend wholly on him, having sent formerly to his secretary fower Clauses to

which I demanded his *firmaen* for our present use at Suratt for the fleet expected which his Highnes had agreed too

*September 10.*—I went to the Prince, who Cast downe to the secretary the *firmaen* by mee desired and promised, so that I hoped I had beene at rest.

*September 11*—I received yt, but when I read it, it was in two of the 4 Clauses demanded and promised much different, and one whole branch left out. Soe I returned yt with a round answer I would not accept yt, nor suffer any goodes to Come a shore. Neuer man had to doe with soe much Pride, Covetousnes and falshood. At night I rode to Merze Socorolla, the Princes Secretarie, to expostulate the busines and to declare my resolution of departure, but I found the *firmaen* not such as I was enformed, but Conteyning all the Clauses required by mee, though in the Phrase to my Judgment somewhat restrayned, which hee expounded in the best sence, declaring that it was the Princes entent to satisfie my desier fully and that it was sufficient. I urdged the obscurnes of some poynts, deslering him as hee had cleared his Highnes meaning to mee, soe hee would by his lettre to the Gouvernor of Suratt, which hee granted principally Commanding that the Customer should pay for 50 Clothes, which hee had many mounths since bought and uow would returne them vnto the factors to their extreame losse. In the end hee opened the ould poynt of the Princes desire that I should rely on him, and not Crosse him in husines of his Gouverment with the King, and I should fynd him a better frend then I expected, and finally gaue mee such satisfaction in all poynts that I was both pleased and in some hope of good successe the rather because hee is no briber reputed honest, and did vndertake on his Creditt (to whom the Prince had referd all busines) that wee should not susteyne the loss of one



*Pice* nor any the least Iniurye So I accepted the *firmaen*, which vpon translating I found very effectuall

*September 12*—I receiued this lettre from Socorolla to Suratt, so Punctuall and playne in our behalfe, Commanding the Gouvernor to pay all ould debts of Zulpheck-carcons yeare, and that if any remaynd there that had not giuen vs Content, the difference should bee examined, the English satisfyed, and the wrong certefyed to the Prince, that gaue mee more Confidence Whervpon I dispeeded the *firmaen* and lettre with myne owne to Suratt to meete the expected Generall, encouraging him to land his goodes bouldly vpon such Conditions as I sent vnto him, which the Prince had required on my part And if I bee not deceiued our busines was neuer in so probable a way, because hee that requires conditions to be performed is more lickely to fullfill his owne then hee that carelessly leaues all things at liberty, to whom all things are lawfull Concerning other Priuiledges I am resolved to vse the Prince and doubt not to effect that by him which himselfe hath Crossed and resisted

This day two of our factors went to Agra to invest some mony I had no authoritie, but by much perswasion and dispute I ouercome them, for in Cash was very little, and they resolved to linger vntill the arriuall of the shipes or receipt of mony for goodes sould, which could not bee gotten in two mounthes, too late to buy goodes and send it to Suratt this yeare I preuayled so farr as to make them vnderstand the losse of tyme, and to take so much mony vp of the *Sheraffes*<sup>1</sup> for two mounths as was due at Adsmere, to dispeed goodes to our Port The interest is not the 100th part of the Chardge the Company beare in attending five mounthes with a flete for the fitting and safety of on ship, and I can prooue that this yeare

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<sup>1</sup> *Shroffs*, money-changers and bankers

(which was yet most backward) a lading might haue beene ready at Suratt by the 30th of September so that our fleete nede not to haue stayed aboue 20 dayes.<sup>1</sup> So should they haue been free from the danger of enemies that Cannot attempt them so suddenly, the shipes to the Sowthward might proceed in their voyadg and make quicker returnes for England by a yeare loosing the season in their abode here, which would gayne and saue the Company in the vse of their stocke in wages and othier expence 20,000 *li* yearly. This I can proue without any Coulor of Contradiction. For if 4,000 *li* had been taken vp and employed at Amadavaz and Barooch (whoose broad Cloth is fitter for England then *Semianoes*<sup>2</sup> which are false and beaten full of holes) with those monyes made from Suratt and Brampore, and our factors here had two mounthes sooner beene ruled, this had beene accomplished the debt at Agra, the sales at Adsmere would haue payd what had been oweing below more then goodes sould it had beene better to haue taken so much mony out of the fleete to pay yt, then so much to invest after the arriual, which course last yeare stayed Captain Keeling 5 mounthes or no ship had beene despatched. And now if I had suffered them to stay the receipt of mony from Agra nothing had beene done, but the stock had layne dead till another yeare. I know not what blindes your seruantes. They pretend want of authoritye to take vp mony for no man can plead against the benefitt gott by yt. This error last yeare was more grosse, when Master Edwards had in

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<sup>1</sup> The Surat factors, however asserted that at the time in question Agra was the only place where English credit was sufficiently good to enable a loan to be obtained for such a purpose and there only a small amount could be procured without heavy security. It is easily intelligible that the natives, knowing how precarious the position of the English had been ever since their arrival, should have been unwilling, at this time to venture their money even at a high rate of interest.

<sup>2</sup> A coarse kind of piece-goods, used for awnings and sometimes, it would seem, for sails.

Cash almost 4,000 *li* 3 Months, and invested none vntill our ariuall I did my endeauour to perswade, but you left mee so little creditt among them that whatsoeuer I motioned was contradicted, eauen to show their authoritye. This fault I touched to the Generall, and the error of factoryes, for your Chardge here is extreame and vnnecessarye I know your busines may bee effected with more reputation with halfe the Chardge and with extreame ease, but this seemes a Paradox to your factors, but is such truth that if hee heare mee, or my Creditt Can prevaile, you shall feele the profit; and though in this I transgresse your order to meddle in the Merchandize, yet I cannot beleue it is fitt for mee to see you wronged by weaknes and to say. I knowe how, but may not help it. It was not your purpose to hurt your selues, but to restrayne mee from wasting your stock, but experience hath manifested I haue more saued yt and sought to husband yt, then all those to whome it was entrusted, sparing eauen my owne allowances and necessities to advance yours

*September* 13—I went to Mochrebchan, and Carried both the first articles and the breefe of them, desiering him to reade them and tell me his opinion, because that Asaph Chan objected that there were many things in them would distast the king, and, if hee found them no way vnreasonable nor vnfitt, that hee would acquainte the king with my Comminge to visitt him that I was much discontent and very sadd, but to proceede to noe particulars, for displeasing the Prince, but in generall to signifye that somewhat was amisse, and soe, recommending our cause to his Maiesties fauour, to giue the king occasion to demand of mee or Asaph chan the reason of my dislikes

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<sup>1</sup> The General (Pepwell) Roe's letter, dated September 10th, 1616, is given at f 118 of Brit. Mus. *Addl MS* 6115, there are also copies in the Factory Records (Miscellaneous, vols 8 and 10) at the India Office

For to engage or accept of Mochrebchans offer to procure the scale in Spight of the other faction I knew was both vanetye and bragges without power to effect yt or Courage in him to vndertake yt or If such foolhardines for our sakes should posses him to mooue the king and to gett yt, yet the Prince would recalle yt and my Ven solicitor beeing departed to his Gouverment I should be left not only destitute but a declared enemy to those that had most power to hurt mee. All this hee promised

*September 15*—This day the Portugallis house was fiered and burnt downe not sauing their Cloathes nor goodes nor Jewells that remayned vnould yet the losse did not amount aboue 7 or 8,000 *relias*

*September 16*—I visited the Prince purposing yet to runne on in a way of seeming dependance on him untill I heard from our shipes and what entertaynment they were like to receiue this yeare. I found him sadd fearing the Cominge of Sultan Paruis to Court beeing within 8 *course* and importuned to kisse his fathers hands, who had granted him, but by the power of Normall was after diswaded and a Command sent that the Prince should take his Journy right to Bengal yea although the King had fallen downe and taken his Mistris<sup>1</sup> by the feete to obteyne her leaue to see his sonne.

The Kings remooue continued, but whither noe man could certainly resolute.

*September 17*—I went to the Kings *Durbar* hoping Mochrebchan had giuen occasion to the King to aske mee some questions, but hee had not spoken and Asaph chan, as soon as the king appeared departed. Rumor reported that the King Commanded him away in displeasure, but I found no such matter on the morrowe.

*September 18*—I sent to Mochrebchan who returned

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<sup>1</sup> Núr Mahál. Purchas (or his printer) made nonsense of the passage by turning "mistris" into "mother."

my Papers with his Judgment that therin was nothing Conteyned at which the King could take exception, but that the Prince would fynd his liberty at Suratt therby restreyned That he had not spoken to the king, but at his taking leaue hee would not fayle

*September 19*—Mochrebchan tooke his leaue and departed to his Tents a *Course* out of Towne, soe that I must attend his answeere

*September 23*—I went 4 *Course* after Mochrebchan to take my leaue But hee had not spoken to the King according to promise, excusing himselfe that hee being to depart and so not able to goe thorough with that hee had begunn, it would rather rayse Jelouses then doe good That at my first comminge I was ill aduised to vse Asaph chan, who was knowne to bee the Portugalls frend and had his factors in Goa<sup>1</sup> But that since it was not to be remedyed, hee would Commend our cause to his frend Abdala Hassan<sup>2</sup> by lettre, who should effect all our busines to Content. This man was both able to doe yt, and vncorrupt But I feared hee following noe mans busines would not for our sakes crosse the Power of Asaph chan, but the others Confidence made mee accept of the lettre to keepe by mee, and to vse as occasion advised me. And soe, recommending our factory at Amadauaz to his fauour,<sup>3</sup> I tooke leaue But yet I stood in feare of my

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Roe of July 23rd, 1616, Kerridge declared that Asaf Khán had first brought himself into notice by gratifying the Mogul's eagerness for novelties "It hath been his policy to fauour strangers and, wantinge better meanes, in his first risynge made them Instrumentes of his further grace, for, knowinge the Kinges extraordinarye delight in Toyes, acquaintinge himself with the Iesuytes and Portingals (after his sisters admittance to the *Sarralya*), he brought their presentes, suytes, and them to the Kinge, bargayning for their Juells, etc, therby expressinge his abilltye and better partes (till then obscure), which, by his sisters meanes, in short tyme purchased this allyance [with the Prince] and aduanced him to high offices" (I O Records *Surat Letter-book*, f 50)

<sup>2</sup> See p 184

<sup>3</sup> 'Mochrebchan hath vowed by all his Godes,' wrote Roe to the factors at Ahmadábád, "that you shalbe as his sonns and no

ould friend to whom If I had neuer beene engaged, it was at first free for mee and had beene no discourtesye to make my owne Choyce, but now to forsake him would doubtless leaue him myne enemy. Our busines for the Present standing on good tearmes by my last agreement with the Prince I determined to rest, and with patience to watch the aduantage of many supposed and expected Changes, and to Temponize withall vntill I saw the fruct of the Princes promises by the vzaige of our fleete lookd for and that the supply of presents were Come to my hand for then both the king is easye and all about him soe slauish to bribes that I knew I could take my choyse of New, or retume with grace to my ould sollicitor, and then vpon delivery of a New lettre from the King my Master, I would once more present and urdge my generall desires. The Prince I entended Cheefely to make sure vnto vs, but now hee is ready to depart for Decan, and the king some other way, wherby, as hee cannot bee my assistant here, so will hee expect some agent to attend him and I feare that all presents and whatsocuer els Is landed shall first be brought to him while hee is lord of the Port which wilbe both a great inconuenience and disgrace to our goodes. But I entend to sound his purpose and maynly to oppose yt if it runne that way. I am not sent to him but to the king. Hee would make mee, If not his seruant, yet to cast my regard wholly toward him.

*September 24.*—I receiued lettres from Agra, of the rising of Indico 5 *rupies* in a *manne*<sup>1</sup> as It always doth at buying tyme, but, seeing the Company was at Chardge to keepe

---

injurie offered you shalbe vnrequited. The Prince hath alsoe entrusted to him a superintendency ouer Suratt, wherin hee will fauour vs all hee may. Hee is departed hence in much grace and in my judgment, with the Kings very good opinion (MS., f. 123).

<sup>1</sup> *Maund*, a weight which has been current in Western Asia from time immemorial. It varied immensely at different periods and in different localities. At Ahmadábád about this time the *maund* of

a factorie ther all this yeare to no purpose, if they had taken vp mony to buy at the best hand and at leysure, besides the dispatch of our shipping they had saued in price eight in the hundreth aboue the interest Yet I wished that the Merchannts would proceed to investure according to their last purpose

*September 25* —I Received lettres from Amadavaz, signifieng their imployments, which will rise to 800 *ch[urls]*,<sup>1</sup> so that had the mony due here beene taken vp and employed in tyme, and at Amadavas but 20,000 *rupias*, to haue beene paid out of the shipes at arriuall, it is eudent that a lading had beene ready by this day at Suratt, and the goodes in both parts bought at better rates by ten and twelve in the hundred

This Night I went to visitt the King, and was vsed by

indigo was 32 lbs (*Letters Received by the E India Co*, vol II, 214, &c.) Mitford in 1615 gives its equivalent at Surat as 30½ lbs, the "great" *maund* being about 50 lbs (I O Records O C, No 273)

<sup>1</sup> The *churl* (bundle, or, as the English factors called it, fardle) was the unit by which indigo was bought and sold Sir Henry Yule (*Diary of William Hedges*, vol III, p 171 n) calculated its weight to be about 140 lbs avoirdupois, or 3½ *maunds* of Cambay or Surat It appears, however, from Kerridge's letters (Brit. Mus Addl MS 9366, f 32) that there were two kinds of *churls*, a less and a greater, the former being four *maunds* in weight, the latter a little over five A letter of 1615 (I O Records O C, No 272) makes the *churl* of Biana indigo equal to six *maunds*

It would seem that in packing their first cargo of indigo (that sent home by the *Hope* early in 1615) the Surat factors shipped the *churls* just as they were received This resulted in loss of stowage room, and brought down upon them a rebuke from the home authorities "Though it be true," wrote the Company, "that the Guzerattes doe soe pack their Indicoes which they Carry into the red sea, yett they which Carrye it by waye of Persia for Alleppo doe pack it in square chestes with two *Churles* in everye Chest, which Chestes are made Lattisewise of a Rounde bryar [bamboo?], verry stronge, yett light and good Cheape, being filled into a Callicowe bagg within, and without Covered with a Skinne, as their round *Churles* are, which by being square and of an equall sise will stowe as Close as any other Ladinge in our shippes From Aleppo likewise for England we doe vse to newe packe them in that manner in square Chestes made of Purpose verry thinn and light" (I O Records *Surat Letters Sent*, 1616-17, f 90)

Asaph chan and his father with much false Curtesye but I tooke it for Currant pay

*September 30.*—I went to visitt the Prince in the Morning and tooke with mee the bill of *Zulpheckcarcons* debt of which 6 or 7,000 *mimvalies* was behinde and made offer to Complayne but Mirze Socorolla perswaded me that wee beeing now in good termes with the Prince hee would take it ill to heare more publique exclamations on his seruant that hee had written to Suratt to know what part other men had receiued of the goodes and vpon answer which hee dayly expected hee would see vs satisfied At night I went to the *Darbar* to see the King



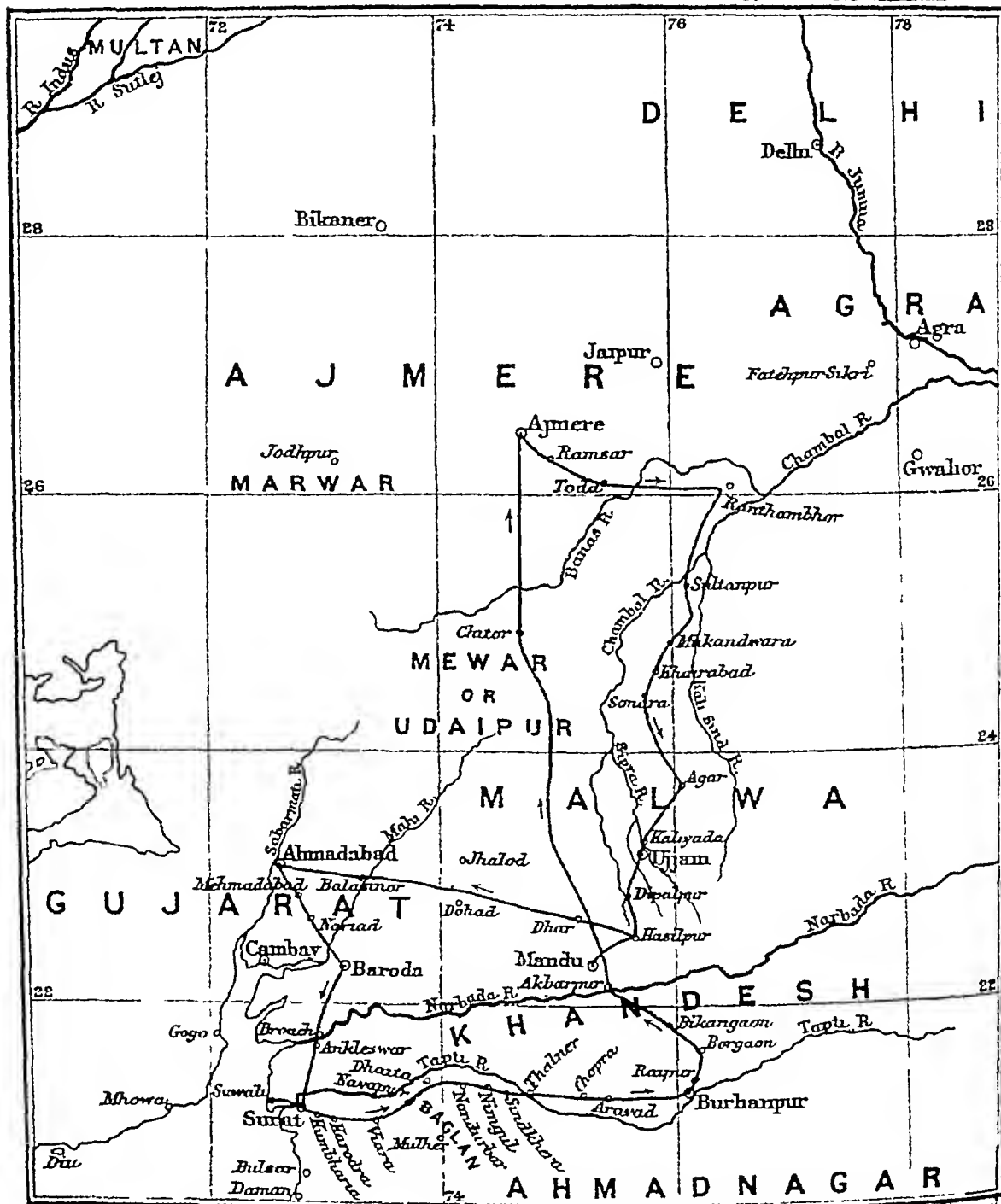


# MAP ILLUSTRATING SIR THOMAS ROE'S EMBASSY TO INDIA 1615-19

Sir Thomas Roe's Route

Scale, 1 5,000,000

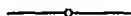
0 50 100 Statute Miles



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# The Hakluyt Society.



THE EMBASSY

OF

SIR THOMAS ROT TO INDIA

1615—1619.

VOL. II

SECOND SERIES

No. II



THE EMBASSY  
OF  
SIR THOMAS ROE  
TO THE  
COURT OF THE GREAT MOGUL,  
1615—1619  
AS NARRATED IN HIS JOURNAL AND CORRESPONDENCE.

Edited from Contemporary Records

BY

WILLIAM FOSTER B.A.

*Editor of "Letters Received by the East India Company 1615" Joint Editor of  
"The First Letter Book of the East India Company 1600-1619"  
Honorary Secretary of the Hakluyt Society*

Inter eos autem qui relationes suas de hoc Regno prodiderunt,  
facile fide et dignatione princeps est THOMAS ROEUS, Eques, Magnus  
Britanniarum Regis ad superiorem Indiarum Regem Legatus.

DE LAET *De Imperio Magni Mogolis*, 1631.

VOL. II

LONDON  
PRINTED FOR THE HAKLUYT SOCIETY



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 CORRIGENDA

On p 542, l 19, *for non read non ?*

On p 544, l 19, *for Delhi read Agra*

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THE  
JOURNAL OF SIR THOMAS ROE  
DURING  
HIS EMBASSY TO INDIA  
(CONTINUED).

(BnL Mus.—Addl MS 6115.)



OCTOBER 3.—I received lettres from Agra that Indico was risen to such rates that they resolved to buy none, but aduised to make ouer their monyes to Amadavaz. So by neglect of the season the goodes is vn Bought, and before any aduise can be made to Amadavaz It wilbe later then the last yeare, and so if any ship returne<sup>1</sup> It must stay 5 mounthes for dispatch. These lettres I answered not, resolving not to meddle further. The faulte is cyther in the Commissions that restrayns the Cheefes from vsing oportunitie, or in their want of Iudgment in apprehending yt.

October 4.—I sent to Asaph Chan complements and to signifye my desire to visitt him for the Kings remooue was certayne, and meanes of carriadge so scarce and doubtfull that It was tyme for mee to prouide. The kings

<sup>1</sup> Direct to England from Surat.

Journy was a secrett; much of his goodes and woemen were dispatchd for Agra, but the Pretence was for Mandow near Brampore, but nothing certayne. By Iudgment I gathered that the King would make a Countenance that way, as well to settle by his nearnes his sonne, Sultan Coronne, in the warrs of Decan (to whose Comminge *Chan Channa* and other Cheefes stood yet averse, and it was feared that some troubles would ensue), as alsoe to terrifye his enemyes and to force them to some agrement by his approach, which pretended a terrible prosecution of the warrs (which are made only by treachery, periury, and advantages, without one honorable blow on eyther syde), But without any determination to stay (as I conceued by many circumstancies), but that if on the way, eyther his sonne were quietly receiued, or some advantageous peace made, hee would make a turne and spend 6 Monthes in progresse, and settle eyther at Agra or Dely. This was the most probable opinion, which seeing it would bee a great chardge to follow, and yet necessity requiring it, beeing the season of our busines, by the shipes arriuall and the Merchants having great quantetyes of goodes on their handes, vnlike to sell on the way, and unsafe to stay at Adsmere after the kings remoouall, I resolued by Consultation with Asaph chan to determine of myselfe and to aduise the factorye. Hee answered mee it was the end of their lent<sup>1</sup> and Mahomettes feast day or their Easter<sup>2</sup> next day, after which solemnitye I should bee welcome

*October 5* —The feast was kept shooting at a goulden ball on a Maypole, but I stirrd not abroad

*October 7* —I visited Asaph chan and propounded my attending the king. Hee promised mee Camells and Carriage for my mony, and the Comoditye of his quarter, but no further ease. Hee Mooued my goeing with the Prince

<sup>1</sup> See note, p. 21

<sup>2</sup> The Idul Fair festival.

but I gaue him reasons of my refusall. I acquaynted him of the goodes and great Chardge in the handes of our factors desiering him to adulse mee how to dispose them, for that to remayne here was dangerous to remooue with the king was an infinite Incomoditie and Chardge. Next hee would fauour mee soe much as to lett me know his opinion of his Maiesties settling and which way hee would take, for then I could send before and build and prepare. Hee answered for myselfe, it was fitt I should follow the king and I should haue such Comoditye as his seruants had for my mony but whither the king went more then toward Mandoa whither hee would stay ther or goe forward or returne and in what place hee would settle or when hee protested was shutt in the kings brest, and that hee could giue no answere nor adulse for our factors and goodes, other then to remooue to some place of retraict vntill the kings resolution were declared. So I prepared my selfe for the progresse making prouision to goe in some reasonable fashion beeing dayly in the worldes eye yet with such sparing as was fitt. For these remooue all like Princes with seuerall shifts of tents that goe before compassed in with Pales of *Pintadoes*<sup>1</sup> which are ready euer two dayes for them. I would doe honestly and thriftely. For the factors I adulsed them my opinion was they should with all speed before Carnadge grew deere, send their goodes weekly to Agra, which may be done safely with little Chardge and there to abide a resolution for to wander with vs were very vnfit and vnprofitable. The most probable place of the kings settling was there that this Iourny was but a Circuit if ther wanted any Cloth at Mandoa, Brampore was nere which factory could furnish yt if the king settied there they might come after

<sup>1</sup> "Painted" cloths, *i.e.*, chintzes, which formed the inner lining. On this system of a double set of tents—still a familiar feature of Indian camp life—see Bernier (p. 359).

at lesse Chardge, when prouision was made for them This was my opinion and I was discharged What they entend I knowe not , for they so depend on aduise in all matters from their Cheefes in Suratt, who in these busines cannot Iudge, or when they doe, too late, That my woordes were of no other then perswations At night I went to the *Guzelchan* to the king to offer my attendance on his Maiestie in the Iourny Hee accepted of yt, but demanded how farr I would goe. I answered to the worldes end, if his Maiestie did Then hee demanded whither hee went. I replied · I knewe not , whither so euer hee went I would wayt on him He thancked mee and gaue Asaph chan order for mee, but what, I knowe not Lastly hee asked if I went home this fleete and a New Ambassador in my place to Come I answered · I thought not, for I Could not returne vntill I was eyther recald by my Master or dismissed by him , and for any other I knew the king my Master hoped it would bee Needlesse to keepe one alway here, not doubting of the frendship and Iustice of his Maiestie These questions were somewhat extrauagant, but hee had beene very busy with his Cuppes, and suddenly fell asleepe

*October 8*—I receiued a lettre from Master Kerridge, of the date of the 24th September, 1616, by a *Patmar*<sup>1</sup> of the Princes, that our shipes were seene on the Coast and that hee was ready to passe for Swally.

*October 9*—In the morning I receiued from the Admirall or Iudge of all Marine causes in Suratt a lettre signifying the arriual of fower english shipes,<sup>2</sup> and therin offering mee all his furtherance and assistance in our speedy and faire dispatch; but withall hee gaue mee aduise that wee wanted there a sufficient procurator to follow our busines, which I vnderstood to bee one of that Country, for I knew the

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<sup>1</sup> *Pattamar*, a courier

<sup>2</sup> See p 284.

brokar entertayned by ours was a foole and one that durst not open his mouth with such freedom as often our affayres required. But because his meaning was somewhat obscure and might concerne a dislike of the Cheefe of the English, for that the woordes litterally imported that I should send downe a sober, discret, and graue man for a procurator in our busines to bee indifferent, which might alsoe (meaning a Mogull) on our behalfe [be?] authorised by the king I wrote to him to expound his entent and accordingly I would follow yt. Whervpon I was of opinion that no man was soe fitt as Iaddow that remaynd here, for the mayne of our busines for dispatch lying at Suratt, and finding it fitt to reduce the factoryes att Adsmere and Agra to one, the brokar there is by report both well knowne and sufficient in all bot his honesty (wherin there is little Choyce) but I stayed the resolution for the Admiralls answer.

Vpon reading this lettre I went to the Prince to heare what Newes hee had receiued. He acquainted me that 4 ships were arriued but that hee was enformed they ment to trouble and stay the boates of the Country which hee wished mee to looke too for that I should answer yt. I replied I knew it was a wrongfull enformation. I was a sufficient Pledg prouided that all couenants and promises were kept toward vs, and that wee might trade peaceably without any violence or oppressiou. That perhapes some of our factors might in anger threaten (which I perceiue they had done, it agreeing with their aduise to stay the Princes shipes), but that I would take order to accomodate all to his Highnes content. He answered that on his part all should be performed to our satisfaction, but hee required my present lettre to the Commander of our fleete for good order and quiettnes on our parts, as well in the towne as at Sea which I promised. I solicited Zulphercarcon for our mony with some sharpnes. Mirze Socorolla gaue his woord to pay it in ten dayes.

*October* 10 — Abdala chan, the great Gouvernor of Amadavaz,<sup>1</sup> beeing sent for to Court in disgrace for many insolencyes and neglectes of the kinges authoritye, and thought that hee would stand on his guard and refuse yet the Prince Sultan Coronne, whose Ambition wrought on euery aduantage, desirous to oblige so great a man (beeing one of the Cheefe Captaynes in these kingdomes), preuayled with him on his woord to submitt. So that comming in Pilgrams clothes with 40 seruantes on foote about 60 mile in Counterfait humiliation, finished the rest in his *Palanckee*, vntill hee arriued near the Court, but one dayes Iourny behynde hee had 2000 horse attending This day hee was brought to the *Jarruco*<sup>2</sup> (the Publique sitting of the king to see games, and to here Complayntes) Chayned by the feete, bare foote betweene two Noblemen Hee Pulld his Turbant in his eyes, because hee would see noe man before hee had the happines to behould the kinges face. After reuerence made and some few questions, the king forgaue him, caused his Irons to bee loosed, and clothed in a New vest of Cloth of Gould, Turbant, and Girdle according to the Custome

The Prince, who entended to build his honor on the warrs of Decan, which his elder brother had left with disgrace and the great Commander *Chan Channa* did not prosper in (which doubtlesse was a Practiser with the Decannins, from whom hee receiued Pension<sup>3</sup>) caused his father to recall *Chan Channa*, who, refusing to come, desiered the king not to send Sultan Coronne to that warr, but one of

<sup>1</sup> See p 170 His exact offence, as appears from the *Tuzak*, was insulting and imprisoning the official newswriter of the province, who promptly complained to the king

<sup>2</sup> See p 106

<sup>3</sup> As here indicated, it was generally reported that the Khán Khánán was secretly on friendly terms with the enemy against whom he had been sent (see Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol 1, p 338)

his youngest sonns<sup>1</sup> about 15 years of age. This Coronne tooke to hart, but prosecuting his Purpose of the warr, promised to Abdala chan the command of the Army vnder him by displacing *Chan Channa*<sup>2</sup>. The king fearing troubles and knowing all the ambitions and factions of this sonne, the discontent of his two elder the Power of *Chan Channa*, was desierous to accomodate all by accepting a Peace and confirming *Chan Channa* in the Gouverment he held, and closely to that end wrote a lre of fauour and Purposed to send a vest according to the Ceremony of reconciliation to *Chan Channa*. But before hee dispatchd it, hee acquaynted a kinswoeman of his liuing in the *Zereglia* of his Purpose. She, whether false to her friend (wrought by Sultan Coronne) or out of Greatnes of hart to see the Top of her famelye after soe many merittes stand on soe fickle termes, answered Playnly that shee did not beleue *Chan Channa* would weare any thing sent from the king knoweing his Maestie hated him and had once or twice offered him Poyson which hee Putting in his bosome instead of his Mouth had made tryali off. Therefore shee was Confident hee would not dare to Putt on his body any thing that came from his Maestie. The King offered to ware it himselfe before her for an hower and that shee should write to testefye it. Shee replyed hee would trust neyther of them both with his life but if hee might liue quietly in his Command would doe his Maestie true service. Whervppon

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<sup>1</sup> Sultans Jahāndār and Shahryār. As they were both born a few months before Akbar's death, they could only have been about eleven years old at this time.

<sup>2</sup> "Abdala Chan is here forgiven, in extreame grace with the Prince. For anything I can Judge of great men hee liues in better fashion, both in his trayne, equipage and expence and Carries more sownes or grauity in his Person then any here. You see the justice of the King. His sonne woorkes all to his owne endes, and settis vp this man agaynst Chan Channa." (Roe to the factors at Ahmadābād, October 25th, 1616.)



the king altered his Purpose and resolved to proceed in the sending Sultan Coronne, and to Countenance his reception would follow after with another Armie *Chan Channa*, that discouered the storme, Practised with the Decans who were at his seruice to offer termes of Peace for a season (fynding noe other way to disolue this Cloude that hung ouer them both) vntill the king and Prince were departed and settled farther off To this end Came two Embassadors this day from the Princes of Decan They brought horses, barde,<sup>1</sup> richly furnished for Presentes At first the king refused to heare them, and their guift, but turned them ouer to his sonne with this answer . if hee would haue Peace or Warr, it was in his breast. The Prince, aduanced by this fauour and swelling with Pride, resolved (though, as I was enformed, the Conditions were very honorable and such as the king would haue accepted) to goe on the Iourny, answering hee would treat of no Peace vntill hee were in the feeld with his Armie *Chan Channa* should not so beguile him of the honor of finishing that warr The ambitions of this young Prince are open, the Common talke of the People , yet his father suffers all, but entendes him not the kingdome , for Sultan Cursoronne, the Eldest brother, is both extreamly beloued and honored of all men, almost adored, and very Iustly, for his most Noble Partes,<sup>2</sup> and this the king knowes and loues, but thinckes his liberty would diminish his owne glory, and sees not that this sly youth doth more darken him by ambitious Practices then the other could by vertuous actions. Thus

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<sup>1</sup> Provided with horse-armour (see Nares' *Glossary*)

<sup>2</sup> In the same strain James Bickford writes to Sir Thomas Smythe, March 4th, 1616-17 (*O C*, No 454), that Khusrú is "best beloued of his Father and euer was, though a prisoner, which is more for feare of him then hate to him, he being so generally beloued of all the Country and ioyned in intimate freindshipp with some of the greatest and most honorable men of the Country Notwithstanding, the Kinge hath sworne that he shall raigne after him , but dares not giue him his libertie for feare of his flying out "

hee Nourisheth diuision and emulation betweene the brethren and putteth such Power in the hand of the younger, supposing he can vndoe yt at his Pleasure, that the wisest foresee a rending and tearing of these kingdomes by diuision when the king shall pay the debt to Nature and that all Parties wilbe torne and destroyed by a Ciuill warr The history of this Countrye for the variety of subiect and the many Practises in the tyme of Eebarsha father of this king by him then Princee and these later troubles were not vnwoorthy Committing to writing but because they are of so remote Parties many will despise them [and ?] because the People are esteemed barberouse few wil beleue them therefore I content my selfe with the Contemplation, but I could deliuer as many rare and Cunning Passadges of State, subtile euasions, Pollicyes, answers, and adages, as I beleue for one age would not bee easely equall. Only one that passed lately I cannot omit, to show wisdom and Patience in a father sayth in a seruant, falshood in a brother impudent bouldnes in a faction that dare attempt anything, when the highest Maiestie giues them liberty beyond eyther the law of their owne Condition or the limitts of Pollicye and reason The Prince Sultan Coronne, Normahall the deare queene, Aunt to his wife, Asaph chan his father in law brother to the Queene, and Etiman Dowlett, father to them both beeing they that now gouerne all and dare attempt any thing, resolved it was not possible for them to stand if the Prince Sultan Corsoronne liued whom the nobilitie loued and whose deliuey or life would Punish their ambitions in tyme therefore Practised how to bring him into their Power that poyson might end him. Normahall attempts the king with the false teares of womans bewitching flattery that Sultan Corcoronne was not safe, nor his aspiring thoughtes deposed The king beares soothes yt, but would not vnderstand mor then shee deliuered playnly

This fayling, they tooke oportunitye of the kinges beeing drunck, the Prince, Eteman Dowlett, and Asaph chan moooued the king that, for the safety of Sultan Corsoronne and his honor, it were fitter he were in the keeping of his brother, whose companyes would bee pleasing one to the other, and his safety more reguarded then in the handes of a *Rashboote* Gentile (to whome the king had committed him). therefore they humbly desiered his Maiestie that he might be deliuered into the handes of his deare brother, which the king granted, and so fell asleepe. They thought their owne greatnes such as, bringing the kings authority, no man durst refuse, and beeing once in their possession they would dispute the redeliuery. So the same night Asaph chan in the name of the king, sent by the Prince, came with a Guard to demand and receiue Sultan Cur-soronne at the hand of Anna rah,<sup>1</sup> a *Rajah rashboot* to whom the king had entrusted him. He refuseth to deliuer his chardge, with this answer that he was Sultan Coronns humble seruant, but that he had receiued the Prince his brother from the handes of the king and to no other would deliuer him, that hee should haue Patience till the Morning, when hee would dischardge himselfe to his Maiestie, and leaue it to his pleasure to dispose off. This answer Could all. In the Morning Anna rah came to the king and acquaynted him with the demand of the Prince, his refusall and answer, and added his Maiestie had giuen him Chardge of his sonne, and made him the commander of 4000 horse, with all which hee would dye at the Gate rather then deliuer his Prince to the handes of his enemyes: if his Maiestie required him, hee was ready to obey his will, but hee would prouide for his owne inno-

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<sup>1</sup> This faithful Rájpút is mentioned by Jahángír in the *Tízak* as "one of my close attendants". His name was Anuprai, to which, for the bravery he showed in a dangerous encounter with a tiger, the king added the title of Singh Dalan ("tiger-tearer")

cency The king replyed you haue done honestly faythfully you have answered discretly Continue your Purpose and take noe knowledge of any Commandes I will not seeme to know this neyther doe you stirr farther hould your sayth and lett vs see how farr they will prosecute yt. The Prince and the faction the Next day finding the king silent hoping he might forgett what passd In wyne, tooke no notice of the grant nor of the refusall but it fell (not without suspition) on both partes. This I insert to this end that you may beware scattering your goodes In diuers Partes and engaging your stock and seruantes farr Into the Countrey for the tyme will come when all in these Kingdomes wilbe in combustion and a few yeares warr will not decide the Inueterate malice layd vp on all partes against a day of vengeance,<sup>1</sup> wherein If Sultan Corsoronne preuayle in his right this kingdome wilbe a sanctuary for Christians whome he loues and honors, fauouring learning valour, the discipline of warr and abhorring all couetousnes and discerning the basse Customs of taking vsed by his ancestors and the Nobilltye.<sup>2</sup> Yf the other Wynne wee shalbe the losers for hee is most earnest in his superstition a hater of all Christians Proud Subtill false and barbarously Tyrannous.

Ther is dayly expected an Embassador from the Shabas<sup>3</sup> king of Persia.

*October 13.*—The king was gone to hunt.

I receiued from Agra that Indico was well fallen and that they would proceed to Invest.

<sup>1</sup> The death (of which it was strongly suspected Sháh Jahán was guilty) of Sultan Khusrú in 1622 followed, four years later by that of Parwíz, averted the fratricidal war here foretold. But the prophecy came true at the close of the reign of Sháh Jahán, who not only saw his sons slaughter one another in the struggle for mastery but was himself forced to yield his throne to the victor.

<sup>2</sup> It is to be feared that Roes dislike of Khurram inclined him to credit too easily the reported excellencies of the elder brother. Khusrú's previous behaviour certainly does not bear out the favourable view here expressed.

<sup>3</sup> Sháh Abbás.

At night the king returned, and sent mee a wild Pigg

I receiued aduise of the arriual of 4 shipes safe at the Port of Swally with lettres from England <sup>1</sup> That they departed the Coast the 9 of March 1615 [1616] with 6 shipes, losing Company of the *Rose* about the N. Cape by weather June the 12, 1616, the other 5 came safely to the bay of Saldania, wher the *Lyon* hoomward bound was ready for a wynd, her Commanders and People in health. staying [blank] dayes at the Roade without Newes of the small ship, they dispeeded the *Swan* to Bantam, for effecting the Busines, and sett saile for Suratt the 29 with fowre shipes, and Came to Anchor to their Port the 24th of September, 1616 In their Passadge (August 6) Neare the Islandes of Comora about 12° 50<sup>m</sup> they had sight of a Carrick, burthen 1500 Tunne, Manned with 600, beeing Admirall of the fleete sent for Goa, bearing the flagg The *globe* fetchd her vp to wyndward, and after salutations of the sea, the Carrick Commanded her to leaward, and seconded it with 5 shott thorowgh her Hull, which she requited with 18 and soe fell off The Admirall and English fleete Comming vp demanded satisfaction for the Iniurye, which was replied too with scorne, soe began a fresh fight, in few shott the Commander, Benjamin Ioseph,<sup>2</sup> was slayne and, the New established, they Continued yt. At the Euning shee rann herselfe ashore among the Rockes of Angazesia.

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<sup>1</sup> For an account of the voyage of this, the 1616 fleet, see Terry's book. He gives a spirited description of the fight with the carrack. Among the I O Records (*O C*, No 456) there is an equally interesting account in a letter from Pepwell to the Company. For the Portuguese version, see Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, pt ii, ch clv, and Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa* (Stevens's transl., Bk. III, ch xi)

<sup>2</sup> Of whom see Sir Clements Markham's *Voyages of William Baffin* (Hakluyt Soc., 1881), p 38 *n*. Terry says he was "for years antient," and "had commanded before in sea-fights, which he met withal within the Streights in the Midland Sea." His successor, Henry Pepwell, was desperately wounded in the fight that followed, but lived to reach Surat and afterwards Bantam, where he succumbed early in 1618

The fleet anchored short of her to attend the issue and sent a boate to offer saier warrs but about Midnight shee fired her selfe and burnd all the Next Morning, the English sending their boates could not approach but be-  
leeue that not one man was saued by Circumstances very probable. The New Viceroy for Goa was in this ship<sup>1</sup> whose resolution was the death of all the others.

*October 14.*—I sent for the Iesuite and gaue him know ledge of what had happened desiring him to aduise yt for Goa and wheras I had written a lettre to the Viceroy, which his Pride Pleased not to answer,<sup>2</sup> if hee beeing a man of the Church and seeing how vnprosperously they had begunn a warr with vs, would yet admonish them to entertayne those Conditions of truce that were honorable for both Nations and send commissioners hither, I was ready to treate with them in the Meane tyme to forbare on all Partes actes of hostilitie, and to draw and agree on some articles, with the reasons and pretentions on both sydes, to be iudged off by our Masters, eyther for an open Warr or a full Peace, at the end of 3 years but if this Course liked him I required Honorable and saythfull dealing and expected to see good authoritie and to receiue and giue good securitye for Mutuall performance, for that I was not to be abused with the ould Couiors of a Spanish treaty If hee refused once more these Christian offers, agreeable to the Amytye of our most Royall Masters and their subiectes in the Partes of Europe, I then Professed his obstinacy and Pride enforced mee to declare him a breaker and disturber of the Comon Peace and so would pursue him and his Nation as an enemye. This Meditation [mediation?] the Padre most willingly undertooke, corresponding to his owne desires and the Necessitye of their

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<sup>1</sup> This was an error, as Roe learned later

<sup>2</sup> See p. 76.

affayres<sup>1</sup> For our busines (if it could with honor be obteyned) it were a matter of great ease, both in tyme, Chardge, and expence, that wee might with one shipp safely trade on this Coast I hope not in the successe, but I would not the fayling were on my Part. Now was the oportunitye to offer with honor, when wee needed it least, and if euer to effect yt in their Necessity I confesse it were the better consayle to pursue them faynting and to follow the victory, but I found here was no disposition in this Prince to break with them, if hee did, no faith nor constancy, but would make the Peace for his owne endes, and without such an ayd by land the woorke was too great for a Company, The euent of warr vncertayne, the end of our Nation Peaceable and quiett trade, in the calmes wherof trafique and Merchandice only or principally flourished

I went to the Prince with the Newes I had receued, and because I had found his disposition was to draw my dependance on him, and that hee was ambitious of respect, I was indulgent toward him, and, hoping to take him in his owne Nettes, I propounded to him certayne offers which I pretended to receiue in Command from the King my Master to deliuer to his father, but for respect for his Highnes I addressd my selfe to him, both to acquaynt him with the Propositions, to desier his fauour, and to obteyne his Mediation to present mee to the King at Night He demanded what was my desier I first deliuered him Certayne Complementes sent by my Soueraigne to the King that his Maiestie, taking Notice of the fauour showed to our Nation, and that the Portugalles for our sakes robd and abused the subiectes of this kingdom, hee was bound in honor to enter into the quarrell and had

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<sup>1</sup> "Guen to the Padre the Jesuitt Azorius and Bellermines woorkes, cost in England 5*l* 15*s* Hee vndertook to treat a Peace betwene the viceroy and mee" (Roe's Accounts *Addl MS* 6115)

Commanded mee to offer to his Maiestie the assistance of our fleete arrued eyther for the Chastising of the Common enemy or for the safe Conducting of the shipes of his Dominion into the redd sea and that, though now ther was a truce, yet I thought It my dutie to signifie to his Maiestie the affection and honorable care of my Master In beeing ready to performe all the offices of a good ally and frend. He answered that with the Portugall he had noe warr to wesse<sup>1</sup> ther fleet was Needlesse. I replyed wee had lately had a victory over a Carrick which I supposed would draw on desire of reuenge and that the Portugall would bee attempting if but for our sakes to doe injury to our frendes that his Coast could not be quiett for our discentions that therefore, though this Instant his Highnes had noe Neede, yet if hee would bee Pleased to giue vs a Riuer and towne to fortifie in for a retrayct for our shipping in soule weather, wee would alway keepe such a strength as should secure the Coast on all occasions. This was that I aymed at, and that I knew was ill Musique but I receiued order, which I obeyed, though I can giue reasons that to be denyed yt is for our advantage in my Iudgment,<sup>2</sup> as our busines standes, and is mistaken by those from whom I receiue directions, and was sure of refusall. Hee answered with scorne that his father nor hee needed not our assistance he ment not warr with the Portugall for our sakes neyther would ever deliuer any fort to vs to receiue his owne at our Curtesye If wee came as Merchantes wee were wellcome wee had Suratt for our Port wee weare seated in Amadavaz, Brampoore, Baroch, Adsmere Agra, and Lahor or any other Clitty was free for vs to abyde, buy and sell In what could wee in reason demand more? I replyed all those Places were Inland and at Suratt noe safety for our shippes. Hee returned

<sup>1</sup> Convoy<sup>2</sup> A change of opinion; see p. 94.



quick that other Port would not bee giuen in that manner, Nor the Portugalls neuer requird yt. I thought to haue proceeded, but finding his sharpnes and Negligence, I ended At Night I went to the king I found Asaph chan ready to meete mee with smiles and embraces and Newes of our shipes New hope of Presentes made al wayes easye I desired him first to deliuer the Complementes of my Master in forme, as I did in the Morning to the Prince, with the same ouertures The king with much more Curtesy receiued them, but begann with the presentes I first mentioned our late fight and victory, which hee seemed to reioyce in, and to applaud the valor of our Nation, but fell off to what hath the king sent mee? I answered many tokens of his loue and affection That my Master knew hee was lord of the best Part of Asia, the richest Prince of the East, that to send his Maestie rich Presentes were to Cast Pearles into the sea, the mother and store house of them that therfore his Maestie thought yt vnnesessarie, but had Presented him with his loue, with many Curious toyes, which I hoped would giue him Content. Hee vrdged mee to some particulars, which I Named Hee asked for french Muff or veluett. I answered my lettres were not arriued some other was come which hee desiered Hee enquired for dogges<sup>1</sup> I told him some had their fortune in the fight, some dyed, two were preserued for him at which hee reioyced, and Continued if I could procure him a horse of our Great size such as I had described (beeing a Rone or Dutch horse) hee would accept it better then a Crowne. I replied I would doe my indeauour for his Maesties satisfaction, but I feared it could not bee effected Hee

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<sup>1</sup> A mastiff presented by Edwards fought with and killed first a leopard and then a boar which some dogs sent by the Shah of Persia would not touch This gave the Mogul a high opinion of English dogs

answered If I would procure on hee would giue mee a *lett* of *exprias* I desired his Maiesties lettre for the Comming of these presentes without search and for the good vradg of our People. Hee replyed the Port was his sonns but sent for him and Publiquely gaue expresse order for what soeuer I would requer and take on mee,<sup>1</sup> that it should Not be searched nor pay Custome, but bee dispeeded with expedition safe to my handes that I might distribute yt at my discretion that hee should Command the good reception of our People and finally that hee should giue mee Content in all my desiers. This generally extended not to the grant of a fort for that clause Asaph chan refused to delluer This Chardpe was very round and harty In the king and a grace to mee. The Prince called Asaph chan and mee, and there professed and promised before his father and all the Court to giue mee all reasonable Content. This is the strength of New Presentes.

October 15.—I dispatched for Suratt the generallity of this, and my aduises to the Commanders, but because I lately sent downe a *firmans* sufficient, I would not retard our busines, but signified this grace and fauour and if any thing yet wanted that In few dayes they should receiue this New promised Command. The Prince sent mee woord, witnessed by two lettres from the Iudg of the *Alfandica*, that I brake Covenant with him that our People came ashore and by force would passe the Custome house, without showeing any goodes to the Gouvernor according to my Promise that his officers for feare of his displeasure had suffered them but required my order in yt. I knew the Complaynt was false and to excuse the knauery of the Iudg who had wronged vs and fearing Complaynt began first yet I aduised roundly to the

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, all things which Roe would certify to have been sent for presentation.

Commander and Cape Merchant, as my lettres will declare<sup>1</sup>

I receiued from Mesolapatan that Captain Keeling had taken 2 Portugall barkes and a ship, one on the Coast of Cochyn, laden with tynn, the other freighted from Bengala, which hee Carried to Bantam<sup>2</sup> That Sir Robert Sherly was dismisst with disgrace from Goa, and that hee was on his way overland to Mesolapatan to seeke Passadge—vnprobable and I beleeeue vntrue<sup>3</sup>

*October 16*—I went to Afzul chan,<sup>4</sup> the Princes Secretary, to giue him satisfaction in the Complaynt, and there opened to him the abuse and falshood, requiring his highnes lettres according to the kinges order He tould [me?] he would informe the Prince and draw vs a Command to our full Content, and that, seeing wee thought the Iudg of the *Alfandica* vniust, hee desiered mee to name any one in Suratt to sitt in the Custome house to doe vs right and hee should be ioyned in Commission for our behalfe. I replied I knew none more vpright then Abram chan, the Gouvernor of the Towne, whom hee promised should haue such order to meete with the Customer in the office on our Part to moderate the abuses of the other, and that all other our Contentmentes should bee giuen in Chardge to him, that at night, if I sent, I should fynd these ready Ther, as a secrett to engage the Prince, I tould him of the vnicornes horne,<sup>5</sup> which I would not name to the king that

<sup>1</sup> See ff 125 and 126 of the MS, and O C No 404 in the I O Records In the letter to Kerridge, Roe begged him to hasten the despatch of the presents, including one for Núr Mahál "The neglect of her last yeare," he wrote, "I haue felt heauely"

<sup>2</sup> See Peyton's journal in *Purchas* vol 1, p 528

<sup>3</sup> As indeed it was Sherley remained in Goa until his departure for Lisbon

<sup>4</sup> See p 160 "

<sup>5</sup> On the "unicorn's" horn, its supposed efficacy as an antidote for poison, and its consequent value—"worth halfe a city," says Dekker in *The Guls Horne-booke*—notes will be found in Burnell and Tiele's *Linschoten*, vol 11, p 9, Grey's *Della Valle*, vol 1, pp 5, 7, and Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol 11, p 273 Compare also Ovington (*Voyage to Surat*,

his Highnes might buy it for a rarity to bestow on his father I told him of the rich estimation and qualetyes that it was esteemed among the Jewells of Princes but that I had no Power to give it beeing of great vaeu that the Merchantes made it a secrett and intended not to suffer it come out of the ship but that for his Highnes Content, if hee Pleasd to buy it and would give order for mony at Suratt, I would procure his officers should see yt. This I hoped would both sett an extreame appetite on the Prince to passe it at a high Price and would insinuate an extraordinary desire in mee to doe him service and if hee revealed it to the King I would answere because it was not in my Power to give his Maiestie I was ashamed

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1689, p. 267), who says that one of the English Residents at Surat believed so much in its "Medicinal Excellence and singular Quality that he exchanged for a Cup made of this Horn a large capacious Silver Bowl of the same bignes." Fuller in his *Works* (p. 193) speaking of a unicorn's horn, says "Amongst the many precious rarities in the Tower this (as another in Windsor Castle) was, in my memory shewn to people."

The specimen here referred to failed to find a purchaser. The Prince declined to buy it at the price asked; and it was then offered to Mukarrab Khán for 5,000 rupees. In order to test its supposed virtue the latter "made tryall by the lives of a pigeon, goat and man, which they loosing it also lost his esteeme" (Brown to the Company O. C. No. 607). Roe was shocked at this callous experiment, and wrote gravely to Brown "I hope neyther your Consent nor Commendation ayded to trye the unicorns horne on a man. But Mochreb-chan may bee deceived; it may bee true and rare without any such vertue as absolutely and alone to bee an Antidote to any Poyson. Ther is no such property in the best of the world and, if it were soe he knowes (me sure of yt were worth more mony then you demanded. But lett him know this from mee (which is true) that wee esteeme it in Europe a great Cordiall and good to strengthen the stomach, to Cheere and remoove melancholy from the hart, and a preserver against Poyson equall to beazer stone; yet it is not expected that beazer alone shall Protect a man from a strong Poyson. Breefly besides the raritye (beeing a Jewell kept of all Princes) it is vsd in all sorts of Cordiall Phisque to make restorers and strengtheners with gould, Pearle, Corall, amber and such; and for vertue is held equall with any" (*Add MS 6115 f. 200*). But Mukarrab Khán was not to be tempted; and Roe therefore directed that the precious horn should be sent on board ship again with a view to its being despatched to Persia. This intention, however was not carried out, the horn being sent to Achin, though there also no purchaser could be found (*O C No 753*).

to name yt, but had mooued the Prince to buy it for his vse For this I had many thanckes and Complements His Secretary mooued by his Highnes order to procure for him two Gunners out of our flecte to serue him in this yeares warrs for good Pay, which Curtesy hee would take very kindly and requite yt I promised to effect his desier, and doubted not to procure them of the Commander, seeing ordinary ones in that art will exell here.<sup>1</sup> I pressed the Clearing of Zulpheckcarcons account; though I knew not what it was, for Master Kirridge aduised satisfaction of 9000 *mamoodies* for which I sent bills, and that of the 8000 remayning he had receiued content for two Clothes and a halfe, but not how much nor what rested Yet I vrddged the vse of our mony now to employ, and showed his bill that what was mistaken, wee would bee answerable for, which hee promised Master Biddolph this day or the morow

Abdala-chan came to visitt the Prince, so brauely attended as I haue not seene the like To the Gate his drumms and musique a horsback, about 20, made noyse enough, fifty *Peons* with white flagges carried before him, and 200 souldiers well mounted in Coates of Cloth of Gould, veluett, and rich silkes, which entered with him in ranck, Next his Person 40 targiteers<sup>2</sup> in like lueryes He made humble reuerence, and presented a black Arabian horse with furniture studded with flowers of gould enameld and sett with small stones The Prince according to Custome returnd a Turbant, a Coate, and a Gyrdle

*October 17* —The Prince Pursuing his Purpose of finishing the Decan warrs by his owne Person, and vndertaking to giue answer to the Ambassadors, giues none, but deteynes them vntill his approach But, beeing to depart, he

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<sup>1</sup> Ruc dulk transmitted this request to Surat, but no one in the flect was willing to accept the employment

<sup>2</sup> Soldiers armed with sword and buckler (targe)

nor his Party thought not themselves secure if Sultan Corsoronne remayned in the handes of Annarah that in his absence the king might be reconciled, and by his liberty all the glory and hopes of their faction would vanish and the Injury and ambition hardly bee Pardoned. They newly assayle the kinges constancy to deliuer vp his sonne into the handes of Asaph chan, as his guardian vnder Soltan Coronne. They Pretend that it will fright *Chan Clianna* and the Decanns when they shall heare that this Prince is soe fauoured who nowe comes to make warr vpon them that the king hath deliuered vp his eldest sonne, in that as it were the whole kingdome and hope of succession and the Present Power therof The King who had yeelded himself into the handes of a woman could not defend his sonne from their Practises. Hee either sees not the ambition or trustes it too farr in Confidence of his owne Power and consentes soe that this day hee was deliuered vp, the souldiers of Anna rah discharged and a supply of Asaph chans planted about him with assistannce of 200 of the Princes horse.<sup>1</sup> His sister and diuers weomen in the *Seraglia* mourne, refuse their meate, crye out of the kinges dotage and Crueltye, and professe that if hee dye ther will 100 of his kindred burne for him in memorye of the kinges bloudines to his woorthyest sonne. The king giues sayre woordes protesteth no intent of ill toward the Prince, and promiseth his deliury and sendes Narmahall to appease these onraged ladies, but they Curse, threaten and refuse to see her The Common People all murmur, they say the king hath not deliuered his sonnes but his owne life into the handes of an Ambitious Prince and a treacherous faction that Corsoronne cannot Perish without scandall to the father or

<sup>1</sup> "On the 4th (Ábán) Khusrú who was in the charge for safe-keeping of Anirai Singh Dalan, for certain considerations was handed over to Asaf Khán (*Tvssak* Mr Rogers' translation).

revenge from him therefore hee must goe first and after him his sonne, and so thorough their bloodes this youth must mount the Royall seate New hopes are spread of his redeliuery, and soone alayed, euery man tells newes according to his feares or desires But the Poore Prince remaynes in the Tygers Power, refuseth meate, and requires his father to take his life and not to lett it bee the triumph and delight of his enemyes The whole Court is in a whisper; the Nobility sadd, the Multitude, like it selfe, full of tumor and Noyce, without head or foote, only it rages but bendes it selfe vpon noe direct end The issue is very dangerous, Principally for vs, for among them it matters not who wynds Though one haue right and much more honor, yet hee is still a moore, and cannot bee a better Prince then his father, who is soe good of disposition that he suffers ill<sup>1</sup> men to gouerne, which is woorse then to bee ill, for wee were better beare Iniuries of Princes then of their ministers So that I may say of this tyme and the constitution of this state as Tacitus did of the Empire of Roome when it was contended for by Otho and Vitellius *Prope euersum orbem etiam cum de principatu inter bonos certaretur utrasque impias preces, utraque detestanda vota, inter duos quorum bello solum id scires deteriorem fore qui vicissit*<sup>2</sup> And although the elder brother is not yet in Armes, nor so like (if he Preuayle) to Tyrannise, yet it is to bee feared, *Rebus secundis eatiam*

<sup>1</sup> Purchas (or his printer) has turned this into "all," and has thus entirely altered the sense

<sup>2</sup> *Hist*, i, 50 The passage is thus translated by Messrs Church and Brodrick "The world was well-nigh turned upside down when the struggle for empire was between worthy competitors, yet the Empire continued to exist after the victories of Caius Julius and Cæsar Augustus, the republic would have continued to exist under Pompey and Brutus And is it for Otho or for Vitellius that we are now to repair to the temples? Prayers for either would be impious, vows for either a blasphemy, when from their conflict you can only learn that the conqueror must be the worse of the two" Roe has omitted a portion of the quotation, and has thus to a slight extent obscured the sense.

*egregios duces inolescere*<sup>1</sup> I did adulse our little Common wealth to keepe close and neare together, to attend the issue to know no syde, to make few debtes, and to keepe as few residencies as the necessitye of their affaires will suffer

October 18.—I Sollicited my New promised *firmaen* but In these troubles and preperation of remooue I found slow dispatch.

October 19.—The Persian Ambassador Mahomett Roza Beag<sup>2</sup> about noone came into the Towne with a great troupe which were Partly sent out by the king to meete him with 100 Eliphantes and musique, but no man of greater qualeyte then the ordinary receiuer of all strangers. His owne trayne were about 50 horse, well fitted in Coates of Cloth of Gould their bowes quivers and Targetes richly garnished 40 shott, and some 200 ordinary *Peons* and attenders on baggage. He was carried to Rest in a roome withIn the kinges outward court till euening when he came to the *Darbar* before the king to which Ceremony I sent my Secretary to obserue the fashion When hee approched He made at the first rayle 3 *Teslims*<sup>3</sup> and one *Sizeda*<sup>4</sup> (which is Prostrating himselfe and knocking his head against the Ground) at the entrance In the like and so presented the Shabas his lettire which the kinge took with a little motion of his body, asking only How

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*, ii, 7 "In the day of success even great leaders grow insolent.

<sup>2</sup> Muhammad Razá Beg.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 135.

<sup>4</sup> The *sajdah*, or prostration, introduced by some of Akbar's courtiers upon the establishment of his "Divine faith." As, however it was one of the positions at prayer it was looked upon by the Muhammadans in general as the exclusive right of God, and Akbar though pleased with the practice was obliged to forbid its use in public. Jahángir encouraged it, and in the *Tuzuk* he notes with evident satisfaction that the Persian ambassador on this occasion "performed the dues of prostration and salutation (Mr Rogers' translation) but it was always unpopular and Sháh Jahán abolished it upon his accession to the throne (Blochmann's *Ain-i Akbari* vol. 2, pp. 159, 213).



doth my brother? without title of Maiestie, and after some few woordes hee was Placed in the seauenth rannck against the rayle by the doore, below so many of the kinges seruantes on both sides, which in my Iudgment was a most inferiour Place for his masters Embassador, but that hee well deserued it for dooing that reuerence which his Predecessores refused, to the dishonor of his Prince and the Murmer of many of his Nation<sup>1</sup> It is said hee had order from the Sophy to giue content, and therby it is gathered his message is for some ayde in mony agaynst the Turke, in which kind he often findes liberall succour, though it bee pretended hee Comes only to treat a peace for the Decanns, whose protection the Shabas taketh to hart, envyeing the encrease of this Empire The King according to Custome gaue him a handsom turbant, a vest of gould, and a girdle, for which againe hee made 3 *Tesselans* and one *Sizeda*, or ground curtesye. Hee brought for Presentes 3 tymes 9 horses of Persia and Arabia, this beeing a Ceremonius Number among them, 9 mules very fayre and lardg, 7 Camells laden with veluett, two Sutes of Europe Arras (which I suppose was Venetian hanginges of veluett with gould, and not Arras), two Chestes of Persian hanginges, on Cabinett rich, 40 Muskettes, 5 Clockes, one Camell laden with Persian Cloth of gould, 8 Carpettes of silke, 2 Rubyes ballast, 21 Cammelles of wyne of the Grape, 14 Camelles of distilld sweet waters, 7 of rose

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<sup>1</sup> Kerridge, writing to Roe on the 10th of this month (*Addl MS* 9366), says that the Mogul expects envoys from Persia to give the "accostomed obedience," though, "his nature being gentle and debonaire," he permits Christians to use their own ceremonies of salutation. At a later date, the Persians appear to have received better treatment, for Bernier (p 120) says that the privileges of saluting according to the customs of their own country, and of delivering their letters "without the intervention of an *Omrah* . . . belong exclusively to Persian ambassadors," although they are not granted, "even to them, without much hesitation and difficulty." Bernier tells an amusing tale (p 151) of Sháh Jahán's expedient to force a Persian ambassador to make reverence à l'Indien, and the way in which he was foiled

waters 7 daggers sett with stones 5 swoordes sett with stones, 7 Venetian looking glasses, but these soe faire, so rich that I was ashamed of the relation. These Presentes were nnt deliuered now, only a bill of them. His owne furniture was rich, leading nine spare horses trapped in Gould and siluer about his Turbant was wreathed a Chayne of Pearles rubies and Turqueses and three Pipes of gould<sup>1</sup> answerable for three spriges of feathers. Yet I caused diligence [diligent?] obseruance to be made of his reception and compared it with myne owne, and synd he had in nothing more grace, in many thinges not so much in ranck far inferiour to that alowed mee, except only his meeting without the Towne, which by reason of my sicknes was omitted to be demanded. Neyther did the king receiue the Shabas his lettre with such respect as my Masters, whom hee called the King of England his brother the Persian barely brother, without addition (which was an obseruation of the Iesuites that vnderstood the language).<sup>2</sup>

October 20.—I receiued a lettre according to promise, written in the Princes name Commanding the Gouvernor of Suratt and others to sitt with the Iudg of the *Alfandica* in our behalfe, repeating the Complaynt made by mee and by the Iudg against vs and giuing order so to dispose of the busines that wee might receiue no more discontent and in that matter full and effecturall, but concerning the presents, which hee so much desired to haue choyce in only these woordes and for all Presentes sett too your scale and send them to Court—without naming to which Court (which was now seperating) not [nor?] to whom but leauing it doubtfull I suspected it was not right, wherupon I sent back the lettre to the Secretary

<sup>1</sup> Aigrette holders.

<sup>2</sup> Yet Jahāngir not only describes the embassy in the *Tuḥfat* but gives the Shāh's letter in full; whereas Roe's mission was not thought worthy of mention.

with answere that I doubted not his Highnes meaning was faire, according to the order of the king, but, to avoyd all occasion of euasion or error in those who sought all aduantage of Construction to wrong vs, I desiered him in few woordes to explayne it for future quiett, expressing the termes that the Presents are to be sent vnopened to the handes of the Ambassador at the Court Hee vnderwrote the lettre, but with such Cunning that it might bee Construed both wayes like the ould Oracles Concerning Presentes doe as they will, but lett the Prince loose nothing if wrong bee offered, doe not suffer yt Our solicitor returned it that it was very well and to my Content. Yet I misdoubted fraud, and sent for a translator, who found the sence so intricat and doubtfull I could scarce vnderstand the riddle I only discouered the Cunning was to bring them into the Princes handes, as it were by error on the way, who would eyther carue all to himselfe or send some part to the king in my Name This abuse Iustly enraged mee, both against some of our owne and my linguist that receiued it soe slightly without reading, and stirrd mee to putt it to triall, whervpon I returned yt that it was now more obscure then before and woorse for the correction, that if this were all the fruites of the kinges gracious grant, I should bee compelld to moue it anew The Secretarye replied he durst not transgresse his order, but desired mee to meete him in the Morning at the Princes

*October 21* —I went to the Prince and opened my desire to haue that Clause expounded, at which his Highnes stucke a little and I perceiued the Purpose to be as hollow as I imagined Hee demanded then how hee should haue his Presents or see such toyes as came vp, and mooued mee to goe with him I replied I could not doe soe vntill I had deliuered my Masters Message and tokens to the King, but, that finished, I would my selfe attend his Highnes

with his Presentes, and all such raretyes as came to my handes should bee sent after him. Hee pressed mee to passe my woord and so I obteyned order for the *firmaen* to my Content. His Highnes, looking on a Whyte feather in my hatt demanded if I would giue it him. I replied I would not offer that I had worne, but, if he Pleasd to Command it that or anything in my Power was to serue him and I was highly honored in his acceptance. Hee asked if I had any more. I answered three or fower of other Coulors. He replied if I would giue them ail for that hee was to show his horses and seruantes to the king within two dayes and that hee wanted some beeing very rare in these Parts. I promised to bring all I had on the Morow that his Highnes might take his Pleasure.

Abdala chan in a Gallant Equipage both of his Person and attendantes in apparell strange and antique but in these partes *a la soldado* Presented the Prince with a white horse, the saddle and furniture of gould enameld a beast of delicate shape, life, and Couradge who returned him a swoord Playne with a belt of leather. Ther were brought before him many others, the hiltes of siiuier Chapes sett with smali stones, and targettes couered with gould velvetts, some Paynted and bossed with gould and silver which hee gaue to his seruantes against this muster many saddles and furniture of gould rich sett with stones, of his owne were showed for spare horses his bootes embrodered & all other ingredientes of brauery. I confesse the expence is woonderfull and the riches dayly scene inualluable.

This night Passd it is reported 6 of the Princes seruantes came to Murther Sultan Cursoronne, but were refused the key by the Porter that the Queene mother<sup>1</sup> is gone to the

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<sup>1</sup> Coryat notes the respect and affection with which she was treated by her son. As is well known she was one of Akbar's Hindu consorts, being daughter of Rāja Bihārī Māl and sister of Rājā Bhagwān Dās of Jaipur. Her death occurred in 1623.

king with an ouerture of all the Practice The truth is vncertayne and it is dangerous to aske.

At euening I went to the *Durbar* to visitt the king, wher I mett the Persian Ambassador with the first muster of his Presentes Hee appeared rather a Iester or Iugler then a Person of any grauetie, running vp and downe, and acting all his woordes like a mimick Player Now indeed the *Atashckannoe*<sup>1</sup> was become a right stage Hee deliuered the Presentes with his owne handes, which the king [with] smiles and Cherfull Countenance and many woordes of Contentment receiued His toong was a great aduantage to deliuer his owne busines, which hee did with so much flattery and obsequiousnes that it Pleased as much as his guift euer calling his Maiestie King and Commander of the world, forgetting his owne Master had a share in yt , and on euerie little occasion of good acceptation hee made his *Teselims* When all was deliuered for that day hee prostrated himselfe on the ground, and knocked with his head as if hee would enter in The guiftes were a fayre quiver for bow and arrowes, delicatly embrothered , all sorts of European fruictes artificiall in dishes , many other foulding Purses and knackes of leather, wrought with needlewoork in coloured silkes ; shooes embrodered and stichd , Great Glasses inlayd in frames , one square Peice of Veluett embrodered high with gould in Panes, betweene which were Italian Pictures wrought in the stuff, which hee sayd was the king and queene of Venice (which, as I suppose, was the hanginges called Arras),<sup>2</sup> of these six were giuen, one only showed , many other *tricanados*<sup>3</sup> of small valew , after, the 3 Nines of horses and Mules, which were

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<sup>1</sup> The *tosha-khūna* was properly the repository in which articles received as presents, or intended to be given as presents, were stored , but here, as in a subsequent entry, Roe uses the term to mean the royal place of audience

<sup>2</sup> See p 296

<sup>3</sup> Trinkets or trifles (Span.)

faire ones, the horses cyther had lost their flesh or bewty for except one or two I Iudged them vnfit for to be sent or taken by Princes. So he returned with many antique triekes to his Place, far inferior to that allowed mee which was alone and aboue all subjectes (which at first Asaph ehan would haue putt mee by but I maynteyned it as my due). This is but the first act of his Presenting The Play will not bee finished In ten dayes.

At night I sent to the Princes secretary for my promised writing but his Highnes was loath to lett the Presentes passe without ransacking and had changed his mynd refusing to seale the lettre.

*October 22.*—I went early to the Secretary to know the reason of this inconstancy and the Princes resolution He answered I could not haue the letter sealed vnlesse I would consent to haue all opened In the *Alfandica* Pretending that the Merchanntes would pass vp Jewelles and Pearles to sell vnder that Coulor I assured him on my woord they were dearer in England then here that wee brought none that I would not countenance any thing vnder that Coulor to abuse the Princee and dishoner my selfe that I scorned to saue Petty Customes basely that I gaue among the Princes Porters dayly more. I vrdged the kinges command his Masters Promise, but no reason no importuntye would preuayle against this gredy desier of Presentes, though In yt hee robbd his father What will not youth and Insolency attempt when it knowes no limitts, when it is aduanced beyond the Capacitye and law of reason? I replied as peremptorily that I was as resolute not to bee abused that I would keepe these aboard the shippes vntill his Maiestie sent for them, and in future tyme I would take order that my Master should send no more gulfes to be so vnciuilly entreated that it was a busines in which my Honor was interested and for no Complacency I would not yeild to be riffled with my con

sent that these injuryes were so grose that I doubted not the king would haue sence of them in the meane tyme I would preuent their greedy purpose of oppression So I rose to depart. Hee importuned mee to goe with him to the Prince and moue it once more I replied I had the kings order and his Masters woord before his Majestie, since his owne Command, and all this beeing retracted, I could expect no more but delay and Iniurye that I would seeke to the king and no further But hee pressd mee so far as I yeelded, and at my comming I deliuered him<sup>1</sup> two Plumes, and two birdes of Paradiſe<sup>2</sup> Hee accepted them easely, and my busines beeing mooued and my resolution made knowne not to consent to open nor to send them vp but by the handes of my seruants, att last he yeilded and gaue Command to the Secretary to dispatch mee.

At Night I went to the *Durbar* to obserue the Ambassador of Persia. I found him standing in his ranncke and often remooued and sett lower as great men came in The king once spake to him, and he danced to the tune therof, but gaue noe present, only the king Commanded hee should be feasted by the Nobles The tyme was spent in seeing saddles and furniture for the remooue, of which his Maestie gaue some to his followers, it beeing dayly expected to rise, the kinges tentes were out 4 days since

I sent to the Secretarye for my *firmaen*, but hee delayd yt with excuses

*October 23*—I solicited the grant, but the Persian dined with him

*October 24*—The king remooued to Hauaz Gemall,<sup>3</sup> and called the Persian Ambassador, wher at night hee eate and drancke before the king with the Nobilities in the same

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<sup>1</sup> The Prince

<sup>2</sup> "Worth, the plumes 20s., and the birds of Paradiſe 60 rupees" (Roe's accounts *Add MS 6115*)

<sup>3</sup> See p 159n

fashion that I did the birthday, the difference only was the king gaue him for expence 20000 *rupias*, for which hee made innumerable *Teselmis* and *Sizedaes* not rising from the ground in good space, which extremely pleased the king and was base but profitable Idolatrye. The Prince attending his father I could gett noe dispatch in my busines. These Presents yet were not digested all delayes, all fraudes practised to possesse them first. The Condition of this People my sufferinges and trauell will appeare, I doubt not to the ease of my successors how to deale with them

I receiued lettres from Agra aduertising all the factory were disposed away. I aduised my opinion It was to no vse to follow the Court that it were better to abyde together vntill wee saw where wee should settle otherwise the chardge would bee infinite. So much I propounded to ours here but know not their resolution.

October 25.—The king returned at Euening hauing beene ouer night farr gone in wyne. Some by Chance or malice spake of the Merry night Past and that many of the Nobillitye dranck wyne which none may doe but by leaue. The king forgetting his order demanded who gaue it. It was answered the *Buxy* for no man dares say it was the king when hee would only doubt yt. The Custome is that when the king drinckes which is alone sometime hee will command that the Nobilitye shall drinck after, which if they doe not, is an offence too and so euery man that takes a cup of wyne of the officer his name is written and he makes *Teselem* though perhapes the kings eyes are mistye. The king not remembring his owne Command called the *Buxy* and demanded if hee gaue the order. He replyed no (falsly for hee receiued it and by name called such as did drinck with the Ambassador) wherat the king called for the list and the Persons, and fined some 1, some 2 some 3 thowsand *rupies* some lease,



and some that were nearer his Person he caused to bee whippd before him, receiuing 130 stripes with a most terrible instrument, hauing at each end of fower Cordes irons like spurr rowelles, so that euery stroke made fower woundes When they lay for dead on the Ground, hee Commanded the standers by to foote them, and after the Porters to breake their staues vpon them Thus most cruelly mangled and brused they were carried out, of which one dyed in the Place. Some would haue excused it on the Ambassador, but the king replyed he only bad giue him a Cupp or too Though drunckennes be a Common and a glorious vice, and an exercise of the kinges, yet it is soc strictly forbidden that no man can enter the *Guzelchan* wher the king sitts, but the Porters smell his breath, and, if hee haue but tasted wyne, is not suffered to com in, and, if the reason bee knowne of his absence, hee shall with difficulty skape the whip, for, if the king once take offence, the father will not speake for the sonne. So the king made the Company pay the Persian Ambassadors reward

*October 26*—I sent to Socorolla for the *firmaen*. Hee sent mee a Copy as ambiquious and fraudulent as the former, which I refused, and drew the misliked clause my selfe, which I sent back and was promised that on the Morow it should bee sealed

*October 28*—The kinges day of remooue at hand, I sent to Asaph chan for a warrant for carriadges, the Merchantess, hauing sought all the towne to remooue their goodes to Agra, could find none So I recciued order, beeing enrolled by his Maiestie, vpon my offer, for 20 Camelles, 4 Carts, and 2 Coches at the kinges Price, whereof I disposed as many as the factors needed to their vse

But it were an extreame error to omitt a Passadge, either of woonderfull basenes in this great Monarch or

a triall of mee. The king had Condemned diuers theeves among which were some boyes. Ther was noe way to saue their liues, but to sell them for slaues. His Maiestie Commanded Asaph chan to offer two of them to mee for mony which he appoynted the *Cuttwall*, that is the Marshall, to doe. My enterpreter made answere (without my knowledg) that Christians kept no slaues, that those the king had giuen I had freed <sup>1</sup> and that It was in vayne to propound It to mee. But after of him selfe hee did. I suspected It might be a tryall of mee whether I would giue a little mony to saue the liues of two Chiideren or els I supposed If It were in earnest it were noe great losse to doe a good deed and, to trye the basenes or scope of this offer I Commanded my enterpreter to returne to Asaph chan to tell him hee had acquaynted mee with the motion and his answere, that I reprehended him for presuming In any Case to giue my resolution that my owne reply was, If there were any mony to be Payd to saue the life of twoo Children to those whom they had robbd or to redeeme them from the law, both for respect to the kinges Command and for Charetye I was ready to giue it, but I would not buy them as slaues, only pay their ransome and free them that If hee pleased to know the kings pleasure that I might giue them liberty without offence, I was very willing to doe It. Asaph chan replied I might at myne owne will dispose them that it was an extraordinarye goodnes, with many prayses accepted the mony, desiring mee [to] send it to the *Cuttwall* and to vse my discretion to the boyes not once offering to enforme the king, which was one end of my liberallitye. I that was loath to be cosened, and knew not whither this might bee

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<sup>1</sup> Cp. pp. 150 and 174-6. On the practice of atoning for murder by payment of a sum of money "in which case the murderer becomes the slave of the man who releases him," see Blochmann's *Alm-i-Akbari*, vol. I, p. 254.

the Profit of officers or no, resolved to pay the money, but so as the king should not be ignorant I had more mercy then he, and that a Christian esteemed the life of a Moore about money. So I sent a factor and my interpreter to the *Cuttwall* to acquaint him with the Communications with Asaph chan and to lett him know, if at night hee would informe the king that I had offered to redeeme the Prisoners for Charetyes sake, if after his Maestie would consent to their liberty, I was ready to send him money. But to buy them as slaues, though but for an hower, I would not they should neuer come nor bee Manumitted by mee, but that I desired his Maestie to pardon them vpon my redemption. So I putt them to the test of their base offer. This money exceded not ten Pound, a poore summe to impose on a stranger, or to be gayned by any king. The *Cuttwall* returned answer that hee would know the kinges Pleasure and accordingly aduise mee. Some would perswade mee this is one of the Mogols signal fauours to Choose out such great men as hee will giue occasion to doe good and honorable woorkes, to redeeme Prisoners and that the money giues satisfaction to the Playntiffe robbd, and that those so appoynted by the king to ransom others make *Sizeda* as for some benefitt receiued, yet I fynd not any honor in a Prince to impose it on a stranger to whom he giues neyther mayntenance nor liberalitie. I went to the *Durbar* to see if his Maestie would of himselfe speake to mee, that I might deliuer myne owne offer. The *Cuttwall* made many motions, brought in the executioner, who receiued some Command, but I understood it not, but expect my answer.

This day I sent my Secretary to visit the Persian Ambassador and to giue him welcome to this Court. That seeing ther had passed many effectes of loue and Amitye betweene our royall Masters the King of Great Brittain

and Persia, I had receiued command to giue all respect and due Complements to any of his ministers whersoever I mett them, and that it beeing the Custome of Europe that the last come to any Place in Curtesy is visited of him that hath longer beene resident, beeing both Embassadors of one qualetye, I was resolved to Come my selfe to see him whensoever I receiued notice of his Comoditye when I would also open some busines to him both for the Honor and seruice of his Master But, because I knew not the Customes of these Parts, I had first sent to aduice him that I expected the same good respect from him toward my soueraigne, and that hee would in like manner after visitt mee, to whom hee should bee most welcome and without that assurance on his woord I durst not Come at ail to him. Hee receiued my message very courteously, reply ing hee tooke it for a great honor that the Custome of this kingdome was that no ambassador did meete or make acquayntance without the knowledge of the king and leaue obteyned that hee would moue his Maestie on our behalves and after both receiue mee with all frendship and repay my Curtesy toward him with all good correspondence that hee knew Sir Robert Sheirly and should bee very gladd, if I had any busines with his Master to convey my lettres or enter into any other Communication or aduise therein according to my directions.

October 29.—I receiued News of a great Plauge at Agra<sup>1</sup> so that I Iudgd it dangerous to send vp the goodes

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<sup>1</sup> Further references to this epidemic occur under November 25th and December 15th 1616, and January 14th, 1617. See also the account given (from Jahāngir's *Memoirs*) in Elliot and Dowson's *History* (vol. vi, p. 346). In the I O Records (O C. No. 568) is a letter from Salbank to the Company in the course of which he gives an account of "a great danger I sustained in the Citie of Agra for your sakes even in the yeare 1616, for that very year it hapned that a wonderfull great plague raigning in the aforesaid Citie for the space of three moneths, in which there sometimes dyed no lesse then a thousand people a day All the rest of our nation being gon I for my part was content to Indvire the extremest brunt of the

into an infected Place from whence No Comodytye could bee suffered to Passe, and to engage the Companyes seruantes, whervpon I perswaded the factors to remooue the Cloth within the walls of the Towne, and that I would desire of the king some secure Place for their rest vntill his Maiestie were settled This Course will save much mony and more trouble The brokar offered vs a sufficient roome, without danger, The king leauing a good guard for defence of such as Could not remooue, soe I resolved vpon yt

TO THE LORD BISHOP OF CANTERBURY<sup>1</sup>

(Addl MS 6115, f 130)

Adsmere, October 30, 1616

May it please your Grace,

The fraylty of Passadge betweene this Place and England, especially of my last lettre,<sup>2</sup> that wandered ouer land and rather went vpon discouery then busines, aduiseth mee to send your Grace transcripts of them Not that ther is conteyned any matter woorthy your honors leysure, but seeing you Comanded me to write, the relation of one to another will somewhat cleare the whole discourse For broken and vndependant Peices and fragments haue little light in them, lesse Pleasure, and no profit, So that hee that would doe any thing in this matter should write a historie, and take it somewhat high, to show the beginninges and groweth of this Empire, what fortunes and what impedimentes it hath overcome, what frendshipes it hath needed and affected, the ambitions and diuisions in the Present state, that like impostumes lye now hidd, but threaten to breake out into the

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sicknes by referring myselfe to the mercy and providence of god, even almost to the temptation of his diuine maiestie, as my Lord Ambassador wrot aduiseing me to depart out of the towne with speed for the safetie of my life, when people dyed on each [side of] me in howses ioyning to ours, and when I dayly heard most hideous and mornefull vociferations of men, women [and children] deploring their deceased frinds"

As Mr A Rogers has pointed out, in the *Indian Magazine*, this epidemic was similar in character to the one now (1898) desolating Bombay

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *Purchas*, vol 1, p 584, but with many inaccuracies, and without indication of the person to whom it was addressed

<sup>2</sup> Written in February 1616, and sent home with the letters printed on pp 128-134. Abbot refers to it in his reply (*Dom S P*, Jan I, vol 90, no 34), but no copy of it has been found

rending and ruine of the whole by bloody war the Practises, subtilties, and carnages of factions and Court-secrets, falsely called wisdom, wherein I a sure your Grace they are pregnant, and excell in all that art which the Duell can teach them, and are behynd none in wicked craft, some Passadges wherof were not vnwoorthy nor vnpleasant to relate their religions suffered by the King, and I practised without envy or Contention on any part how the Portugalls haue Crept into this Kingdome, and by what Corners they got in the enterance of the Jesuits, their entertaynement, Priuiledges, Practises, endes, and the growth of their Church, wherof they sing in Europe so loud Prayes and glorious successes lastly the annuall of our Nation on this Coast, their fortunat or blessed victories ouer their enemyes, that not only sought to possess these quarters by themselves, and to forbidd all others that which Nature had left free (as if God had Created the world for them only), but alsoe to abuse this people, as if they alone were the sonns of warr they only triumph, and that all other Europeans stroocke sayle to their fortune and valor which now is brought so low in valew that it is growne into a Proverbe (*one Portugall to three Moores one Englishman to three Portugalls*), so that the best foundation of their greatnes is absolutely mined and blown vp. And our reception here stands on the same ground from which wee haue Cast them downe, which is heere an Honorable but vncertaine base of so great a Charge—for if either the Enemy once preuaile, or other misfortune happen to vs, our wellcome will turne round with yt the Profit and fittnes of this traile for England (while it may stand), not only respecting the Company now interested, but the state, whither the Common wealth in Generall loose or wynn I or often In triflinges priuat men prosper by detriment of the Republique as in all trades that mayntyne vanetye and sinne<sup>2</sup>

This woork and Method were woorthy some Paynes, and as [it?] would require a good Judgment and much tyme (both which are wantling to mee), so it would not be vnprofitable to read, nor without some pleasure to view and meditate the diuers operations and woorkes of God, the variable Constitutions and dispositions of men and all things vnder their gouernment. But, seeing nature and Conueniency haue denyed mee abilitye and leysure to sett vpon soe great a labour I haue Chosen one branch only to treat of to your (race without other Meathode then by way of bare relation which is, the estate of the Church heere, as well Christians, as of all other diffused sectes of Infidells.

But to Continew (as in a Parenthesis) the aduse I gaue your Honor In my last, of our Constitution here, and the Newes of

<sup>1</sup> Terry (p. 163) quotes this as a saying of Jahāngir

<sup>2</sup> Cp. p. 167 n

Persia Breefly, I stand on very fickle termes, though in extraordinarie Grace with the King, who is gentle, soft, and good of disposition, yet on Poyntes and disputes with an insolent and Proud sonne of his, into whose handes he hath remitted all Power, which hee is neyther woorthy nor able to manage Hee is Lord of our Port, and by his folly giues mee much trauell, so sordidly ambitious, that he would not haue mee acknowledge his father King, nor make any addresses, nor deliuer any Presentes nor Complementes of honor, but to himselfe, which I will neuer yeild too, and so I maynteyne my Creditt by Confidence on the Priuiledges of my qualetye and the Kinges goodnes Yet an Ambassadors in this Court that knowes himselfe, and will not wrong his Master, shall oftner wynn enemyes then frendes Their Pride endures no tearmes of equaletye, especially wher ther is no other honor nor title but what is measured by expence, so that to maynteyne one that shall in his Equipage and life hould proportion with his qualety, in this Court will cost much more then the Profit of the trade can spare, and hee that lues vnder it, wronges his degree, and slides into Contempt I doe my vttmost to hould vp with little Poore meanes, but my opinion is, a meaner instrument would better effect busines of trafique, that might Creepe, and sue, and suffer some affronts, which my ranck may not endure.<sup>1</sup> And I find the King of Spayne would neuer send any Ambassadors hither, out of greatnes, knoweing they are not receiued with proportionable honour, and with my small experience I could doe the Company better seruice by my returne, in aduise how to gouerne the whole

Concerning Persia, the Turke hath only yet made a Brauado, and performed little, the Passages are stoppd, and the King, drawing his Armies into his borders to defende himselfe and finding no great worke, tooke occasion to take in by force a reuolted Nation to the East of Babilon The People are Called Coords,<sup>2</sup> how by the Ancientes, or the true Geographically situation of their Cuntry, I am yet ignorant in Sir Robert Shirly, by an ill Passadge to Goa, lost the oportunitie of the fleete for Lisbon, and is stayed there another yeare, so that negotiation will not so speedily be aduanced as I feared Wee shall haue breath and tyme to woork vpon yt, according as it shalbe requisite in the judgment of your Honors in England, or at least of the Merchantes, whom it first regardeth

Her is arriued a Persian Ambassador, with little Newes, it beeing nine mounths since his departure from Spahan He brought many rich Presentes, and did such obeysance, Prostrating himselfe and knocking the ground with his head, that I beleue his Master will not approue it, except (as is supposed) hee be Comanded to vse all obsequiousnes and to flatter this monster of

<sup>1</sup> Cp p 119

<sup>2</sup> The Kurds of the present day

greatnes his arrand being to procure mony for ayd against the Turke, in which kind he findes often liberall supplyes and succors, which is not felt from this sea of treasure, although to mediate a Peace for the Kinges of Decan be the Pretence, whose protection the Persian takes to hart, jealousie of the encrease of this empire. Yet I doubt not hee wilbe satisfied with silver and suffer his Allyes to bee over runne. He is not allowed so good rancke nor Presence in Court as I which I gott by dispute and have kept it by Contention to the displeasure of some neyther did the King doe soe much honour in reception of his Masters lettre, not vouchsafing once to give any title of Maestie to the Persian as of my Soueraygne Lords, which not a little Contented mee. Other advantages he hath of language neighborhood, and acquaintance, which are defectes but no faultes, of mine. The King is now ready to March toward Decan whose Armie is Comanded by his sonne. And wee with much toyle shall hang in the skirts.

Our Fleet arming this yeate 1616, in the way mett the Admirall Carricke of Lisbon, bound for Goa, about Molalia, an Island in twelue degrees North latitude and, haling her after the Curtesy of the sea, was requited with disgracfull language and five great shot. Which occasion apprehended shee was sought with three dayes at last put ashore and fired her selfe. Shee was of burthen fiftene hundred tuns, and by Pregnant Circumstances the expected Victroy sent for Goa I enshed in her not one man was perceiued to bee saued of 600 which is one of the greatest disgraces and losses that euer happened to the Portugall in these Parts—the reward of their owne Insolency. In this fight the Cheefe Commander of the English was slayne, and the New declared maymed; little other losse. Thus your Grace hath some touch of our affaires and I will fall vpon my purpose of the Church, with your fauour and Patience.

Before the invndation of Temar the great the ninth Ancestor of this King, these Cuntries were gouerned by diuers Letty Gentile<sup>1</sup> Princes, not knoweing any religion, but worshipped after

<sup>1</sup> Hindû. Coryat (*Irrchas* vol. I, p. 600) relates a story of "a great Raja, a Gentile" and "a notorious Atheist" who died from a gangrene caused originally by one of his women plucking a hair from his breast.

whereupon he was enforced to confesse the power of that great God whom he had so long despised that hee needs no other Lance then a little haire to kill so blasphemous a wretch. This tale was repeated to Sir Thomas Smythe by the Rev Patrick Copland (*O C* No. 625), as having been related by Roe in one of his letters; and Roe himself narrated it (in a later letter) to the Archbishop, who was much edified by this "marvellous example of the power of God upon rebellious atheists" (*Dom. S P., Jac. I, cv 117*). The story may also be found in Terry's narrative (p. 414), and in a scarce pamphlet now in the British Museum, entitled *A True Relation without all exception of*



their seuerall Idolatryes all sortes of Creaturs The descendants of him brought in the knowledge of Mahomett, but imposed it vpon none by the law of Conquest, leauing consciences at liberty. So that these Naturalls, from the Circumcision (which came in with the Moores), called them Mogolls or cheefe of the Circumcised<sup>1</sup> Among the Mogolls there are many strict Mahometans, many that follow Aly, his sonne-in-law, and other new risen Prophetts, which haue their *Xeriffs*,<sup>2</sup> *Mulas*<sup>3</sup> and Preistes, their Mosques, religious votaries, washings, Prayings, and Ceremonies infinite, and for Penetenciaries, no herecye in the world can show so strange examples, nor bragg of such voluntarie Pouertyes, Punishmentes, sufferinges and Chastismentes as these, all which are esteemed holy men, but of a mingled religion, not vpright with their great Prophet The Gentilles are of more sortes, some valiant, good souldiers, drinking wine, eating hogges-flesh, but worshipping the figure of a beast, some that will not touch that flesh which is not holy by imputation, others that will not cate any thing wherein euer there was any blood, nor kill the vermin that assaulteth them, nor drinke in the Cup with those that doe, superstitious in washing, and most earnest in their profession, but all of them ascribe a kind of Diuinitie to the Riuier Ganges, at which at one season of the yeare 4 or 500,000 meete, and Cast in gould and siluer for oblation In like manner to a Piggs head<sup>4</sup> in a Church near this Citty, and to all liuing Cowes, and to some other beastes and kindes These haue their synagoages and holy Men, Prophetts, Witches, sooth-sayers, and all others the Diuelles impostures The *Moloes* of Mahomett know somewhat in Philosophy and Mathematiques, are great Astrologers, and can talke of Areistotle, Euclide, Auerroes<sup>5</sup> and other authors The learned toong is Arab

In this Confusion they Continued vntil the tyme of Echarsha, father of this king, without any Noice of Christian profession; who, beeing a Prince by Nature just and good, inquisitiue after

*strange and Admirable Accidents which lately happened in the Kingdome of the great Magor or Magull* (London, 1622, 13 pp) This was evidently written by some person who went out in Bonner's fleet of 1618, and subsequently proceeded to Japan There are a few references to Roe and his embassy, but none of importance The writer merely repeats the gossip of Surat about India and its inhabitants. He specially commiserates the latter for their uxoriousness "What misery doe these Indians endure," is his sly comment, "to haue so many women about them, whenas there be many Englishmen are grieuously vexed to haue the company but of one, but perhaps the Indian women are of a farre milder temper then the English"

<sup>1</sup> There is, of course, no truth in this fanciful piece of etymology

<sup>2</sup> See p. 20

<sup>3</sup> *Mulla*, a teacher, a doctor in the law

<sup>4</sup> An image of Hanuman, the monkey-god

<sup>5</sup> Averrhoes, the twelfth century Cordovan scholar.

Novelties, Curious of New opinions, and that excelled in many virtues, especially in Piety and reuerence toward his Parentes, called in three Iesuites from Goa whose cheefe was Ieronimo Xauer a Nauarrois.<sup>1</sup> After their arriual hee heard them reason and dispute with much Content on his and hope on their partes, and caused Xauer to write a booke in defence of his owne profession against both moores and Gentilles which finished hee read over nightly causing some part to be discussed, and finally granted them his lettre I attentes to build, to preach, teach, conuert, and to vse all their rites and Ceremonies, as freely and amply as in Roome, bestoweing on them meanes to erect their Churches and places of deuotion. So that in some fewe cittyes they haue gotten rather *Templum* then *Ecclesiam*. In this Grant he gaue grant to all sortes of men to become Chnstians that would, eauen to his Court or owne blood, professing it should bee noe cause of disfauour from him. Here was a faire beginnunge, a forward spring of a leane and barren harvest.<sup>2</sup>

Ecbar-shae himselfe continued a Mahometan, yet hee began to make a breach into the law. Considering that Mahomett was but a man, a King as he was, and therefore reuerenced, he thought hee might proue as good a Irophett himselfe. This defection of the King spread not farre a Certayn outward reuerence deteyned him, and so hee dyed in the formall profession of his Sect.

Ghechangier-sha, his sonne, the present King, beeing the issue of this New fancy and neuer circumcised,<sup>3</sup> bread vp without any

<sup>1</sup> Jerome Xavier grandson of a sister of St. Francis Xavier went out to India in 1581 and at the end of 1594 was despatched from Goa to the Mogul Court. He was the founder of the Roman Catholic mission at Agra, and author of the *Asir'dul Aada*, or "Holy Mirror" an account in Persian of the leading facts of Christian teaching. His influence with Jahangir, which was considerable was of course exerted against the English; and Nicholas Witherington, writing to Sir Thomas Smythe on November 9th, 1613, said bitterly that the Mogul would do nothing against the Portuguese "so long as that witch Xavier liveth (for so the Moors themselves term him), which is an old Iesuit residing with the king whom he much affects" (Brit. Mus., *Egerton MS.* 2086). At a later date he was named Archbishop of Angamale Cranganore, but he died at Goa, January 17th 1617 before being consecrated (Father Goldie's *First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul* p. 117).

Roe's account of the early Catholic missions is a very confused one, and entirely ignores the work of Aquaviva and his immediate successors. A good summary of the facts will be found in Von Noer's *Xaiser Akbar* and in the excellent work by Father Goldie already mentioned.

<sup>2</sup> Compare Terry's account (pp. 440 *et seq.*) of the religions of India, and of the Jesuits' progress in "that most acceptable, but hard, labour of washing Moors."

<sup>3</sup> Coryat, who makes the same statement was probably Roe's authority for this. Salbank repeats it in a letter to the Company (O. C. No. 568), but he, no doubt had it from the same source.

religion at all, continewes so to this hower, and is an Athiest<sup>1</sup> Sometime he will make profession of a Moore but alway obserue the hollidayes,<sup>2</sup> and doe all Ceremonies with the Gentilles too Hee is Content with all religions, only hee loues none that Changeth But, falling vpon his father's conceit, hath dared to enter farther in, and to professe himselfe for the Mayne of his religion to be a greater Prophett then Mahomett, and hath formed to himselfe a New law, mingled of all,<sup>3</sup> which many haue accepted with such superstition that they will not eate till they haue saluted him in the morning, for which Purpose hee Comes at the Sunnes rising to a wyndow open to a great Playne before his house, where Multitudes attend him, and when the Moores about him speak of Mahomett, hee will sooth them, but is glad when anyone will breake out against him Of Christ he neuer vtters any woord vnreuerently, nor any of all these sectes, which is a woonderfull secrett woorking of Godes truth, and woorthy obseruation Concerning the New Planted Christian Church he Confirmed and enlarded all their Priuiledges, euery night for one yeare spending two howers in hearing disputation, often Casting out doubtfull woordes of his conversion, but to wicked Purpose. And, the rather to giue some hope, he deliuered many Youthes into the hands of Francisco Corsy,<sup>4</sup> Now resident heere, to teach them to reade and write

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<sup>1</sup> "Vnderstand it in generall sense, for one not settled in any Religion, of all, and therefore of none" (*Note by Purchas*)

<sup>2</sup> Coryat notices the "memorable Pietie" of Jahángír, when "at Asmere hee went afoot to the Tombe of the Prophet Hod Mundín there buried, and kindling a fire with his owne hands and his Normahal vnder that immense and Heidelbergian-æquipollent Brasse-pot, and made *Kitcherie* for fíue thousand poore, taking out the first Platter with his owne hands and seruing one, Normahal the second and so his Ladies all the rest" (*Purchas*, vol 1, p 601) The reference is to the ceremony still observed during the *Urs Mēla* festival, at the shrine of the celebrated prophet Mueyyin-ud-dín Chisti, when, at the expense of some rich devotee, a gigantic mixture of rice, spices, etc., is cooked in a large chaldron, and distributed to the pilgrims (*Rájputána Gazetteer*, vol 11, p 61)

<sup>3</sup> This is quite incorrect It was Akbar who had founded the new "Divine Faith,"

Gathering here and there  
From each fair plant the blossom choicest-grown  
To wreath a crown not only for the king  
But in due time for every Mussulmán,  
Brahmán, and Buddhist, Christian, and Parsec,  
Thro' all the warring world of Hindustan

Jahángír, though he continued his father's policy of toleration towards all creeds, appears to have done so more from indifference than from principle

<sup>4</sup> The "Jesuit" of several preceding entries The Reverend Father Goldie, S J, has most kindly procured for me an extract from the

Portuguese, and to instruct them in humane learning and in the law of Christ. And to that end he kept a Schoole some yeares, to which the King sent two Princes, his brothers sonnes who, being brought vp in the knowledg of God and his sonne our Blessed Saviour, were solemnly Baptised in the Church of Agra with great Pomp, being Carried first vp and downe all the City on Elephants in triumph and this by the Kings express order who often would examen them in their progression, and seemed much contented in them. This made many bend toward the same way, doubting his Maesties entention others, that knew him better supposed he suffered this in pollicye<sup>1</sup> to reduce these Children into hate among the Moores for their

archives of the Society in which it is stated that Corsi was a Florentine born in 1575; that he entered the Order in the year 1593, and six years later was sent from Portugal to India, where he lived ordinarily in the household of the Great Mogul that he bore a high character and had a talent for mission work and that he died at his post on August 1st 1635. References to him occur also in Father Cordara's history of the Order (P.L. vi tom. 4, p. 59) and in the similar work by Father Jouvancy (P.L. v tom. 14, lib. xviii, p. 468). His tomb is still to be seen in the chapel of the Roman Catholic cemetery at Agra.

The relations between Roe and Corsi were very amicable and Terry's account of him, though tinged with professional jealousy is favourable on the whole. It runs as follows (p. 444) —

"Francisco Corsi a Florentine by birth, aged about fifty years, who (if he were indeed what he seemed to be) was a man of a severe life, yet of a fair and an affable disposition. he lived at that Court as an Agent for the Portuguese and had not only free access unto that King but also encouragement and help, by gifts, which he sometimes bestowed on him.

"When this Jesuit came first to be acquainted with my Lord Ambassadour he told him that they were both by profession Christians, though there was a vast difference betwixt them in their profession, it and as he should not go about to reconcile the Ambassadour to them, so he told him it would be labour in vain if he should attempt to reconcile him to us. Onely he desired that there might be a fair correspondency betwixt them but no disputes. And further his desire was, that those vile differences 'twixt the church of Rome and us might not be made there to appear that Christ might not seem by those differences to be divided amongst men professing Christianity which might be a very main obstacle and hinderance unto his great design and endeavour for which he was sent thither to convert people to Christianity there. Telling my Lord Ambassadour further that he should be ready to do him all good offices of love and service there and so he was.

"After his first acquaintance he visited us often usually once a week. And as those of that society in other parts of the world, are very great intelligencers, so was he there knowing all news which was stirring and might be bad, which he communicated unto us.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 198.

Conversion, of whom Consisted the strength of his estate, but all men sayling of his Purpose, which was thus discovered When these and some other Children were settled, as was thought, in Christian religion, and had learnd some Principles therof, as, to marry but one wife, not to be coupled with infidles, the King settles the boyes to demand some Portugalles wives of the Jesuittes, who, thincking it only an idle motion of their owne braynes, Chyd them, and suspected no more But that being the end of their Conuersion, to gett a woeman for the King, and no care taken, the two Princes came to the Jesuites, and surrendred vp their Crosses and all other rites, professing they would be noe longer Christians, because the King of Portugall sent them no Presentes nor wiues, according as they expected The Padre, seeing this, began to doubt ther was more in that then the boyes reuealed, especially seeing their Confidence, that had cast off the awe of Pupilles, and, examining the matter, had it confessed the King commanded them They refused to accept the Crosses, answering they had been giuen by his Maesties order, and they would not take Notice from boyes of any such surrender, but bad them desier the King to send some of those who by a kynd of order are to deliuer all his Maesties Commands, whose mouthes are by Priuiledges sufficient authoritie, and then they would accept them, hoping, and knoweing the King's Nature, that hee would not discouer himselfe to any of his officers in this poore Plott The boyes returned with this Message, which enraged the King But, being desierous to disolue the Schoole, and to withdrawe the youthes without Noyse, hee bad them call the Jesuittes to the woemens doore, wher by a lady he receiued the order, and without euer taking any notice since of any thing, his kinsmen recalld, who are now absolute Moores, without any tast of tneir first fayth, and so the fruct of all these hopes are vanished<sup>1</sup> And I cannot fynd by good search that ther is one Christian really and orderly conuerted, Nor makes the profession, except some few that haue been Babtised for mony, and are niaunteyned by the Jesuittes, of which sort ther would bee more, but that they find the deceit, and cannot endure the burthen This is the truth of all their bragg and labor, and the full groweth of their Church here

But, that your Grace may a little more vnderstand the fashion of this King and the Jesuites proceedings, I will make you one or two merry and late relations, and either say hee is the most impossible man in the world to be conuerted, or the most easy, for he loues to heare, and hath so little religion yet, that he can well abyde to haue any decided Not many

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<sup>1</sup> Cp the accounts given by Terry (p 447) and Hawkins (p 438)

dayes since, the Jesuites house and Church beeing burned, the Crucifix remayned safe, which vnderhand was giuen out for a miracle and much talked off. I that could be content any use might be made of an accident to enlardg the name of Christ, held my Peace. But the Jesuite, suspecting I would not agree to the Miracle, disavowed it to mee, and made it a matter of reason, why it was not burned. Insinuating that the Moores had Caught vp this opinion of Miracle without his Consent or suggestion, though he confessed hee was glad of the occasion. But the King, who neuer lett slip any opportunity of Newe talke or Novelty Calls the Jesuite, and questioneth him of it. He answers ambiguously wherypon his Maestie demanded if he did not desire to convert him, and, receiuing full answer, replied You speake of your great Miracles, and of many done by you in the Name of your Irophett if you will cast the Crucifix and Picture of Christ into a fyre before mee, if it burne not, I wil become a Christian. The Jesuite refused the tryall as vniust, answering that God was not tyed to the Call of men that it was a sinne to tempt him that hee wrought Miracles according to his owne Councell, but offered to enter the fier himselve for prooffe of his faith, which the King refused. Heere arose a great dispute, begunne by the Prince, a most stiff Mahometan and hater of ull Christians, that it was reasonable to try our religion by this offer but withall, if the Crucifix did burne, then that the Jesuit should be obliged to render Moore.<sup>1</sup> Hee vrged examples of Miracles professed to bee done for lesse Purposes then the Conuersion of soe mightie a King and in case of refusall of that triall, spake scornefully of Christ Jesus. The King vnderooke the Argument, and defended our Sauour to be a Prophett, by comparisson of his woorkes with those of their absurd Saintes, instancing the raising of the dead, which neuer any of theirs did. The Prince replied to giue sight to one Naturally borne blind was as great a Miracle. This question beeing pressed hotly on both sides, a theird man, to end the Contrauersie, enterposed that both the father and the sonne had reason for their opinions for that to rayse a dead body to life must needes bee confesd to be the greatest miracle euer done, but that to giue sight to an eye

<sup>1</sup> Terry in telling this story (p. 448), says that the crucifix was on a pole near the Jesuit's house; and that the Prince's proposal was that, if it did not resist combustion, the Jesuit should be burnt with it. He also says that he himself was at court when the incident happened—another proof that the reverend gentleman's memory is not to be trusted implicitly.

Cora's offer to undergo the ordeal of fire recalls the challenge of Aquaviva to the Muhammadan doctors at the court of Akbar and the somewhat similar story related of Father D Acosta by Bernier and Catrou.

Naturally blynd was the same woorke , for that a blind eye was dead, sight beeing the life therof , therefore he that gaue sight to a blind eye did as it were rayse it vp from death Thus this discourse ended, and soe in wisdom should I , but that I cannot leaue out an apish miracle which was acted before this King which the Jesuites will not acknowledg nor owne as their Practise , onely of the truth *de facto* ther is no doubt A Juggler of Bengala (of which Craft there are many and rare) brought to the King a great Ape, that could, as hee professd, diuine and prophesy (and to this beast by some sectes is much diuinitie ascribed) The King tooke from his finger a ring, and caused it to bee hid vnder the Girdle of one among a dozen other boyes, and bad the Ape diuine , who went to the right Child, and tooke it out. But his Maestie (somewhat more Curious) caused in twelue seuerall papers in Persian lettres to bee written the Names of twelue Lawgiuers, as Moses, Christ, Mahomett, Aly, and others, and, shuffling them in a bagg, bad the beast diuine which was the true law , who, putting in his foote, tooke out that inscribed of Christ. This amazed the King, who, suspecting that the Apes master could reade Persian, and might assist him, wrote them anew in court Characters,<sup>1</sup> and presented them the second time The Ape was Constant, found the right, and kissed it Whereat a principal officer<sup>2</sup> grew angry, telling the King it was some imposture, desiering hee might haue leaue to make the lottes anew, and offered himselfe to Punnishment if the Ape could beguile him Hee wrote the names, putting only aleuen into the bagg, and kept the other in his hand The beast searchd, but refusd all The King commanded to bring one , the beast tore them in fury, and made signes the true law-giuers name was not among them The King demanded wher it was , and hee rann to the Noble-man and caught him by the hand in which was the Paper inscribed with the Name of Christ Jesus The King was troubled, and keepes the Ape Yet this was acted in Publique before thousandes , but wher the abuse was, or whether ther were any, I iudge not Only one of the Jesuites scollers ran to him with open Mouth, professing the King had an ape a good Christian Of this accident the Jesuittes make great account , to me they slight it, except the truth of the fact, which is not vnlike one of their owne games<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, an official cypher "Court characters are such as he only and his nearer Ministers vsed in Mysteries of State, vnknowne to all others" (*Note by Purchas*)

<sup>2</sup> Mahábat Khán, according to Terry , but it is scarcely likely that he was at court, or Roe would have mentioned him

<sup>3</sup> Terry (p. 403) relates this incident at length, and says that although he was not present "it hath been often confirmed there in its report unto me by diuers persons, who knew not one another, and

Your Grace will Pardon mee all this folly to interrupt you with so much and soe vsclesse tattle. I should be glad to remooue wher I might learne and Practise better matter. But I cannot repent my Journey. It hath made me know my God and my selfe better than euer I should haue learned eyther among the Pleasure of England. He hath woonderfully showed mee his mercy and taught mee his Judgements. his goodnes be glorified and magnified for euer.<sup>1</sup> I humbly desire your Grace to present my Name (I dare not say my seruice) before his Maiestie my lord and Master. It is enough for mee if I bee not forgotten. I shall neuer meritt nor aspire the employmentes of his fauour, but I will pay my vowes, and pray for his Maiestie that hee may liue a happy and glorious long life to the Comfort of his Church, and enioy the Crowne of Crownes, Prepared by the King of Kinges for those that loue him. Wherin I haue sayled toward your Honor or by myne owne weakenes, your Grace will measure by this ruk. *exigit et postulat amicitia non quod cuique debetur sed quod quisque efficere potest*<sup>2</sup> and you will pardon the assumming, so high a woord as frendshipp, with this interpretation. *Seruus est humilis amicus*<sup>3</sup> which as I am bound to professe, I will be ready to demonstrate by Obedience to your Commandes.

THOMAS ROE.

*November 1* —Sultan Coronne tooke his leaue and went to his tentes. The king at Noone sate out at the *Durbar* where the Prince brought his Eliphantes about 600 richly trapped and furnished and his followers by estimation

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were differing in Religion; yet all agreed in the story and in all the circumstances thereof. The author of *A True Relation* (see p. 311π.) also tells the tale, and says that it was avowed to be true by Master Edward Terry who heard it credibly reported, and *had often seen the ape*. This latter statement Terry takes occasion to correct (p. 405).

<sup>1</sup> The extent to which Roe's frequent illnesses had deepened his religious convictions is shown in the undated private letter (Brit. Mus. Harl. MS. 1576, f. 514), to which reference has already been made. "O my deare freind, he writes, "that god which some thinke is confined to Europe and onely in the Temples made with handes hath mett with mee in the wilderness. I haue tasted his displeasure. Heo began with mee in England, but he knew it was not a place where I could bee cleansed. I must goe wash in Jordan."

<sup>2</sup> This quotation (from an unknown source) may be freely rendered "Friendship demands not what is actually due, but what one is able to effect."

<sup>3</sup> "A slave is a humble friend. The sentiment is Seneca's "*Serui sunt humiles amici* (*Epist.* 47 s. 1)



10,000 horse, many in Cloth of Gould with hearne top feathers<sup>1</sup> in their Turbantes, all in Galanterie, Himselfe in a Coate of Cloth of siluer, embrodered with great Pearle and shining in Diamondes like a firmament. The king embraced him, kisse him, and showed much affection. At his departure hee gaue him a swoord, the scaberd all of gould sett with stones, valewed at 100,000 *rupees*, a dagger at 40,000, an Eliphant, and two horses, all the furniture of gould sett with stones, and for a Close one of the New Caroches made in Imitation of that sent by his Maiestie my Master,<sup>2</sup> and Commanded the English Coachman to driue him to his tentes, into which hee ascended, and sate in the middle, the sides open, his Cheefest Nobles afoote walking by him to his Tentess about 4 Mile. All the way hee threw quarters of *Rupias*, beeing followed with a Multitude of People. Hee reached his hand to the Coachman and Putt into his hatt about 100 *rupias*.

I could not get any despatch, neyther heard any Newes from Suratt, so that Zulphecarcon is departed in our debt for want of an account, which I had often written for. I doubted our *Patamars* miscarriage, for it is now 36 dayes since I heard a woord.

*November 2* — The king remooued to his tents with his weomen and all the Court about 3 mile. I went to attend him. Comming to the Pallace, I found him at the *Jarruco* wyndow<sup>3</sup> and went vp on the scaffold vnder him, which Place, not hauing seene before, I was glad of the occasion. On two tresselles stood two Eunuches with long Poles headed with feathers fanning him. He gaue many fauours and receiued many Presentes. What hee bestowed hee

<sup>1</sup> Aigrettes

<sup>2</sup> In Jahángír's *Memoirs* he mentions his gift to the Prince of "a carriage of the Feringí English fashion that he might sit and ride in it" (Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 347)

<sup>3</sup> See p. 106

lett downe by a silke stringe rouled on a turning instrument, what was giuen him a venerable fatt deformed ould Matron wrinckled and hung with gimbelles<sup>1</sup> like an Image, Pulld vp at a hole with such a Nother Clue. At one syde In a wyndow were his two Principall wives, whose Curiositye made them breake litle holes in a grate of reede that hung before yt to gaze on mee. I saw first their fingers, and after laying their faces close nowe one eye, Now another, sometyme I could discern the full proportion. They were Indifferently white, black hayre smoothed vp but If I had had no other lght, ther diamondes and Pearles had sufficed to show them. When I lookd yp they retyred, and were so merry that I supposed they laughd at mee. Suddenly the king rose, and wee retyred to the *Durbar* and satt on the Carpettes attending his Comming out. Not long after hee Came and sate about halfe an hower vntill his ladyes at their doore were ascended their elephantes, which were about 50, all most richly furnished Principally 3 with Turretts<sup>2</sup> of gould, grates of gould wire euery way to looke out, and Canopyes ouer of Cloth of siluer. Then the king descended the stayres with such an acclamation of health to the king<sup>3</sup> as [w]ould haue out-cryed Cannons. At the stayres foote, wher I mett him and shuffled to be Next, one brought a mlgthy carp, another a dish of white stuff like starch into which hee putt his finger, and touched the fish and so rubd it on his forehead, a Ceremony vzed presaging good fortune. Then another came and buckled on his swoord and buckler sett all ouer with great Diamondes and rubyes, the belts of gould suteable. Another hung on his quier with 30 arrowes and bis bow in a Case, the same

<sup>1</sup> Gimballs, or gunballs, were rings intertwined or linked together Cp. Holinshed in *Description of Ireland*, vi, c. 2 "truly this argument hangeth together by verie strange gimballs."

<sup>2</sup> Howdahs.

<sup>3</sup> *Padshah saidmat.*

that was presented by the Persian Ambassador On his head he wore a rich Turbant with a Plume of herne tops, not many but long, on one syde hung a ruby vnsett, as bigg as a Walnutt, on the other syde a diamond as great, in the middle an emralld like a hart, much bigger His shash<sup>1</sup> was wreathed about with a Chayne of great Pearle, rubyes, and diamondes drild About his Neck hee carried a Chaine of most excellent Pearle, three double, so great I neuer saw, at his Elbowes, Armletts sett with diamondes, and on his wristes three rowes of seuerall sorts His handes bare, but almost on euery finger a ring, his gloues, which were english, stuck vnder his Girdle, his Coate of Cloth of gould without sleeues vpon a fine *Semian*<sup>2</sup> as thin as Lawne, on his feete a payre of embroidered buskinges with Pearle, the toes sharp and turning vp Thus armed and accomodated, hee went to the Coach, which attended him with his New English seruant, who was Clothd as rich as any Player and more gaudy, and had trayned four horses, which were trapped and harnassed in gould veluetts This was the first hee euer sate in, and was made by that sent from England,<sup>3</sup> so like that

<sup>1</sup> See p 257

<sup>2</sup> There appears to be some mistake here, as "semians" (see pp 143, 265) were coarse calicoes, used chiefly for awnings (hence, probably, the name, from Pers *shamyāna*, a canopy) Perhaps Roe meant the stuff called *sinabaff*, "a fine slight stuff or cloth wherof the Moors make their *Cabayes*, or clothing" (*Letters Received*, vol 1, p 29)

<sup>3</sup> "On the 21st Abān I mounted the Frank carriage, which had four horses attached to it, and left the city of Ajmīr" (*Tuzak*, Mr Rogers' translation)

Of the coach presented by Roe, see p 118 Terry (p 385) gives the following particulars of its transformation "Amongst many other things, when my Lord Ambassadors first went thither, the Company sent the Mogol an English Coach, and Harness for four Horses, and an able Coachman to sute and mannage some of his excellent Horses, that they might be made fit for that service. The Coach they sent was lined within with Crimson China velvet, which when the Mogol took notice of, he told the Ambassadors that he wondred that the King of England would trouble himself so much, as to send unto China for Velvet to Line a Coach for him, in regard that he had been informed that the English King had much



THE EMPEROR'S STANDARD  
(from Terry's "Voyage")



I knew it not but by the Couer, which was a Gould Persian veluett. Hee gott into the end on each side went two Eunuches that carried small maces of Gould sett all ouer with rubies with a long bunch of white horse taylor to drue away flies before him went drummes, iij trumpettes and loud musique, and many Canopies quittasolls<sup>1</sup> and other strange ensignes of Maiestie of Cloth of Gould sett in many Places with great rubyes, Nine spare horses, the furniture some garnished with rubyes some with Pearle and emraldes some only with studdes enameld The Persian Ambassador presented him a horse. Next behynd came three *Palenkees*, the Carriages and seete of on Plated with Gould sett at the endes with stones and Couered with Crimson veluett embrodered with Pearle, and a frengg of great Pearle hanging in ropes a foote

better Velvet near home, for such or any other uses. And immediately after the Mogol caused that Coach to be taken all to pieces, and to have another made by it, for they are a people that will make any new thing by a pattern; and when his new coach was made according to the pattern, his workmen first putting the English Coach together did so with that they had new made then pulling out all the China Velvet which was in the English Coach, there was in the room thereof put a very rich Stuffe, the ground silver wrought all over in spaces with variety of flowers of silk, excellently well suited for their colours, and cut short like a Plush; and instead of the brasse Nails that were first in it, there were Nalls of silver put in their places. And the Coach which his own workmen made was lined and seated likewise with a richer stuff than the former the ground of it Gold, mingled like the other with silk flowers, and the Nalls silver and double gilt; and after having Horses and Harnesse fitted for both his Coaches, He rode sometimes in them, and contracted with the English Coachman to serve him, whom he made very fine, by rich vests he gave him, allowing him a very great Pension; besides, he never carried him in any of those Coaches, but he gave him the reward of ten pounds at the least, which had raised the Coachman unto a very great Estate, had not death prevented it, and that immediately after he was settled in that great service."

From a letter of Herridge's, in the British Museum, it appears that the cost of the coach in England was 151/ 11s. The coachman's name was William Hemsell, and he had been previously in the service of "Dr Farran and my Lord Bishop of Couentry and Lychfeld (*Court Minutes* January 3rd, 1615). The "very great pension allowed by the Mogol was a rupee and a half per diem (I O Records O C., No. 423) 1

<sup>1</sup> Umbrellas or sunshades (Port. *quittasols*).

deepe, a border about sett with rubyes and emeralldes. A footman carried a foote stoole of gould sett with stones. The other two were couered and lyned only with Cloth of gould. Next followed the English Coach newly couered and trimed rich, which hee had giuen the queene Normahall, who rode in yt. After them a third of this Cuntry fashion, which me thought was out of Countenance, in that sate his younger sonns. After followed about 20 Eliphantes royall spare for his owne ascending, so rich that in stones and furniture that they braued the sunne. Euery Eliphant had diuers flages of Cloth of siluer, guilt satten, and taffata. His Noblemen hee suffered to walke a foote, which I did to the gate and left him. His wiues on their Eliphantes were carried like Parrakitoe halfe a Mile behynd him. When hee came before the doore wher [h]is eldest sonne<sup>1</sup> is prisoner, he stayed the Coach and called for him. He came and made reuerence, with a sword and buckler in his hand, his beard grown to his middle, a signe of disfauour. The king Cominanded him to ascend one of the spare Eliphantes and so rode next to him, to the extream applause and ioy of all men, who now are filld with new hopes. The king gaue him a thousand *rupias* to Cast to the P'ople. His Iaylor, Asaph Chan, and all the Monsters yet a foote. I tooke horse to avoyd Presse and other inconuenience, and crossed out of the *leskar*<sup>2</sup> before him, and attended vntill hee came near his Tentes. Hee passed all the way betweene a guard of Eliphantes, hauing euery one a turred on his back, on the fower corners fower banners of yellow taffety, right before, a sling mounted that carried a bullett as bigg as a great Tennis ball, the gunner behind yt, in Number about 300. Other Eliphantes of honor that went before and after, about 600, all which were couered with veluett

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<sup>1</sup> Khusrú

<sup>2</sup> Camp (Pers *lashkar*)

or cloth of gould and had 2 or 3 gullded banners carried. In the way rann diuers footemen with skinnes of water that made a continuall shower before him, no horse nor man suffered to approach the Coach by two furlonges, except those that walked a foote by, soe that I hasted to his tentes to attend his alighting. They were walled in about halfe an english mile in Compasse, in forme of a fort with diuers Coynes and bulwarckes, with high *Cannattes* of a Course stuff made like arras red on the outsyde, within which figures in Panes with a handsome gate house euery Post that beare vp these was hedded with a topp of brasse.<sup>1</sup> The throng was great. I desired to goe in but no man was suffered, the greatest in the land satt at the doore but I made an offer and they admited mee, but refused the Persian Ambassador and all the Noblemen. Here first the Persian Ambassador saluted me, with a silent Complement only. In the mlddst of this Court was a throwne of mother of Pearle borne on two pilla[r]s rayed

<sup>1</sup> "The tents pitch'd in that *Lestur*, or Camp Royal, are for the most part white, like the cloathing of those which own them. But the Mogols Tents are red, reared up upon Poles, higher by much than the other. They are placed in the midst of the camp, where they take up a very large compasse of ground, and may be seen every way; and they must needs be very great, to afford room in them for him self, his wives, children, women, Eunuchs, &c.

"In the forefront, or outward part, or Court within his Tent, there is a very large room for access to him, twixt seven and nine of the clock at night which is called his *Georulan*.

"His tents are encompassed round with *Canals* which are like our Screens, to fold up together; those *Canals* are about ten feet high made of narrow strong Callico, and lined with the same, stiffened at every breadth with a Cane; but they are strongest lined on their outside by a very great company of armed Souldiers, that keep close about them night and day. The Tents of his great men are likewise large, placed round about his. All of them, throughout the whole *Lestur* reared up in such a due and constant order that when we remove from place to place, we can go as directly to those moveable dwellings, as if we continued still in fixed and standing habitations; taking our direction from several streets and *Bazars* or market places, every one pitched upon every remove alike upon such or such a side of the King's Tents, as if they had not been at all removed. — Terry p. 421



on earth, couered ouer with an high tent, the Pole headed with a knob of gould, vnder it Canopyes of Cloth of gould, vnder footc Carpettes When the king came neare the doore, some Noble men came in and the Persian Ambassador Wee stóod one of the one syde, the other of the other, making a little lane The king entering cast his eye on mee, and I made a reuerence, hee layd his hand on his brest and bowed, and turning to the other syde nodded to the Persian I followed at his heeles till hee ascended, and euery man cryed "Good Ioy and fortune," and so tooke our Places. Hee called for water, washed his handes and departed His weomen entered some other Port to their quarter, and his sonne I saw not Within this whole rayle was about 30 diuisions with tents All the Noble men retired to theirs, which were in excellent formes, some all white, some greene, some mingled, all encompassd as orderly as any house, one of the greatest raretyes and magnificencyes I euer saw The vale showed like a bewtifull Citty, for that the ragges nor baggage were not mingled<sup>1</sup> I was vnfitted with Carriadge, and ashamed of my Provision, but fíue years allowance would not haue furnished mee with one indifferent sute sortable to others And, which addes to the greatnes, euery man bath a double, for that one goes before to the next remooue and is sett a day before the king riseth from these<sup>2</sup> So I returned to my Poore house

I demanded of Asaph Chan what remedy I should fynd against Zulphecarcon and showed his bill, desíering him to send to him or make Complaynt to the king He putt mee off to mooue the Prince that the king would not meddle with his seruantes I yet, to my extreme trouble and woonder, heard noe Newes from Suratt nor Agra,

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<sup>1</sup> Cp Bernier's description of the camp of Aurangzib (Constable's edn, p 360)

<sup>2</sup> See p 275

resolved to follow the Prince on the morrow, and to Complayne of our debtes.

*November 4*—I sent Master Bidolph and Iaddow to the Princes Camp to prooue whither by sayre meanes Zulphe carcon would pay the debt for I knew how distastefull a complaynt against him would bee, and what I had suffered for this Contention They first went to Afzuld chan<sup>1</sup> the secretary, and acquaynted him with my resolution to deliuer his bill to the Prince. He answered hee doubted not but hee would giue satisfaction without that course, and wisd them to goe speake with him which they did and hee resolutly answered he would pay no more. When they urged his bill hee slighted it, and bad demand it of the Prince, for whatsoeuer hee tooke from vs was for him and that hee should pay it if he would for that himselfe would not. Now the Prince was loose from the king you may Iudge that which I foresaw that the delayes and pretences for want of Certificatt from Suratt which I had sent for 6 monthes serued only a turne to gett at liberty and to cosen vs. I resolved in my tyme for no respect of danger or displeasure to leaue such an example, but to hazard all to recouer so little mony If It had been myne owne I would haue giuen it rather then vndergone a New Conflict but I purposed a sayre way without Iust exception and that if I so suffered it was a kind of Martirdome first to show his hand and seale to the Prince, and if I found no Iustice to deliuer it to the king with the full Passage of all proceeding in yt.

*November 5*—I rode to the Princes tents, about 5 mile, when he sate out. I usd some prefaces of respect, and desiered to take my leaue of his Highnes to whom I wished a prosperous Iourny victorie over his enemyes, a glorious Tryumph woorthy his greatnes, and a safe returne. I

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<sup>1</sup> See p. 160 n

entreated him to beleue I was his humble seruant in all respectes, reseruing my duty to my souerayne, and that hee would bee pleased to retayne our Nation in his fauour and protection. Then I presented to him Zulpheckcarcons billes for 17,000 *mamoodies*, of which hee had payd 9,000 and the remayner hee refused after many delayes that I had had long Pacience for respect of his highnes, but now the Necessitye of his departure and my attendance on the king enforced mee to appeale to his Iustice, wherin I doubted not to fynd releefe. Hee read it ouer, and seemed to beleue it had bene Payd, demanding if Afsul chan knew the account. I answered . yes: that he was an instrument of the Conclusion, and it was witnessed by Mochrebchan, Hoja Nassan, and diuers, that knew wee lost for this end aboue 2,000 *mamoodies*, and that his owne hand and seale and his *scrivanoes* bills would testefye against him. Hee desired me stay till the secretary came and I should receiue order. He rose before Afzul chan appeared and retyred, but sent Biram chan, the Commander of all his horse, to stay me a little. Within halfe an hower came answere that I should returne to my house, and two dayes after repayre to him. hee would examine the busines and Pay mee himselfe. that then I should take my leaue of him. He sate in the same Magnificence, order, and greatnes that I mentioned of the king,<sup>1</sup> His Throwne beeing Plated ouer with siluer, inlayd with flowers of gould, and the Canopy ouer it square, borne on fower Pillars couered with siluer, his Armes, sword, buckler, bowes, arrowes, and lance, on a table before him. The watch was sett, for it was euening. When hee came abroade, I obserued him now hee was absolute, and Curiously his fashion and actions. Hee receiued two

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<sup>1</sup> Amongst other distinctions given to Khurram at this time was the title of Sháh, which no prince since Timúr had borne in the lifetime of his father

lettres, read them standing before hee ascended his Throne. I neuer saw so settled a Countenance, nor any man keepe so Constant a grauety, neuer smiling nor in face showing any respect or difference of men, but mingled with extreame Pride and Contempt of all. Yet I found some inward trouble now and then assayle him and a kinde of brokennes and distraction in his thoughtes, vnprouidedly and amasedly answering sutors, or not hearing. If I can ludg any thing hee hath left his hart among his fathers women with whom hee hath liberty of conuersation. Nor mahall in the English Coach the day before visited him and tooke leaue. She gaue him a Cloake all embrodered with Pearle, diamondes and rubyes and carried away. If I err not, his attention to all other busines.<sup>1</sup>

*November 6.*—I receiued lettres from Master Browne at Amadavaz, aduising mee of hauing gotten the Gouvernor of Cambayas bill for the restitution of 1100 *Mamoodies* extorted last yeare<sup>2</sup> by virtue of a *firmian* by me procured. So that I haue recouered all bribes and extortions taken before my tyme with little losse. I suppose it wilbe a good example. He certesfyed mee of a fray begun by the Portugalles, 5 of them setting on an English boy in Cambaya and disarming him vpon rumour wherof iohn Browne and James Bickford<sup>3</sup> went to his rescue and were assayled by seauen of them. One shooting a Pistoll hurt John Browne in the hand but his hart lay not thear. They defended themselues honestly brauely, like Englishmen kylid one hurt some others and Chased them vp and downe the Towne like beastes, to the great shame of such villaynes and reputation of our Nation. To reuenge this, the Portugalls beeing arriued in their frigotts, diuers Came

<sup>1</sup> There seems to have been no ground for the suspicion hinted here.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 116.

<sup>3</sup> Elected a factor in November, 1614. He was employed principally at Surat and Ahmadâbâd until his return to England in 1623.

ashore, no more english in Towne but the 3 Mentioned The Gouvernor vnderstood the occasion, and sent the *Cuttwall* with a guard to our house and shutt the water Ports, expelling the Portugall and Commanding, vpon payne of Chastisement, not to meddle with the English, and so deliuered them safe out of towne, who are returned to Amadavaz By these I receiued newes from Suratt of a resolution to send to Jacques<sup>1</sup> without my knowledge,

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<sup>1</sup> This decision was taken at a consultation held on board the *Charles* on October 2nd, 1616, the proceedings at which are fully recorded in *O C* No 402 (I O Records) Pepwell, who was himself unfavourable to the project, produced a letter from Roe (see *Addl MS* 6115, f 118), declaring that it would be useless to send to Persia until the issue of Sherley's mission to Spain were known, and that the *farmán* obtained by Steel and Crowder (see p 128) was of little value, as it contained no undertaking on the part of the Sháh to send down silk to Jáshak, and no merchandise was obtainable at that port in the ordinary way Against this Kerridge urged that the present opportunity was a good one, seeing that Sherley (who would be either a troublesome enemy or an expensive friend) was out of the way that the Company had approved their previous measures and had encouraged them to persevere that, the war with the Turks having blocked commercial intercourse with Europe, there must be in Persia at once a dearth of cloth and a plethora of silk that it was absolutely necessary to find some vent for the large stock of English goods in their warehouse for which no immediate sale could be hoped in India and that one of the ships might just as well be employed in an experimental voyage as lie at anchor at Swally till the others were ready Roe's opinion was set aside with the remark that "in regard his lordship in other particulars of his said letter is farr transported in error of opynyon Concerning merchandizeing and merchantes affaires in these partes makes vs assured that hee is noe lesse transported from and Concerning this persian Employment," and the expedition was decided upon Edward Connock, the cape merchant of Pepwell's fleet, was chosen chief factor, Thomas Barker (then second at Surat) was made his principal assistant, and George Pley, Edward Pettus, William Tracy and Robert Gipps completed the party The *James*, under the charge of Alexander Child, was told off to convey them to Jáshak, and she accordingly sailed on November 5th The port was reached in safety a month later, the factors were landed with their goods, and the ship anchored again at Swally early in February, 1617 (Child's journal in *Purchas*, vol 1, p 606, see also an account [by Pley] in *Egerton MS* 2121) A Portuguese squadron had been despatched to intercept her, but had failed to do so (Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, c. 165)

How much Roe was angered at finding his opinion thus overruled may be gathered from his diary and letters, but neither he nor Pepwell could do anything in the matter Keeling was still, by virtue of his commission, the chief director of the Company's affairs in the

here being an Ambassador of the Shaw has that offered me all curtesy and whose advise would haue giuen vs great light to the busines but in 6 weekes I neuer heard woord from them, neyther doe they thinck any body woorth the Consulting but them selues I sent downe the kinges *firman* procured by Crowther<sup>1</sup> but my advise that it was not woorth entertayning on so feeble Conditions with many reasons reserved to my selfe, not presupposing any man would haue presumed a conclusion without mee for that when I motioned<sup>2</sup> to send Shalbanke for 100 *rupias* ouer land to discover both Syndu and Jasques to bee an eye wittnesse of the fittnes of the Port and possibilitye of trade, and to haue returned before the annuall of our fleete with full Intelligence they reiected it and braggd they had crossd all my aduices and now haue resolved to doe yt by a ship at extreame perill and Chardge and without any ground yea, against all reason, without vouchsafing to acquaynt mee, but that I receiued the Newes by Collaterall enformation. Iudge what respect your factors giue mee what the fruites of diuision are, and seperating them from any relation to mee, though your last lettre signified you required them to Consult with mee before resolution of any Matter of such importance. I must Confesse It greatly discourageth mee, and my sincere Payne, care, and toyle was not to serue to amend their follyes only at Court, but hoped to haue beene respected in my aduice only for your profit. For your Cheefe factor<sup>3</sup> hath too much suddeyne

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East, and in consequence the usual authority in matters relating to merchandise had been withheld from the general of the 1616 fleet. Pepwell, therefore, could not reverse the decision arrived at by the assembled factors, nor could he refuse to assist in carrying it out. Roe was equally powerless, and had to content himself with watching in a decidedly critical mood, the outcome of the measures taken, while he awaited the result of his letters home of the previous year complaining of his own want of authority

<sup>1</sup> See p. 246.

<sup>2</sup> In a letter of April 26th, 1616, quoted (in part) on p. 164.

<sup>3</sup> Herndge.

fire and to great an opinion of his abilityes to giue a temperate aduise, as I can show abundantly and wee haue had full experience, not once asking any mans aduise from hence, but Peremptorily commanding and ordering monyes to no purpose, too late and to extreame Losse. Notwithstanding, this day I dispeeded a lettre from the Princes secretary written in his owne Name to Abram chan, Salath beage, and Isack beage,<sup>1</sup> to ouersee the Customer that hee wronged not the English nor suffered any other that the busines might bee so ordered as should preuent all future Complayntes that the presentes should be dispatchd to Court without Custome that what soeuer was bought should not be taken by force, but the owner payd ready mony to Content. The Copy is registred<sup>2</sup>

This day I wrote to the Gouvernor of Cambaya to acknowledge his fauour and my thanckfullnes that I would acquaynt the king with his honorable respect of our Protection

*November 9*—The Prince, beeing to remooue, sent one of his Guard in hast for mee I was vnfitted to goe but hee Prest mee so farr that his Master did stay out to speake with mee that hee had Commanded him not to returne without mee that all the Court did talk of the Princes fauour to mee that it was reported hee had desired the king to lett mee accompany him into the warrs, and that hee had promised to vse mee so well as I should confesse his fauour to our Nation This Newes made me take horse after dinner, but I found him Newly risen and Marching I mett the Dutchman his Ieweller Hee welcommed mee with good Newes of some extraordinary fauour from his master, who had sate almost an hower longer then his Pur-

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<sup>1</sup> Ibráhim Khán, as already mentioned, was governor of Surat. The other two had been "customer" and *sháhbandar* respectively, and are often mentioned in the letters of the English factors

<sup>2</sup> This does not appear to be extant

pose to stay my Comming and such great promises that made mee beleeue none. Hee also confirmed the souldiers report of my attending the Prince. When I came vp to the trayne I sent woord I was arriued, and had answer that I should passe before to the tentes, and sitt vntill the Prince came and that hee would speake with mee. It was night before his approach. He made only a Countenance to mee sate a little and went In among his woemen. As hee Passd hee turned about and sent a seruant to desire mee to stay a while that hee would com Into the *Gulshan* and take his leaue of mee. Within halfe an hower he sate out, but I could not gett any man to putt him in mynd of mee and hee was fallen to Play, and cyther forgott it or put a tricke of state vpon mee that I stayed an hower. Being extreemely troubled I went to the doore and tould the wayters the Prince had sent for mee. I came only to receiue his Commandes that I had attended long and must returne to my house it being late and If his highnes had any busines I desired him to send it after mee, for I scorned such vsage, and so departed to horse. Before I was vp ther came running messingers calling for mee, and I was sent for. I first complayned of my stay that I was come only to receiue his command that I had neyther bedd nor tent and *6 Course* home that I could not procure entrance. I found him earnest at Cardes,<sup>1</sup> but hee excused himselfe of forgettfullnes, and blamed the officers formality but In show vsd mee with more Curtesy then ordinary calling mee to see his Cardes and asking many questions. I expected hee would speake of my goeing with him but, synding noe such discourse, I tould him I was Come only to obey him and to take my leaue

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<sup>1</sup> A favourite pastime at the Mogul court. Akbar himself did not disdain to spend time in making fresh designs for them. There was at all events plenty of scope for variety for the pack contained twelve suits of twelve cards each (Möschmann's *Ala-i-Akbari* vol. i, p. 306).



that I desired his Pardon that I hasted away, for that I was to returne to Adsmere, beeing vnprouided to stay all night Hee answered hee sent for me to see me before his goeing that I should presently bee dispatched Then hee sent in an Eunuch and diuers of his Captaynes came smiling the Prince would giue me a great Present, and if I feared to ryde late, I should haue ten horse to guard mee, and made such a busines as if I should haue receiued his best Chayne of Pearle By and by came out a Cloth of gould Cloake of his owne, once or twice worne, which hee Caused to bee putt on my back, and I made reuerence, very vnwillingly When his Ancester Tamerlane was represented at the Theatre the Garment would well haue become the Actor,<sup>1</sup> but it is here reputed the highest of fauour to giue a garment warne by the Prince, or, beeing New, once layd on his shoulder Then hee bowed him selfe and I had my dischargd, but I desired to speake somewhat more Vsing a preface of Complementes, I acquaynted him with the letters I newly receiued from Suratt, wherein our factors acknowledge their good vsadge and the receipt of the mony according to order that as I had Complaynd against the bad, I could not but acknowledge the Iustice and goodnes of Abram Chan, who in all Poynts studyed to honour his Master with Noble actions and to protect vs from Iniury He replied it was his Command so to doe, and that hee was very glad that his seruants and my Countrimen agreed so well and were frendes, which hee would continew by his expresse order that in what I found my selfe agreed hee would bee my Iudge him selfe and right mee. I desired him to beginn his fauour by Commanding Zulphercarcon to pay the

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<sup>1</sup> Doubtless Roe had often seen, in Marlowe's play,

The Scythian Tamburlaine  
Threatening the world with high astounding terms,  
And scourging kingdoms with his conquering sword.

Merchantes the 8,000 *mamodites* resting of his debt. He answered that he had vndertaken to bee our Paymaster and gaue present order to giue a bili to receiue it at Suratt, which I leaue Master Hidoiph to follow. So I tooke my leaue, and Comming out was followed by all his wayters and Porters soe shamfully that I halfe paid for my Cloake before I gate out.<sup>1</sup> By Morning I gott home.

In the way thither I receiued an answer<sup>2</sup> of my lertres sent long since to Suratt, which I supposed miscarried but found that they had kept my *Pattamar* one month and fower dayes, only to dispose their busines without my knowledge. They aduise mee of their sending the *James* to discover Iasques with the greatest quantity of Cloth lead quicksiluer and teeth and diuers factors, beeing forced to yt as a Comodity that would not vent in India (yet not many monthes since they disputed with mee that these species would drue the whole trade);<sup>3</sup> notwithstanding that I had enformed them that in Persia in the hart these kynd were lesse saleable, in the sekirtes (wher was no trade) not vendible at all. Next that they haue made mony vp to Agra, which cannot be returned by the end of Ianuary. Thus without once consulting any man they doe most absurdly all of their owne heades, which I reprehended with some roundnes, and neede not repeat the reasons I gaue agaynst their courses nor my opinion beeing sent to the Consultation and entered in its order among my lertres. They sent mee a Copy of some Clauses of the Companyes Commission which they pretend concerned mee, but in the first, about the Persian employment, they haue proceeded as if it concernd mee not. The rest are friuolous and by misenformation into England to no purpose, and

<sup>1</sup> On the occasion when the Mogul presented Roe with a cup (p. 256), the latter was obliged to give "to the kings porters and wayters of the *Guzellchan* 36 Jahangir rupees (Roe's Accounts).

<sup>2</sup> See *Surat Letterbook* (I O Records), s. d. October 22nd, 1616.

<sup>3</sup> P. 166 n.

this is all it hath pleasd them to acquaynt mee with They confesse the receipt of the mony recouered by mee, of their better vsage at Suratt , but after I had procured order to restore bribes, and brought the envy vpon mee, they release it in curtesy to procure fauour for them selues Concerning Zulpheckcarcons remayner they write mee they haue not leysure, and are loath to offend them that owe part, and so giue mee no account Yet I haue procured order for yt. But if I had receiued from them in six monthes a partition,<sup>1</sup> I had gotten ready mony ; if now it be lost I can doe no more , their negligence must answere it.

*November 10* —All the towne beeing almost remooued, I was left behynd and could procure no Camells nor Cartes, notwithstanding my warrant.<sup>2</sup> The Persian Embassador in the same case complaynd and had speedy redresse; vpon Notice wherof I sent to the Court, and expect answere

*November 11* —I receiued two warrants for Carts and Camells at the kinges Price , which I sent the officer

*November 13* —After two dayes search and layeing the Townes endes I could not bee fitted , so many wanted that vsd force, the great men hauing souldiers euery wayes out to catch all vp , and it is a woonderfull matter to remooue the two *leskars* and all the Citty at once. I despeeded my aduise to the Consultation at Suratt, and to vrdge them to such demandes as were Needfull

*November 14* —I receiued from Agra that, in barter of ould Indico (a meane sort that lay on the owners handes) with halfe mony, they had Putt off 20 Clothes that were as heauy to vs and as vnsaleable , but I am of opinion if the

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<sup>1</sup> A statement showing the different persons from whom the money was due

<sup>2</sup> "The King . wantes for himselfe and the Prince 4,000 Camells" (Roe to Surat factors, November 12th, 1616)

Indico will make mony It is no ill bargayne. Cloth is drye Merchandice at best.<sup>1</sup>

*November 16.*—The king gaue order to fire all the *leskar* at Adsmere to compell the People to follow, which was dayly executed. I was left almost desolate, and the Persian Embassador who had fought, Chydd brauld Complaynd, but could not gett remedy, In the same estate. Wee sent to bemone on another and by his example I began to resolute to buy, for many would sell that at the kinges Price would not hire, and I Cast It at the best hand I could almost to saue the hire, though the carts were deare, for In three monthes the Price was eaten. Necessitye enforced mee, for the Towne was burnd and desolate. I was in danger of theeues that from the army came and robbd In the night, and I could not find bread to eate yet I sent anew to Court, and resolved to abyde all the inconueniences of a hard seige.

*November 17* —Notwithstanding the default of account from Suratt of the remayner of Zulphercarcon yet I sent to the Prince for his promised bill, who vndertooke the Payment, and so I receiued his lettre Commanding to Certesye what was vnpayd of the 8,000 *mamoodies* demanded (for that some of it was Charged to Abram chan) and the remayner to bee Payd to the factor at Brampoor which lettre I sent the factors as a full conclusion. Bot withall I was certesied that now the Prince was gone and I had tooke my leaue, as hee thought, Content with his Promises, hee had giuen order to entercept all the Presentes and to force them to his *leskar*. I returned

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<sup>1</sup> In October 1615, Kerridge wrote to Keeling that English cloth was much desired at Agra, but too expensive to find many purchasers; "neither is it vsed at all in garments, but in Coverings for Ellophants, Coaches, Pallambkynes, saddles, &c. The Country about aboundeth with Course Cloth made ther, better Coullers and Cheaper by Far then in England; so that ours is vsed more for novelty then for want." (*Addl. MS* 9366.)

that, first they should kyll the English that conducted them, and purposed so soone as I could gett carriadge to remooue to Complayne to the king Iudge now the fayth of this Prince and my vexation

I receiued from Goa for truth that Don Emanuell de Meneses with about 300 of those saued ashoare from out the Admirall were arriued, poore, robbd, and rifled by the inhabitants of Angazesia, who had slayne many and forced some to Circumsicion,<sup>1</sup> on the 24 of October not one of the fleete sett out from lishbon arriued,<sup>2</sup> to their great woonder The Gallion of Mozambique was fought with by the Hollander that lately departed from Suratt, who lay off and on before Goa as shee came in to meete the shipes expected, she was rich in Gould and other Comodities, but shee escaped, by ncarnes of the Port Obserue the bouldness of the Hollander to attempt with one shipp and to braue the head of the Indias

I receiued a promise for Camelles to remooue

*November 18*—I could not procure carriadge, but was so dayly delayed that [I] feard to stay Two Carts I was enfoiced to buy, and Camells I was constantly promised Master Bidolph remayned in the Princes *leskar* to gett in mony The king was yet but 12 *course* from Adsmere The Iesuite tooke his leaue of mee, beeing forced to buy carriadg, notwithstanding his order for yt out of the kinges store, but scarcetye punnished all men This empty tyme offering no discourse of myne owne affayres, I shall digresse conueniently to mention the estate of Sultan Cursoronne, of whose new deliury into the handes of his enemies

<sup>1</sup> Cp p 342

<sup>2</sup> According to Faria y Sousa three vessels started, one sprang a leak and had to return, a second lost company on the coast of Guinea, owing to a storm, but ultimately reached Goa in safety, the third (the Admiral) was destroyed by the English fleet, as already narrated

euery mans hart and mouth was full The king notwith standing hee had so farr agreed to satisfye his proud sonne at his departure yet it seemes ment not to wincke at any injury offered to the elder and partly to secure him in the handes of Asaph chan partly to satisfy the People that murmered and feared the practice of some treachery against him he tooke occasion to declare him selfe publliquely Asaph chan had visited his new Prisoner and in his fashlon did not ucknowledg him as his Prince but rudely prest vpon him against his will and with no reuerence. Som are of opinion he Plekt a quarrell and knoweing the braue nature of the Prince that hee would not beare indignitye tempted him to drawe his swoord or to vse some violence which [the] guard should suddenly reuenge, or ells it should be declared to the king as an attempt to kill his keeper and to escape. But the Prince was patienter only he gott a frend to uequaynt the king with the manners of his laylor The king called Asaphchan at the *Darbar* and asked when hee sawe his Chardge. He answered Two dayes Past. His Maestie replyed What did you with him? He sayes Only visitt him. But the king pressed him to know what reuerence and fashion hee carried toward him Asaph chan found his Maestie knew what had passd and Confessed hee went to see him in affection and to offer his seruice, but that the Prince refused him admittance into his Chamber, which, because hee had Chardge of his safetie, hee thought it both necessary for him to doe and discourtesye in the other to deny, therefore he prest in. The king returns quick When you were in what sayd you, and what did you? What duty showed you toward my sonne? Hee standes blanck and confesseth hee did not any reuerence, wherat the king tould him Hee would make his Proud hart know him to bee his eldest and beloued heyre his Priuce and Lord and if hee once heard of any the least want of reuerence or duty

toward him, hee would Command his sonne to sett his feete on his Neck and trample on him that he loued Sultan Coronne well, but hee would make the world know he did not entrust his sonne among them for his ruine

*November 19*—I receiued from Agra that they receiued new bills from Suratt, when theyre Caruan<sup>1</sup> was out of towne, yet that they would execute their Commission, though ther can bee no hope to arriue sooner at Suratt then the end of Ianuarye

[*Thus farr went the Iournall for England The next begins the 20 of Nouember this present month*]

*November 20*—I receiued from the Court a new warrant for my Carriage, which procured mee 8 Comelles from the officer, but misserable ones, such as would not suffice mee, so that I was compelld to dispatch my selfe away now, left all alone to buy for my supplement

*November 22*—I remooued into my Tents

*November 23 & 24.*—I stayd for the Merchanntes, and receiued in answere from Spahan<sup>2</sup> that my lettres were dispeeded for Aleppo that our Comming into Persia was expected, but on Conditions to fitt the Shabas, so that it might aduance his dessigne of diuerting his silkes from the way of Turkye that the Generall of the Grand signior lay with a mighty army at Argerome,<sup>3</sup> six dayes march short of Tauris, vncertayne whether to assaile the Citty or to enter Gorgeston<sup>4</sup> and Gilan,<sup>5</sup> the Countreyes of silkes, to wynn that by conquest which hee was prohibited by Commerce to meete both attemptes the Shabas was

<sup>1</sup> Caravan

<sup>2</sup> See pp 128-133 The date of the receipt of these letters from Persia is left as Roe has given it, but it seems clear that it is a mistake They must have come to hand on the 27th, between the writing of Roe's two letters to Sir Thomas Smythe (see p 352)

<sup>3</sup> Erzeroum

<sup>4</sup> Georgia.

<sup>5</sup> Ghilan, a province of north-western Persia, bordering on the Caspian It was subdued by the Sufi Sháhs in the sixteenth century.

encamped at Salmas<sup>1</sup> a village Indifferently seated in the way: but if in two monthes the Armyes encounter not winter approaching and the wantes that will attend such multitudes will dissolve them both without any honorable action or if they meete the Persian though by report 180 thousand will not adventure battaile but being light and able to march easily without Cannon and baggage will fall on and off on every yde upon the Turkey army as hee will breake and waste him without hazard.<sup>2</sup> With these I received a Packett of letters directed to on Ieronimo<sup>3</sup> Galecia resident in Lahor wherein I found divers Commissions and letters of Deputation directed to him in the Name of Bartholomew Hapatt,<sup>4</sup> consull in Aleppo and others, constituting him as their procurator for the recovering of divers monyes and goodes in the handes of Signor Bonelli their factor resident in Lahor who about ten monthes past was slayne and robbed with divers Notes of severall Caravans bills of exchange and ready money verified by the seale and subscription of Ieronimo Loscarini consull in Soria,<sup>5</sup> and Stepheno Saia his Chancellor taken out of the registers of his office all which amounted to a great summe and were traded in Indya by the sayd Bonelli as agent for a Partnership of the Principalls of divers Nations residing in Aleppo to Padre Ieronimo Nauier, Which letters and severall Packets comming by error into my handes I reserved with Purpose to acquaint the Iesuite living at Court and so to proceed as befitted.

<sup>1</sup> "Selmas" is marked on a map in the English version (1669) of the travels of the Holstein ambassadors to Persia. It is shown as a village near the western side of Lake Gokcha, in about the position of the modern town of Novo Mayakid.

<sup>2</sup> The war is related at length in Von Hammer's *History of the Ottoman Empire* (vol. viii of the French version).

<sup>3</sup> This should be "Giovanni" see under December 7th, and also Roe's letter to Smythe at f. 149 of the MS.

<sup>4</sup> Appointed English Consul at Aleppo about 1611. He was a freeman of the East India Company and sent them intelligence from time to time (see *Letters Received by the East India Company* vol. i, p. 273).

<sup>5</sup> Syria.



TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY<sup>1</sup>

(Addl MS 6115, f 140)

24 Nouember, 1616

My Honourable Friends,

I receiued your lettre on the twelfth of October, 1616, from the *Charles*, safely arriued with foure ships at the barr of Suratt the six and twentieth of the former Month Of what pasd at Sea I doubt not you will receiue ample relation,<sup>2</sup> only a little difference in the report of our fleete and the Portugalls I will mention that wee began the fight, and that no viceroy beeing sent this yeare, an ancient Souldier, Don Emanuell de Meneses, that had twice beene Generall of their Forces, was in the Admirall, who, beeing beaten, ran herself ashore on Angazatia, the greatest of the Islandes of Comora, wher hee gott aland with the suruiuars of his force and caused the ship to bee fiered, which but for respect of him had yeilded, that the Ilanders robbd them and sett them ashoare att Mosambique, and are nowe arriued at Goa This tale hangs ill together, for that I know they first made fve shot, and that it is impossible they could Passe from Anguzesia to Mosambique in a Canoe, or that the inhabitants, hauing robbd them, durst carry them into their strength, or that all this Could bee effected and newes of their arriuall come from Goa in so little tyme<sup>3</sup> So that my judgement is, they make their relation as neare ours as they Can, with Credit, and are loth to confesse truth, that eyther all Perished, or the Viceroy, which were the greatest losse and dishoner euer happened to them in India.

I shall not neede write you any long Discourse of your affaires, nor my opinion, for that in a Continued Journall I haue sett downe all Passages, and send you the Copyes of my lettres to your factoryes, wherin many Poynts are disputed and opened, from both which you may make best your owne Collection and judgment, for in them casually all your businese is handeled and discussed at full, and it may bee collected into such a Method as you may sitt at home and see it at once.

But because some Poyntes in my last lettres I swallowed at my first Comming at others reports, which since I fynd vayne and friuolous, and others Perhaps are yet vnresolved in my Generall

<sup>1</sup> A part of this letter was printed by Purchas (vol 1, p 589), but with an incorrect date and many errors in the text

<sup>2</sup> See p 284

<sup>3</sup> The story was, however, substantially correct. The survivors, after being plundered and ill-treated by the natives, were taken off by a Muhammadan trader, who carried them to Mombasa. There they embarked for Goa on September 10th

discourse, I will runn over the Materiall Poyntes with breuetye. For I extreemly desire that you once vnderstood the Constitution of this trade, how to gouerne and settle it that by varietye of fond opinions you bee not counsellled to vnnecessary Chardge, nor fall into grosse errors and damage.

But first I desire you to receiue in Particular answer of your lettre that the vnkindnes conceiued betweene mee and Captain Keeling was not so far rooted that it was woorth your trouble or excuse. It is true I wrote to my Honorable friend<sup>1</sup> somewhat that passed betweene vs. I did only discharge my hart without purpose to haue it spread as a Complaynt his fauour to mee extended it beyond my meaning. Men cannot liue without some distast, especially wher fawners and flatterers seeke to endear themselves by others disquiett. Wee parted friends.<sup>2</sup> It is leasse troublesome and easier to forgett discourtesyes then to lay them vp or dispute them. I was not borne to a life smooth and easy all my actions haue beene mingled with crosses and rubbes, that I might rather say I wrestled then walked toward my (raue. But God prouides euery man a Portion fitt for his Condition and I am Content. I neuer doubted your performance with mee in mony nor any other contract. I did auerr soe much in that lettre and my answer to Captain Keeling. Nor will I Complayne of any Narrownes in my allowance. I made a Covenant I must alwyde by it, and will endeaour to effect yt. I will acquaynt you in tyme with all Particulars of expence and referr myselfe to you. I know you ment not but that my labor should bee recompensd. My sincerity toward you in all Actions is without spott my Neglect of Pruaat Gayne is without example, and my frugalitie beyond your expectation. I was neuer an ill husband of my Creditt nor any trust Committed to mee. My Patrimoniall vnchristlines only I feele and repent. I pray God I may so affect your desires as it may merit what you giue. I will bragg of no Industrie nor successe. Judge mee by my Actions, Not by the fauour of an Infidell King with whom yet I stand on such outward shewes of Creditt as Neuer any stranger did, but want of language and an enterpreter that will deliuer mee truly is an extreame Preiudice.

Concerning the ayding the Mogoll or waffing<sup>3</sup> his subjects into the Redd Sea, it is now vselesse, yet I made offer of your affections but when they need not a curtesye, they regard it as a dogg doth dry bread when his belly is full. The King hath peace with the Portugalls, and will neuer make a Constant warr except first wee displant them. Then his greatnes will step in for a share of the benefitt, that dares not partake the Perill. When they haue Peace, they scorne our assistance, and speake as

<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Smythe.<sup>2</sup> See p. 18 n.<sup>3</sup> Convoying

lowed as our Canon, if warr oppresse them, they dare not putt out vnder any protection, nor will pay for yt. You must remooue from you all thought of any other then a trade at their Port, wherein if you can defend your selues, leaue them to their fortune. You can neuer oblige them by any benefitt, and they will feare you sooner then loue you. Your residence you neede not doubt so long as you tame the Portugall. Therefore, avoyd all other Chardge as vnnesseary, that resists<sup>1</sup> not him, hee only can prejudice you. For a Fort, at my first arriuall I receiued it as very Necessarie, but experience teaches mee wee are refusd it to our aduantage. If hee would offer mee ten, I would not accept one. First, wher the riuier is Comodious, the Cuntry is barren and vntraded, the Passadges to parts better Planted so full of theeues that the Kings authoritye auayles not, and the strength of the hilles secures them in that life. If it had beene fitt for trade, the Naturallles would haue Chosen it, for they feele the incomoditye of a barrd hauen, and it is argument enough of some secrett inconuenience, that they make not vse of it. But if it were safe without the walls, yet is it not an easy woorke to diuert trades and to drawe the resort of Merchantes from their accustomed Marts, especially for our Comoditye, which is bought by Parcelles, and cannot be called staple. Secondly, the Chardge is greater then the trade can beare, for to maintayne a garison will eate the Profitt. It is not an hundred men can keepe it, for the Portugall, if hee once see you vndertake that course, will sett his rest vpon it to supplant you. A warr and trafique are incompatible. By my consent, you shall no way engage your selues but at sea, wher you are like to gayne as often as to loose. It is the beggering of the Portugall, notwithstanding his many rich residences and territories, that hee keepes souldiers that spendes it, yet his garrisons are meane. He neuer Profited by the Indyees, since hee defended them. Obserue this well. It hath beene also the error of the Dutch, who seeke Plantation heere by the Swoord. They turne a woonderfull stocke, they proule in all Places, they Posses some of the best, yet ther dead Payes consume all the gayne. Lett this bee receiued as a rule that if you will Profitt, seeke it at Sea, and in quiett trade, for without controuersy it is an error to affect Garrisons and Land warrs in India. If you made it only against the Naturallles, I would agree, to make it for them, they are not woorth it, and you should be veary warie how you engage your reputation in yt. You cannot so easely make a faier retract as an onsett, one disaster would eyther discreditt you, or interest

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<sup>1</sup> Purchas, apprehensive lest this should seem too aggressive, adds the following note — "Vnderstand this, so long as they by force and armes oppose the English proceedings and seeke to supplant them, as hitherto"

you in a warr of extreame Chardge and doubtful euent. Besides, an action so subject to Chance as a warr is most vnfitly vndertaken, and with most hazard, when the remotenes of Place for supply succors and Councell subiectes to vnrecoverable losse, for that wher is most vncertaynty, remedies should bee soe much the nearer to occur to all occasions. At sea you may take and leaue, your Designes are not Published.

The roade of Swally and the Port of Suratt are fittest for you in all the Mogolles territory I haue weyed it well, and deliuer you that shall neuer bee disprooued. You neede no more it is not Number of Ports, factoryes and residences that will profit you, they wil encrease chardge, but nut recompence it. The Conueniency of one respectuely to your sales, and to the Comoditye of Investmentes, and the well employing of your seruants is all Needfull. A Port to secure your ships, and a fitt Place to vnlade, will nut be found together. The Roade at Swally durng the season, is as safe as a Pond. Suratt, Cambaya, Barooch, and Amadauaz are better traded then all Indya, and seated Comodiously. The inconueniencyes are—the Portugall at sea, and the landing of goods. To meete with which first, you must bring to Passe that your ladinges bee ready by the end of September at your Port—which may bee effected by a stock beforehand, or by taking vp mony for three monthes—and so you may dischargd and lade in one, and depart in excellent season for England and the Enemy shall not haue tyme with force to offend you, who wilbe Newly arriued and if the Preparation be ancientser wee can know yt. For the second, to land goods without danger of Frigattes, and to saue the Carriage ouer land, you must send a Pinnace of 60 Tunne with ten Pieces that drawes but seven or eight foote water to passe vp the ruer betwene Swally and Suratt and so your goods wilbe safe, and in your owne Command to the Custome-house-key and it will a little awe the towne. Shee may proceed after according to your appoyntment.

The Comodityes you sell passe best in that quarter. The goods you seeke beeing principally Indico and Cloth,<sup>1</sup> no one Place is so fitt for both and the lesse Inconueniencies are to bee Chosen. Of this you shall gather more at lardge my opiniun and reasons in my Iournall and discourses to your factors. Perhaps some of them will contradict it. But I am not deceued, nor haue Priuate ends, to keepe factoryes to imploy and aduance frends. The Places and Number of seruants I haue deliuered my Judgment in, and Could manifest the Past errours, but nut mend them. Syndu is possessd by the Portugall<sup>2</sup> or if it were free, were no fitter then Suratt, nor safer, as it is, it wilbe more subject to Perill. Your

factors sent me foure or fiue Clauses out of your Commission, that concernd Persia, a fort, a Plantation in Bengala, all which they knew were not of vse, with no other purpose, proposition, or resolution they will acquaynt me They cannot abyde I should vnderstand or direct them If they resolute of any thing in their opinion for your profit, and send to mee, I will effect the Court part, but you will find in my lettres and Journall how they vse mee, which doubtlesse at first was sowed by some Jealousy of yours, which will cost you dearly<sup>1</sup>

For the settling your trafique here, I doubt not to effect any reasonable desier My Creditt is sufficient with the King, and your force will alway bynd him to Constancy It will not neede so much helpe at Court as you suppose, a little Countenance, and the discretion of your factors, will with easy Chardge retorne you most profit But you must alter your stock Lett not your seruants deceiue you, cloth, lead, teath,<sup>2</sup> quicksiluer are dead Comodities, and will neuer drue this trade. You must succor yt by Change,<sup>3</sup> and you will find my opinion discussed in lettres

I haue this yeare passd many difficultyes by the Peruersenes of Sultan Coronne, Lord of Suratt, but by Gods direction I haue ouercome them Articles of treaty on equall termes I cannot effect, want of Presents disgraced mee But yet by Peices I haue gotten as much as I desidrd at once I haue recouered all bribes, extortions, debts made and taken before my tyme till this day, or at least an Honorable composition But when I deliuer the Next guiftes to the Mogoll, in the Princes absense, I will sett on anew for a formall contract

The Presentes sent are to few to follow examples, they will scarce serue the first day The rule is at euery arriual of a fleete the Mogol, [and] the Prince during his signory in our Port, will expect a formall Present (and lettres from the King our solicitor) from you, which neede not bee deare if well Chosen Your Agent must be furnished with a China shop<sup>4</sup> to serue little turnes, for often giuing of trifles is the way of preferment It cannot bee auoyded, and I haue beene scorned for my Pouerty in that kind Particulars I haue sent of such as I suppose will please<sup>5</sup> At my deluerie of the first sent by mee Contentment outwardly appeared, but I will acquaynt you with the Cabinettes opinion, by which you may Judg Three exceptions were taken and disputed by the King and his *Pruiadoes*<sup>6</sup> First, it was

<sup>1</sup> Cp p 97

<sup>2</sup> Ivory

<sup>3</sup> "The surest way to rayse a stock without losse to our Country were from the sowth [Bantam, etc.], all China Comodities beeing as deare heere as in England, and spices at good proffit" (Roe to Capt. Pepwell, September 10th, 1616)

<sup>4</sup> See p 134

<sup>5</sup> See p 352 n

<sup>6</sup> An intimate friend, or in the case of a king (as here), a favourite This was one of the Spanish terms current in England at the time

censured to name *Presentes* in a Kinges lettre to bee sent by a Principall man his Ambassador and such poore ones deliuered, meaner and fewer then when they came with lesse ostentation that if they had not beene named as from a Monarch it had beene lesse despicable for such is the pride that although the Coach for the forme and for a Modell gaue much Content, yet the matter was scorned, and it was neuer vsd vntill two other of rich stuff were made by it and that covered with Cloth of gould, harnes and furniture, and oll the tynn Nayles headed with siluer or hatched,<sup>1</sup> so that it was nine Monthes a repaying when I sawe it, I knew it not.<sup>2</sup> Secondly it was excepted against that his Majestie did write his Name before the Mogoll, but it matters not for that dull pride. Thirdly that his Maiestie in his lettre intimated that honor and profit should arise to this since by the English or their trade, which hee so much despiseth to heare of that hee will willingly bee ridd of it and vs if he durst The forgetting to send mee lettres diminisheth my Creditt, which is to bee maynteyned by all Ceremonyes and Sultan Coronne expected one as an Honor to him.

First, Concerning *Perala*. What my Judgment is you will find by my relations ond lettres, how your factors haue proceeded I hope they will odulise. I sent a *Palmar* whom they kept a Month without onswer now in the heate of busines, because they would resolute the settling a factory at *Jasques* without my know ledge.<sup>3</sup> I know they vnderstand not the Place, nor haue any ground for what they did and, besides the neglect of mee, I feare haue sent a dead vrendible stock. I shalbe most glad if I bee in an error, but I know, if I err it is vpon better foundation then they can prosper in. If it had beene fitt to settle in that Place, if once they had acquaynted mee with the Purpose, I would haue geuen them lardge adulise and much assistance from the Persian Ambassador resident at Court, who offered mee his Councell but now as they beginn against my Consent, they may proceede without my assistance. Sir Robert Shirdy by Contrary wyndes lost his Passadge for *Lisbon* last yeare and remaynes at *Goa* for the I resent returne of the fleete. His negotiation continewes full of hope to bring the spaniard in to joyne with the Portugall. I haue sent transcripes of my opinon which I first apprehended and am Constant to yt, and God hath prevented him one yeare and giuen you leasure for the future.<sup>4</sup>

Next, I hould it woorthy your Consideration to resolute som-

<sup>1</sup> Ornamented with engraved lines.

<sup>2</sup> Compare p. 322.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 330.

<sup>4</sup> Roe had some hopes that Sherley "might fall into the handes of our shipping." "That fleete," he wrote to Pepwell, "is easilye beaten; one assault would more disharten them and glue vs more reputation then many prosperouse defences."

what for your safety and quiett in the road with the Portugall  
 Ther are but two wayes, a Peace or a compulsion The first I  
 haue anew vndertaken<sup>1</sup> by the Mediation of a Jesuite, who fore-  
 sees their ruine, but I despayre of any successe, both that the  
 viceroy wantes authoritie or is to Proud to vse yt The Next is  
 force, which is allway to disaduantage when you only defend  
 My opinion is that you give order to all your fleetes to make  
 Price<sup>2</sup> of them, and that, as you Nowe ride at Swally roade to  
 protect one ship, that you would send that guard next yeare to  
 ride before Goa to braue them or burne them, at least to stop  
 them that they durst not Putt to sea in December So you shall  
 enforce them to loose their seasons, one or two returnes hindered  
 would vndoe them On my woord they are weake in India and  
 able to doe your fleete no harme but by supplies from Lisbon,  
 which aduertisement you must harken after and accordingly  
 accomodate your strength<sup>3</sup> You will add much reputation to  
 your Cause, and force them to that which their Pride will neuer  
 suffer them to see they want more then you, which is, a quiett  
 trade.

My thirde Proposition is for your trafique into the redd sea.<sup>4</sup> It  
 is more important then all other proiectes My Councell is that  
 one of your smallest shipes, with the fittest English goodes and  
 such other as this Country yeildes, yearly goe in Company of the  
 Guzerattes and trade for them selues for mony, which is taken in  
 abundance, and returne in September with them, to supply this  
 Place The Profitte exceedes all the trades of Indya and will  
 drue this alone The danger is rather a Jealousy then substan-  
 ciall When the turckes betrayed Sir Henry Middleton,<sup>5</sup> our  
 factoryes and Courses in these Partes were vnknowne to them,  
 and doubtlesse wee, beeing strangers in that sea, were mistrusted  
 for Pirattes Experience of vs hath made them know better,  
 and in Company of the Guzerattes, for their sake (whom they  
 cannot spare) wee should bee admitted The King would write  
 to the Admirall to entertayne our consortship, and they would be  
 glad of it, and it were one of the best securities of our frendship  
 The Dutch haue Practised it this yeare to great aduantage and  
 wer well receiued Our owne warres might secure vs They  
 must ride six monthes for wyndes, tyme enough to send all the  
 goodes ashore by parcelles, and neuer to trust aboue one or two

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<sup>1</sup> See p 285

<sup>2</sup> Prize.

<sup>3</sup> "Some of their best frendes here haue aduertised that, although they haue not giuen ouer the quarrell but will attempt our subversion in this place, yet they Confesse that their power here wilbe able to doe no good, hauing made experience of their greatest force, but that they expect it from Lisbon, and to that end haue aduised and Petitioned the King of Spayne" (Roe to Pepwell, September 10th, 1616)

<sup>4</sup> See the Introduction

<sup>5</sup> See *Lancaster's Voyages*, p 174

factors and little comoditye at once. They will not declare their treachery for trifles and I doubt not you might procure the Grand Signiors Command to meeete them. If I haue any judgement ther is not any matter for your profit of such importance. Port Pequua in Bengala you are misinformed in Ther is no mart nor resort of Merchauntes. It is traded by the Portugalles from Pegu with rubyes, topasses and Saphiers, and returns Cloth, which is syne, but you may bee furnished nearer hand. But if your factors require it I will send a *firmann*. I would long since haue done yt, but was discouraged by the Consultation at Suratt.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See pp. 99, 180, and 217 and also Roe's later letter to the Company under date of February 14th, 1618. The following further entries relating to this little known endeavour of the Company to reach Bengal seem to be worth recording —

"Concerning their [the Company's] aduise for Port Pequua [Sát gion], in which the Portugals are seated, if you write I will send downe a *firmann*. But I lett you first know that they are ill and falsly enformed, for it will vent no Comoditye, Neyther is ther any Mart from Cathaya or Tartary but a few I eddling fellows that Carrie Packes and their aduise may be censured by this only that Joyne Indolstan as a Cuntry trading thither which is a generall Name of all the land betwene Indus and Ganges of such a language. It is true Bengala makes fine Cloth, but the Company Need not send a factory to buy that Comoditye; they may many wayes be supplied at easier rates then to send a ship to yt, or passe it soe farr by land, at their owne portes of Masolapatan and Guseratt. For sugar it is base, not woorth fralt, and the wax in no plenty. The best comoditye is a raw silke and Pretty stufes made thereof, which are sould to Agra, but in small numbers." (Roe to the Surat factors, November 12th, 1616 *Addl. MS.* 6115, L 135)

"The Port you named at Bengala, this *Norose* I spake with the *Shabander* and with an ould man that had beene Gouvernor. They protest it to bee an ill harbor subject to the Portugall, for that Sata gam [Chittagong], where they are planted 1500, is but another outlett of the same river. Yt is in the protection of a *Rais* scarcely in good obedience. Finally they wilbe glad of our Comming soe wee can beate the Portugall quite out; otherwise, they say, wheras now they haue quiett, theyr seas and trafique wilbe interrupted. They gree noe hope of sale, except of spices; nor Can warrant the transport vp of them by Ruer to Agra. Yet vpon your next, if you resolute I shall sett it afoote, I will; though I am resoled of a repulse before hand; all the great men are against vs." (Same to same, April 7th, 1617 *Ibid.* L 180.)

"Concerning Bengala, I mooued the fitness of a residence to Lucas Andrinus [Antheunis, see pp. 180, 217] at Mesolapatan who yet gues noe encouragment vpon any Certainty of the Place, but only wishes that if such a *firmann* be procured, it may bee sent ouerland to him, from whence best vse may be made of yt, if any bee required. So that my Purpose is to adventure for a Generall Grant of trad vpon all the Coast of Bengala, which, though I know it wilbe denied for the



You haue beene wrongd in here maynteyning needlesse factories, by making New wages and entertayning seruantes vnfit and superfluous      You were much wrongd in the *Hopes* returne      If I bee not misinformd, Priuat mens goodes were shippd, and your owne sent about by Bantam for want of stowage      For Indico I haue scarrd all men, professing you haue made a Persian law irreuocable that whatsoever is sent is forfeited      I can find many faultes, but you giue mee Power to mend non, so that I might lue at rest      The *dusturia*<sup>1</sup> in all bought goodes (besides the brokars fee), which is due to the buyer, is a great matter      The first is in Indico, two *Ceare* to a *Mand*, the second is so many *Pice* vpon a *rupy* when the account is Cast vp,<sup>2</sup> a third in some Places at Payment is one vpon a hundred      Which of these or what you receiue I know not, it is woorth your enquireye      It will make in a few years two rich men

Now I may a little speeke concerning my selfe      First, for expence I send you a yeares account, wherein I haue traueled, kept you two howses (sometyme seuen and eight of your seruantes, their horses and *Peons*, euer four of them), built and repayrd, so reasonable that if you compare it with others I shall not neede to brag of yt      Two thinges I am sure of the example did displease some, and that the stewardship is honestly carried, weekly examined by mee, and euery Parcell by my order, and that you are not deceiued of one *Pice*      Next that, paying my mens wages all here (else they could not lue) out of my allowance, and the desier to appeare handsome and Honorable abroad,<sup>3</sup> with liberalities not brought to your account, make mee soe bare that you neede not feare my trading nor growing rich      The Kinges bountyes are rather Markes of honor then of Profit. I haue supplied a yeare in presentes of myne owne stock and aske not to deminish yours a Penny in Indya      All your other seruantes part not with a knife but at four for one ready Mony      I shall not returne richer by 500*l* for my stay, but in my honest deseart to you, which I will bring vnder good Certificatt and trust to you for recompence      I will settle your trade here secure with the King, and reduce it to order if I may be heard      When I haue soe done I must plead against my selfe that an Ambassador lues not in fitt honor      I could sooner dye then be subiect

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trouble like to Ensue by our dissention with the Portugall in those seas, yet it will occasion mee to fall lower to some fitt Port which the King may assigne, if hee will grant any, but I am dayly answered for the Comoditye wee bring wee hau too many already" (Same to same, June 6th, 1617    Ibid, f 197 )

<sup>1</sup> Hind *dasturi*, "that which is customary," i.e., a commission, fee, or allowance

<sup>2</sup> Forty seers went to the maund, and from eighty to a hundred pice to the rupce

<sup>3</sup> See p 98 *n*

to the slaverye the Ictian is content with. A meaner Agent would among these proud Moores better effect your business. My qualty often for Ceremonyes eyther legettes you enemyes or suffers vnwoorthely<sup>1</sup>. The King hath often demanded an Ambassador from Spayne but could neuer obteyne it for two reasons first, because they would not giue Presentes vnwoorthy their kinges greatnes. Next, they knew his reception should not answere his qualty. I haue moderated it according to my discretion, but with a swolne hart. Halfe my Chardg shall corrupt all this Court to bee your slaues and I assure you I can doe you better seruice at home and so desire you to bid mee wellcome whensoever I come. I will not leaue your business vnsettled nor willingly loose tyme to no purpose. I desier you will examine my actions and accept my endeavours, and beleue my hart is sincere to doe you seruice.

*Postscript* —The best way to doe your business in this Court is to find some Mogol that you may enterteyne for 1000 *rupies* by the yeare as your solicitor at Court. Hee must bee authorised by the King, and then hee will better serue you then ten Ambassadors. Vnder him you must allowe 500 *rupies* for another at your Port to follow the Gouvernor and Customers and to aduertise his Cheefe at Court. These two will effect all.

Concerning Priuat trade, my opinion is you absolutly prohibit yt and execute forfeiture, for your business willbe the better done. All your loss is not in the goodes brought home. I see here the inconveniences you thinck not off. I know this is harsh to all men, and seemes hard. Men professe they come not out for bare wages. You shall take away the Plea if you resolute to giue very good to mens Content then you know what you part from. But you must make good Choyce of your seruantes and use fewer.

I have dranke water this 11 Monthes, and Nothing els. Rack<sup>2</sup> I cannot endure, and your strong waters I would not meddle with. I hoped you would haue sent mee a Peice<sup>3</sup> of wyne but now it is to late to wish. Trye a Cup or two of my liquor in a Morning next your hartes and then you will remember mee.<sup>4</sup> But I hope you will send for me home by the Next expected flecte, the Chardge being more then my employment can Merritt, and therefore I begg none now though I could haue beene Pleasd that your seruantes aboard, that make very Merrie, had afforded

<sup>1</sup> See p. 119.

<sup>2</sup> Arrack, which of course could be had in plenty.

<sup>3</sup> A cask. "Home, Lance, and strike a fresh piece of wine (Beaumont and Fletcher's *Mons Thom* v 8, quoted in Nares' *Glossary*)

<sup>4</sup> Another comfort Roe had missed was tobacco. He had expected to receive some from his friends by the fleet; but, this failing he wrote to Pepwell to buy him a supply "sweet, but not very strong some four or five pounds, not exceeding 12s. the pound

mee some When I was aboard the *lyon*, it was an Errand from Surat to Come to drinck , but I am farr from the well. <sup>1</sup>

*November 25* —*Six Course* Hither Came Master Crowther from the Carauan despedced from Agra, of whom I receiued that the Plauge was violent, and that the last bills were made vp to be payd at 45 days sight, so that they were enforced for dispatch to giue so many *Jangriers*<sup>2</sup> for their owne mony That by the last of Nouember the goodes was like to passe by Adsmere Which made me resolute to stay to speake with some of them, and to send my lettres and Papers for England with more safetye.

TO SIR THOMAS SMYTHE

(I O Records O C, No 4103)

From the way, midnight,  
November 27, 1616

Sir,

An hower after I had sealed my lettr to you<sup>4</sup> in the way, the long expected Messenger returnd from Spahan, whom I dispatchd with my lettres ouer land, and with one to the Shabas , in answer of which Willham Robbins returnd mee a lettre, the maternall poynts wherof I send you <sup>5</sup> He promiseth hope of trade to profit, but withall sayth Sir Robert Shirly hath confirmd at Goa a

<sup>1</sup> Enclosed in the letter is the note already mentioned of goods fit for presents or for sale at the court These include table-knives, swords, gilt armour, precious stones, cloth of gold, looking-glasses, arras, pictures, wine ("strong waters are vnrequested now"), dogs, ostrich plumes, silk stuffs ("but no blew it is the Coulor of Mourners" —cp Terry), and "generally, any rare knack to Please the eye. These people are very Curious and can judge of woorkemanship well , but you must fitt them with variety, for they are soone Cloyd with one thing "

An undated copy of this list in the I O Records has been wrongly assigned to March, 1618, in the *Calendar of State Papers (E Indies)*, 1617-21 (p 145)

<sup>2</sup> Jahángir rupees, *ie*, those coined since the accession of Jahángir, and consequently bearing his name The rupees of the reigning monarch were reckoned worth a little more than those of his predecessors (Ovington's *Voyage to Surat*, p 220) Biddulph, in a letter to the Company, dated February 15th, 1618, values the Jahángir rupee at 2s 6d , while Roe, about the same date (see O C, No 610), calculates it at 2s 7d

<sup>3</sup> This is the original, in Roe's own hand There is a copy in *Addl MS 6115*, f 149

<sup>4</sup> Of the same date (not printed)

<sup>5</sup> See p 340

peace with the Viceroy But, Sir the summe is this except the Shabas bee assur'd that wee will fetch all his comoditye by Sea, he will not loose his other wayes and this shipp now sent in the heate of his expectation, with such goodes as are not pleasing to him will disgrace our great promises and hopes. If hee take any dislike and thincks this is our utmost, or at least a sample of our best comodities, hee will reiect vs quite, and cast off all thought of vs, and either the more constantly resolute to goe thorough with the Spaniard or to make Ieace with the Turke. One of them he must doe If I had beene made priuy to the purposes of your seruants at Suratt in sending a ship to Jasques, I could haue preuented the hazard they runne but you may now see their hast, and lack of respect to mee. If I left them as they are, it were just but I am to account to you, and therefore by the assistance of this Embassador I will speedely write to the kyng, and certesye him the reason of this shippes annuall, that was not fitted for Persia, but only putt in to see the port, and to show our forwardnes. I will entreat a contract for trade, that silke may bee sent downe for tryall and that these goodes may bee rented, and that hee wilbe pleas'd to giue mee directions for such lading as will fit him.

Two thinges I warne you of in this trade, that to bring vp your goodes, and fetch downe theirs at your own chardges a thousand mile I synd by experience heare will eate vp your proffitt and though the hart of Iersia bee quieter and better Governed, yet the way to Jasques is thorough lar that is scarce in good obedience, and subiect to the robberyes of the Balooches. Therefore all caruans must haue great guardes of horse, and this marris the trafique of merchantes and leaues it only fitt for the kyngs power to effect. The second thing is that you bee not engaged at Jasques in the same trouble and Chardges you are at in Suratt. For I am enformed the roade is woorse, open to Ormuz, not aboue 5 leaugs distant, soe that you must be enforced to maynteyne a flecte for defence of the trader or hazard her yearly. These two considerations made mee doubt full of sending yet wher was so small ground of proffitt, or If any it is not woorth Chardges and whensoever the Turke and Persian make Peace (for their warrs are too monstrous to continew), this trade wilbe agayne druerted, for the Turke will not make any conclusion but with the liberty of the free and ancient enter course of trade. And obserue one thing well The parts of Persia that rent cloth, which in Steeles judgement will not exceed 500 a yeare—a small matter—and the rest wilbe expected to be supplied in mony are the same that produce the silke, and are nearest Turkey as Gordgerstan and Gilan; and to those parts cloth can be brought cheaper by Aleppo then by Jasques, the voyadge at sea and land both shorter; and consequently silke will retorne cheaper the same way and that in tyme will turne

back the passadge But I would not discourage you in that I so extreemly desir, but only lett you know that wee seeke yt not right from England nor with English Comodytyes, for it will never bee a trade except you can vndertake for a great quantetye, wherof the numbers of cloth specified will not bee an Eighth part And I cannot learne that any thing in England will succour yt, but that it must rise from the Sowthward, by Callicoës, *baftoes*,<sup>1</sup> shashes, spices, Rubies of Pegu, and such like, with some mony The vse [which] can bee made with you of this ship is that, seeing Sir Robert Shirly hath beene stayd at Goa by Godes prouidence this yeare, that his Majestie wilbe pleasd to command his Embassador resident in Spayne to be attentue vpon the arriual of Shirly, that when hee hath deliuered his message (which I assure you he had instructions for before his coming out of Europe),<sup>2</sup> he may require an audience, and take notice of the Persian ouerture, and require the Kyng of Spayne in the name of his Majestie not to prejudice the subiects of England by this new contract, for that the Persian hath already, by his command sealed, geuen them free trade, and vpon assurance therof you haue sent a ship that it is a free kyngdome, and if the peace or leauge bee made to the expulsion of our Nation, it is a just occasion of breach, at least a great discourtesye, and withall to declare that, if they proceede to exclude vs, they must resolute of a warr in that quarter, for if they<sup>3</sup> cannot trade like Merchantes, they<sup>3</sup> will like men of warr, and then perhaps our share may bee as good as theirs Thus will I tamper with the Sha-bas, to keepe him from a resolution, for, whatsoever your factors thincke, I am peremptory in opinion all is lost and in vayne vntill the issue of Shirleys imployment bee broken, and a Contract made for an ample trade to come downe to the Port at the Persians chardge, for all the silke is his, and whensoever hee can bee sure to pass yt any way but by 'Turky, hee will readely embrace yt. This is my opinion, which I submitt to you, and, howeuer your factors loue to runne without mee, I will looke out to mend their faults and, like patient Job, pray and sacrifice for them, as he did for his sonnes whiles they banquetted

This leiger<sup>4</sup> in Spahan was Arnold Lulls seruant, and I beleue is out with his master He hath noe matter in him, but language,

<sup>1</sup> A kind of calico (Pers *bâfta*, "woven"), made principally in Broach and the surrounding district

<sup>2</sup> Compare a passage in a letter from Roe to King James, November 28, 1616 (f 152) "I iudge that the suddayne entertaynement of the ouerture, soe Contrary to the resolution in being, arose out of some assurance and instructions brought by Shirly out of Spayne."

<sup>3</sup> "You" in the copy

<sup>4</sup> William Robbins, of whom see p 128 "Leiger" (one who "lies"

in that I thincke no English man equalls him—French, Spanish, Italian Turkish, Persian, and some others. I trust him not much, for that he is Shirlyes Procurator but yet I synd he would sayne interest himselfe into your service, hoping so to compound and to retorne to his countrye by your credit, and to that end I thincke he would deliuer vp all Shirlyes busines into my bosome and betray him. But he is not woorth yt only I show you what vse you may make of him if you please

*November 28.*—Master Young<sup>1</sup> arrived with whom I had much Conference about the Inconueniences of passing downe our goodes so late, so incommodiously on Camelles at so terrible Chardg, wherein I found that only this parcell of goodes, by the residence of factors vnneccessarily by wages of *Prons* by hyre of Camelles and other duties, besides Customes on the way and the damage in condition by falls and other inconueniences, with new horse and expence on the way would cost 500 [*li*] starling but it was to late to remedye it and wherein he that desired reformation, was Condemned of Ignorance and Crossd In his particular affayres.

*November 30.*—The Carrauan arrived at Adsmere. The factors and a Polack, who with diuers sardles of Indico with two Italians kept Company to sell It at Suratt, Came to my Tents, wher I dispatchd my lettres and sett forward.

abroad) was often applied to a resident ambassador as opposed to one sent on a temporary mission. Cp. *Measure for Measure* IV, i —

Lord Angelo, having affairs to heaven,  
Intends you for his swift ambassador  
Where you shall be an everlasting leiger

<sup>1</sup> Robert Young one of the Agra factors (see p. 208) In a letter to the Company at this time (*O. C.*, No. 411), Roe notes that the caravan consisted of 170 camels, and points out how much cheaper it would have been to employ carts instead. One cart would carry the loads of three camels, and would "march all day while a camel goes only for five hours; moreover the labour of continually packing and unpacking (with the resultant loss by theft or carelessness) would be avoided.

TO MASTER SECRETARY WYNWOODE<sup>1</sup>

(Addl MS 6115, f 150)

From the Camp of the Great Mogol, Emperour of India

November 30, 1616

If my last,<sup>2</sup> sent your Honour by the way of Aleppo, bee mis-carried, this present discourse wilbe vndependent and obscure, which causeth mee to send a transcript that you may Command from Sir Thomas Smyth How farre that dessigne of bringing in the Spaniard by Sherly had proceeded, and my poore opinion, that will enforme, with the present estate of the warrs ther in preparation What hath succeeded, your Honour shall receiue that Sherley was stayed at Goa, by falling short eight dayes of his passadge this past yeare, where he was entertayned with Honor and mayntenance<sup>3</sup> which makes mee iudge his offers and negotiation is gracious. The Shabas yet so dependes on that hope that hee Continewes the prohibition of exportation of silkes by Turkey Some few dayes since, I receiued advise from Spahan that Sherley hath written to the King, that with much joy and ready embracement hee hath soe farre proceeded with the Viceroy of Goa in a Conclusion of this league as his<sup>4</sup> commission hath power, and that hee is ready to embarque for Spayne to accomplish yt fully If it proceed and take effect, I can make it euident that it will reuiue and strengthen all the ruines and decayes of the Portugall in the Indies, and make all other wauering Princes accept them only I will not presse the consequence, wher it wilbe soe fully vnderstood

The Shabas is in the feild at Salmas,<sup>5</sup> a villadge indifferrent to the wayes of Tauris or Gordgestan, attending the Turkes Generall, who, with a monstrous army (if it be not increased by fame) is encamped at Argerome, irresolute which of those two attempts hee shall beginn, beeing not aboue five dayes from the one, and ten from the other But these great Armies will dissolue of

<sup>1</sup> Printed by Purchas (vol. 1, p 588), but without the name of the person addressed, and, as usual, with many errors and omissions It need scarcely be mentioned that Sir Ralph Winwood was Secretary of State from 1614 to 1617

<sup>2</sup> Not extant, but no doubt sent in the packet despatched overland in the previous February (see p 128)

<sup>3</sup> In the letter to King James already mentioned (p 354), Roe says that the Viceroy is stated to have given Sherley ten thousand crowns, with a further allowance of one thousand per month This report Roe believes "not to bee punctually true, because it is Shirlyes owne glorious relation"

<sup>4</sup> The Viceroy's

<sup>5</sup> See p 340 "The Persians Armie is 180,000 strong, the Turks double" (*Note in margin*)

themselves, and I am of opinion ther wilbe noe great effect of them, the wynter approaching and that they will treate a Peace, which the Turke will neuer embrace but with the opening of the trade and liberty of ancient Commerce, which, though the Persian yeild vnto, yet if the Spaniard accept his offers, the liberty giuen the Turke wilbe vaine for that the silkes shall come downe to Ormus. But I hope your Honors will prevent yt. God hath prouided you leysure. The King of Persia lately enquired anew after the English, for hee is indifferent what Christian hath the trade so that the Grand Signior loose yt. But his first offer to the Spaniard will take his turne and after wee may have the leauings. Wee haue sent to Jasques a ship from our Port of Suratt with Cloth and English goods, to make the first offer of a residence and to gett a kind of a possession. For wher it was free to refuse or accept vs, it wilbe nowe an iniurie to turne vs out, beeing come vpon assurance of his lettre receiued by mee. But though I did not Consent to the goeing of this ship, because I knew both the Port vsult the goods vnuendible and preiudiciall to the great expectation and promises—which makes me feare the Sha-has will despise vs, and judge vs by this beginning, and so with the more roundnes eyther conclude with the Spaniard or make Peace with the Turke (for his desseigne is eyther wholly to diuert the trade or nothing)—yet I will mend yt as well as I can, by the helpe of an Ambassador lately arriued at this Court who, I suppose by his humilitee, is come to gett ayd of mony, in which kynd hee often syndes liberall releefes, and this King of India may better spare then any Monarch of the East.

The aduantage to bee made of yt in England is (if I may giue my opinion) that when Sir Robert Shersley shall arriue in Spayne and negotiat his employment, the Ambassador of his Maestie resident may craue audience and produce the lettres of the Persian granted to us<sup>1</sup> and vrge our possession of the Port, and therefore requier in the name of his Maestie that In this new contract ether the English may bee comprehended or at least that nothing passe on the Part of the King of Spayne preiudiciall to the subjects of his Maestie, nor contrary to the amity of the two nations. Which if the Spaniard shall enterprise, to the expulsion of us, it is in my opinion (the trade beeing in a free King dome granted vs) a iust cause of such a breach as may produce lettres of mart and reprisall in all the Eastern Parts to right our selues. I will in the meane tyme amuse the Persian with as many doubts as I can infuse into him of the Spaniard, and hopes of vs.

In this Court, which is nowe in the feild towards the Conquest of Decau (with an effeminat army fitter to bee a spoyle then a terror to enemyes) I shall so far effect my employment as to



confirme our trade and people on equall conditions to the Inhabitants and borne subjects, who suffer themselues abuses of Governors which can neuer be remedied but by an whole Change of the Regiment and forme of dominion For the Constancy I will no farther giue my woord then our owne prosperitie, and the others feare, and the Portugalls feeblenes shall confirme to vs

The trade is profitable and fit for England, but no way vnderstood by the Company how to effect it at best aduantage, and yett we haue done little but discouer errors I haue no Power to meddle in that, but if I were at home tenn dayes, I could doe them better seruice then here now in ten years To proue and demonstrate euery particular and Circumstance were rather the subiect of a booke then of a lettre But I will doe my part euery way, according to my abilitie and judgment, faythfully and honestly

Besides (though they may thinck I speake for myne own ends), I assure your Honor it is not fitt to keepe an Ambassador in this Court I haue shuffled better out and escaped and avoyded affronts and slauish Customes clearer then euer any did I am allowed rancke aboue the Persian, but hee out-strippe mee in rewards, his Master lyes neere vs But his Maestie commanded mee to doe nothing vnwoorthy the Honor of a Christian King, and noe reward can humble mee to any hasenes I see what the Persian does and suffers I know one that might creepe and sue would effect more busines then I, for euery little matter cannot trouble the King, and his great men are more Proud, and expect that from mee I cannot giue them The King of Spayne Could neuer bee drawne to send any, and their experience hath taught them that, besides hee should not bee receiued in honor correspondent to his qualeyte, they know an easier way to effect their ends I shall not returne a rich man, and then many will condemne mee for want of Prouidence or witt to get yt, but they know not the Indies, nor mee, it growes heere in as rough wayes as in Europe I will trust to the Company, and to my meritt

I could write your Honor may remarckable accidents in this Gouverment and Kingdome. All the Policye and wicked craft of the Diuill is not practised alone in Europe, here is enough to bee learned, or to be despisd<sup>1</sup> But you haue not leysure to entertayne so forreyne discourses That Part which may bee woorth knowing—as the Proceedings of the Iesuits, the growth of their Church, the Commixture of this Kingdome with Europe

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<sup>1</sup> In a letter to Prince Charles (*Addl MS* 6115, f 129) Roe is still more emphatic on this point "All Cunning that the Diuell can teach is frequent, eauen in the court, wher is wanting noe arte nor wicked subtilty to bee or doe euill, Soe that, Comparing the vices of some Cittyes in Europe which I once judged the Treasures and sea of synne, I find them sanctuaries and Temples in respect of these "

by trades, and the allyes it embraces. If I fynd not keyure to putt them into methode I will weary your Honor with them by a fire-syde, in broken p'ces.

The Portugall pursues vs here with violent hatred but God doth Chastise him, and his side sees it not. The Admirall Gallion bound for Coa, a vessell of fiftene hundred tunns, armed with sixe hundred men, falling among our flecte a small ship hailed her after the Curtesy of the sea, which shee requited with sylence, except of her Ordinance. The Comander of our flecte Benjamin Joseph came vp with her and demanded reason, but was returned scorne so that hee began a fight, in which hee lost his life. A New Commission beeing opened, Humphry<sup>1</sup> Iepwell succeeded him, to his place and resolution, with the losse of his eye and other hurts fought vntill the Gallion having her Mast shott, ran ashore on Comara, an Island inhabited by Moores, in the latitude of 11 degrees, 51 minutes wher the Generall, Don Emanuell de Meneses, with three hundred escaped, but fired the ship. Shee was very rich, and the succor of India this yeare her Companions were lost at sea, and on the 14 of October there was noe newes of any of them, which were three ships.<sup>2</sup> This is the greatest disaster and disgrace euer befell them, for they neuer must their flecte in September nor lost any such vessell as this, which was esteemed invincible and without supplies they perish vterly. The Islanders rifled the Generall and all his followers, and they are since arrued at Coa naked and bare in the Gallion of Mozambique, which had likewise bene endangered by a Hollander but the neernes of the Port saved her. All these considered mee thinckes the Heauenes Conspire the fall of the Portugall in this quarter if his Maiestie would be pleased to bend only his Royall Countenance. But I shall (I hope) returne and not expect to see it effected in my tyme.

I will intreat your Honor to preserue my name in the Kings memorie not for any worthynes, but an humble desire to serue him and that you wilbe pleased to accept of my endeaours, and esteeme mee such as I am, one that loues and Honors you and that will pray to God as the best expression of my affection, to encrease you in all woorthy Honor and to blesse you with his Holy Spirit.

P.S.—I humbly desire your Honor to doe me the fauour to thanck Sir Thomas Smyth in my behalfe, that he may synde my gratitude in my friends.

*December 1*—I remooued 4 *Cowse* to Ramsor<sup>2</sup> wher the

<sup>1</sup> A mistake for "Henry"

<sup>2</sup> But see note on p. 338.

<sup>3</sup> Ramsar a town about 70 miles S.E. of Ajmere on the banks of a small lake.

In the map, the route taken by the emperor has been laid down mainly from the data given in the *Tzank*. It is impossible, however

King had left the bodyes of 100 naked men slayne in the feildes for robbery, and the Carauan at midnight departed Adsmere.

*December 2—7 Course*

*December 3*—I rested, by reason of rayne.

*December 4—5 Course* I ouertooke in the way a Cammell laden with 300 mens heades sent from Candahar by the Gouvernor in present to the King, that were out in rebellion

*December 5—5 Course*

*December 6—4 Course* Wher I ouer-tooke the King at a walled towne called Todah,<sup>1</sup> in the best Country I saw since my landing, beeing a faire Champion, at euerie *Course* a village, the soyle fructfull in corne, Cotten, and Cattle

*December 7*—The King remoouing, I sent for the Iesuite and Communicated with him the lettrs receiued,<sup>2</sup> who undertooke the Conveyance and brake open that directed to Xauier, as his sublegatt; which concerned only the recouery of goodes, prosecution of Iustice, and Constitution of the factory vnder the sayd Ihoanni Galicio, and mentioned that the Consull of the English had vndertaken to procure my assistance, and to that end had sent lettres, which I neuer saw, and thought that, notwithstanding such promise made to his Partners, hee would neyther discover himselfe to mee nor that hee durst not to them. But finding my Countriman interested in yt, I resolved that Galicio should repyre to Court, and furnish him-selfe with what testimony he Could concerning Bonellis estate; and in requiring Iustice of the King, I would testefye with him

<sup>1</sup> In describing some of the places mentioned. In a march like this the ordinary routes were avoided, and the camps were often fixed near some considerable village, which, it will certainly, does not appear on the map.

<sup>2</sup> In Jager State, 63 miles S.W. of Jaipur and 65 E. S.E. of A. See p. 311.

there. But this observation is generall that ruine and destruction eates vp all. For since the Proprietye of all is come to the king no man takes care for Particulars so that in every Place appears the vastations and spoyles of warr without reparation

*December 8*—I received letters from Adsmere that the *Cutwall* offered to turne the factors and our goodes out of the house given vs which they resisted. I had not visited the king but dispatcht a letter to Asaph Chan for his prohibition who was gone 3 *Course* to hunt, and a note from him would suffice. My messenger mett him on the way riding in hast to the king but [he] desired mee at night to come to the *Gushellchan*. Which I did and was well vsed and entertayned but first demanded what present I had at

my New Comming, and answering none, hee proceeded to ordinary questions of hunting I found his Maestie so neere druncke (which hee finished within halfe an hower), that I had not oportunitie to moue busines to him. He sate by a fier in furies by a Tancke syde Here I mett the Persian Ambassador, who telling mee a long tale in his language, I answered in English, much to our mutuall edification, but I putt into his hand a Copy of his masters Command for the commerce of our Nations, and at parting made him vnderstand I desired a Conference

*December 9* —In the morning I sent to him, that I would visitt him according to my offer and confer vpon some busines which concerned his Master, but that hee had neglected that Ciuilitye which I expected, or, if he durst not speake with mee, I would advise the Shabas of his fashion towards mee He returned answer hee had beene in noe faulte, but the incomoditye of the Iourny and the forme of this kingdome had hindered him to performe that was fitt, but entreated mee to come to his tents on the morow, which curtesye he would repay whensoever I called him, and hee would effect any desier of myne toward his master, and in all thinges further the ametye hoped for betweene our Soueraynges

I went to Asaph chan, and after mutuall Complementes and offering me a roome in his quarter (which I accepted off without purpose to vse yt, for that it is impossible to obserue limitts soe strictly as to avoyde quarrelles, which dayly happen about them), I desired his warrant for the Continewance of our house in Adsmere, which hee instantly wrote and signed, and I dispeeded I acquaynted him with the faire and Noble vsadge of his brother-in-law, the Gouvernor of Cambaya,<sup>1</sup> which hee tooke gratefully, assuring mee that all the Ports and officers in

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<sup>1</sup> See pp 329 332

his Maiestis dominions had order to entreat vs frendly and to protect vs from Iniury if wee dreew not occasion vpon ourselues by misdemeānor

Returning I veined the *Leskar* which is one of the woonders of my litle experience that I had seene yt finished and sett up in 4 howers (except some of great men that haue double prouision) the Circuitt beeing litle lesse then 20 English mile, the length some wayes 3 *Course* comprehending the skirtes and [In?] the middle, wherein the streets are orderly and tents Joynd are all sorts of shoper and distinguished so by rule that euery man knowes readely were to seeke his wants, euery man of quaietye and euery trade beeing limited how farr from the kinges tentes he shall Pitch what ground hee shall vse, and on what syde without alteration which as it iyes together may equall almost any towne in Europe for greatnes. Only a muskett shoot euery way no man approcheth the *Atasckanka*<sup>1</sup> royali which is now kept so strict that none are admitted but by name, and the tyme of the *Durbar* in the eueninge is omitted and spent in hunting or hawking on tanckes by boate, in which the king takes woonderfull delight, and his barges are remooued on Cartes with him and hee sits not but one the syde of one which are many tymes a mile or two ouer. At the *Sarruco* in the Morning hee is seene, but busines or speech prohibited. All is concluded at night at the *Guzelchan* when often the tyme is preuented by a drowzines which poss[ess]eth his Maiestie from the fumes of Backus.

Ther is now a great whisper in Court about a new affinitye of Sultan Corsoronne and Asaph chan and great hope of his liberty. I will synd occasion to discourse it, for that the Passages are very woorthy and the wisdome and goodnes of the king appeares aboue the mallice of others, and Nor

<sup>1</sup> See p. 300.

mahall fullfill[s] the obseruation that in all actions of Consequence in a Court, especially in faction, a woman is not only alwayes an ingredient, but commonly a Principall drugg, and of most vertue, and shee shewes that they are not incapable of Conducting busines, nor herselfe voyd of witt and subtiltye. It will discouer a noble Prince, an excellent wife, a faythfull Counciller, a Crafty stepmother, an ambitious sonne, a Cunning fauorite all reconciled by a Patient king, whose hart was not vnderstood by any of all these<sup>1</sup>. But this will requier a Place alone, and not to bee mingled amonge busines, which this day I receiued from Suratt, of extreame iniuries offered our Nation and new broyles begunn to the hazard of our Peace, but as they only send mee Complaynts, and deteyne the Presents which should enable mee to effect their redresse, so they mingle their owne greuances with confession of misurable misdeameanors Committed by the disorder of themselues, which noe warning of myne I see can prevent when such liberty is giuen to all saylors and base rascalls to dishonor and disquiett vs. Besides, I find not the Principall free from all blame and occasion, for by want of Iudgment and an opinion of liberty neyther granted nor fitt for them to vse, they incurr iust displeasur, and yt breakes out into fury on both sydes, for the officers as fast, complayne of vs as wee of them, and desier mee to send a sober discreet man to gouerne our Nation, which I haue noe power in, so that I cannot tell at what end to beginn. The Prince is abscent, our enterpreter cast off, myselfe without Presents or toong<sup>2</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> On the 30th of the preceding month Roe had written to Lord Pembroke that he hoped to reduce his observations "into a meethood, and though this kingdome almost concerne not Europe, yet the Historye may, as well as some of those that are farther remoued by tymes past, and for subiect perhaps as woorthy". It is to be regretted that he never found the time to carry out his intention.

<sup>2</sup> "Jaddow hath refused the wages assigned by you and in our greatest neede forsaken vs, and I am soe without any linguist that I cannot answere the King what it were a clock. The Plauge is at Agra in extreame violence, and this Iourny a worse Plauge to mee,

Yet I doubt not once more to reconcile this brawle to Content of all sydes, if they please not to it on euery occasion This rule I euer lay wee can neuer liue without quarrell (which ingendreth often greater strifes and the innocent suffer Indifferently with the guilty) vntill our Commanders take order that noe man come to Suratt but on Iust occasion and of Cluill Carriage, and the Cape Merchant so moderate such as come that, for the glory of open house, they giue not liberty of excesse and drincking For what Cluill Town will endure a stranger by force to open in the streetes the close Chayres<sup>1</sup> wherein their weomen are Carried (which they take for a dishonor equall to a raulshment)?<sup>2</sup>

*December 12* — I dispatchd the *Patamar* back for Suratt, with order to direct the expected *Caffela* to Court the shorter way Concerning their Complaynt, I wrote to the Gouvernor and Admirall to glue speedye redresse, or to expect such issue as the kings Iustlee would affoord mee. Meanes to enforme the king I had none for want of our solicitor and linguist. With him I sent a lettre from the

who weakened by many Crosse, decay in my strength and am by fluxes vnfit for trauell or the seildes; and, which is yet more troublesome, am sicker in mynd. — Roe to Surat, December 12, 1616 (*Add MS 6115 f 155*).

The difference with the broker seems to have been smoothed over for Roe on the 14th sent an urgent message to him, and he rejoined him on the 24th.

*Dooties*

<sup>1</sup> The letters from Surat referred to will be found in the I O Records, under dato November 18 and 20, 1616. They record several quarrels between the English and the natives. One of these was caused by a sailor "who (out of ignorance, not knowing the custom) stopped and opened a *dowled* in the street to see what it contained, but, seeing therein a woman, desisted from further wronge and lett it passe. Another which led to a riot, personal violence to Kerridge, and a strict boycott of the factory was due to a bell turret which had been erected on the English house the matter was settled by its dismantlement. Yet a third was brought about by the action of the English Admiral. Some Portuguese frigates hovering at the mouth of the river seized a native vessel laden with water-casks belonging to the English, whereupon Pepiwell seized a vessel leaving Surat, which he believed to be Portuguese property. This was much resented by the natives, and the English factory was again boycotted until the prize was surrendered.



Prince Commanding his officers to Certefye by the Customers booke the debt of Zulphecarcon, which I could not procure from our owne factors

*December 14*—I sent a *Patamar* to Adsmere to hasten the Comming of Iadow

*December 15*—Master Fettiplace arriued at the *leskar* from Agra, beeing out of busines and leauing Master Shallbanck with the goodes, who determined to lock up the house and to remooue to Fettipoore<sup>1</sup> for the vehement rage of the Plauge, Now their next neighbourre

*December 17*—Master Fettiplace departed to Adsmere to remayne with the goodes

*December 18*—I visited the king, who having beene at his sports, and his quarry of foule and fish lyeing before him, hee desired mee to take my Choyse, and so distributed the remayner to his Nobilitye I found him sitting on his throwne, and a begger at his feet, a poore silly ould man, all ashd, ragged, and Patched, with a young roage attending him With these kinde of professed Poore holy men the Country aboundes, and are held in great reuerance, but for woorks of chastisement of their bodyes and voluntary sufferings they exceed the bragges of all heritiques or Idolatres This miserable wretch, clothd in raggs, crownd with feathers, couered with ashes, his Maiestie talked with about an hower, with such familiarity and show of kindnes that it must needes argue an humilitye not found easely among kinges The begger sate, which his<sup>2</sup> sonne dares not doe Hee gaue the king a Present, a Cake, ashd, burnt on the Coales, made by himselfe of Course grayne, which the king accepted most willingly, and brake one bitt and eate yt, which a daynty mouth could scarce haue done After hee tooke the Cloute and wrapt it vp and putt in the poore mans bosome and sent for 100 *rupees*,

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<sup>1</sup> Patchpur Sikri, 23 miles west of Agra

<sup>2</sup> The King's (cp p 419)

and with his owne handes powered them into the poore mans lap and what fell besides gathered vp for him. When his Coliation of banqueting and drinck came whatsoeuer hee tooke to eate hee brake and gaue the begger halfe and after many strange humiliations and Chareities rising the ould wretch not beeing Nimble hee tooke him vp in his armes which noe Cleanly bodye durst haue touchd embracing him and 3 tymes laying his hand on his hart calling him father hee left him and all vs and me in admiration of such a virtue in a heathen Prince.<sup>1</sup> Which I mention with enuye and sorrow that wee having the true vyne should bring forth Crabbes and a bastard stock grapes that either our Christian Princes had this deuotion or that this Zeale were guided by a true light of the Gospell.

*December 21*—I receiued from Amadavaaz of their dispatches for the fleete, as full of Complaynts that they are kept in ignorance as I and that they conveyed a Command sent by mee for their redresse to Suratt which I doubt not will appease all troubles.

*December 23*.—Being short about 3 *Courses* of a Citty called Rantepoore,<sup>2</sup> wher it was supposed the king would rest, and consult what way to take, hee suddenly turned toward Mandoa,<sup>3</sup> but without declaration of any resolution. In my Iudgment rather sent that way by the feare of the Plauge in Agra then any desire of approaching the warr

<sup>1</sup> Jabāngīr had a superstitious respect for devotees, and in his memoirs lays stress on the large number he had visited and relieved. As recorded later (p. 380), at Ujjain he made a special excursion to see the *Sanyāsī Jadrūf*; and two years after while on his way from Ahmad ābād to Agra, he repeated his visit. Coryat mentions "a custome of this King who, sleeping in his *Gusle-can* often when hee awakes in the night, his great men (except those that watch) being retired calls for certaine poore and old men, making them sit by him with many questions and familiar speeches passing the time, and at their departure cloathes them and gives them bountifull Almes, whatsoeuer they demand, telling the money into their hands" (*Purchas* vol. 4, p. 601).

<sup>2</sup> Ranthambhor a fort in Jaipur state, on an isolated rock.

<sup>3</sup> Mandu or Mandogarh, described on p. 391

for wee marched euery other day only about 4 *Courses*, with a baggage almost impossible to bee ordered

*December 24.*—I receiued from Adsmere that the factors Continued in their house and that our brookar Iaddow was in the way, for whose arriuall I deferred my intention of moouing the king to heare the busines of the seuerall Complaynts from Suratt, for a rediesse by *firmaens* from the Prince is but momentary and scarce effectuall Iaddow my enterpreter arriued, and wee made new contract

*December 25* —I rested

*December 26* —Wee Passed thorough woodes and over Mountayns, torne with bushes, tyred with the incomodities of an impassible way, wher many Camells perished Many departed for Agra, and all Complayned I lost my Tents and Cartes, but by midnight wee mett. The king rested two dayes, for that the *leskar* could not in lesse tyme recouer their order, many of the kings woemen, and thowsandes of Coaches, Carts and Camells lyeing in the woody Mountay nes without meate and water, himselfe gott bye on a small Eliphant, which beast will Clime vp rockes and passe such streightes as noe horse nor beast that I know can follow him

I receiued answeere from Suratt full of dispute, but no certeyntyte, neither of the expected Presents nor conclusion of Zulphecarcons debt, nor busines of moment With it a lettre from Captain Pepwell much Complayning of disrespectes towards him, of the Cape Merchanntes obstinacye, and of opening and deteyning his lettres of aduise sent to mee, his opinions of his future voyadge by want of stock, and requiring my opinions what Course to runne if enforced as a man of warr I dispatched a Packett to Amadauaz

*December 29* —Wee sate by the riuier of Chambett<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Chambal, one of the principal tributaries of the Jumna, rises in Málwa, near Mhow, and after a north-easterly course of 650 miles flows into the main river below Etáiwah

*January 1 1616-17*—I sent to Asaph chan to acquaint him with the Injuries of Suratt.

*January 2*—Hee promised to write to the Prince but desired Conference with me.

*January 3.*—I visited Asaph chan and propounded to him the substance of the Complaynts the taking a Portugall friggott,<sup>1</sup> the reason and the pressure of Sultan Carrons officers to deliver back. Hee went<sup>2</sup> from his word to entermeddle in the Princes Gouvernement but if I would presse him hee would make P'etition to the king but advised mee to waigh it well the necessitie of the Princes favour (which hee would vndertake was not acquainted with this New brawle) that if I complayned I might perhapes procure some Checke to the Prince but withall the busines would Come to examinatin and our owne faultes would bee reckoned and objected the issue of Iudgment doubtfull and the Prince would remayne an vnreconciled Enemy I answered I had forethought all this, and was as unwilling to Complayntes as hee could bee but that the disease was such as required a desperat remedy but if in his wisdom hee would direct mee in a better Course, I was ready to follow yt. This I did because the iniuries beeing personall they were recanted and reconciled and my aduertisementes were soe in and out that I knew not whether they wished accusation or no and wee [were?] mingled not only with confusions [confessions?] of our owne misdemeanors, but with intimations of greater layed to their Chardge, which though denyed yet they feared would bee iustified by perjury a small faulte among moores. Asaph chan replied hee was very glad to see mee inclinable to a quiett way, and though hee would not write yet hee thus advised That for the boate and goodes taken

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 365.

<sup>2</sup> Probably we should read "He said that he went.

wee should keepe her, for the Portugals having begunn the Iniury, it was reason wee should requite it, and no exception should bee taken at it, the Couetousnes of the Princes officers for some bribe was the reason of the remanding it, not any fauour to them,<sup>1</sup> for the Complayntes hee wished mee to stay vntill the Presents arriued, and at their deliuerie to the king to aske leaue to goe to Brampoore to visitt the Prinnce, and, without mentioning particular offences, craue his lettre in generall tearmes to Command his sonne to receiue mee, to heare mee in what socuer I desired, and to doe Iustice to our Nation, suffering none to doe them force, and to grant what farther Priuiledges I should fittly propound, which lettre hee would procure, and such a Course would signifie my respect to the Prince, to whom I should, with some fitt present, deliuer a breefe of all Complaynts, and having procured such Iustice as I desired and settled my busines with him, I might returne to Court in double grace, and hee would write with mee to procure me Content This Councell was such as I had taken before in myne owne Purpose with little difference, and such as necessitie showed mee to bee the right way, for I had experience by a Portugall what issue of Complayntes against the Prince would follow, formall remedy but full reuenge, and seeing it was necessarie that I must visitt him, I was loath to exasperat him against my well-come, and I found that if my occasions would haue permitted mee to giue all my attendance and respect to him, *delinire ambitiosum*, I should easiely Compasse him, so that I resolved to spare him as much as I could, and by myne owne trauell ouercum that I could not doe by opposition, and thus sett forward my purpose, that the king was declared for Mandoa and the Nobilitye sent all in hast to build, which beeing but 8 dayes from Brampoore, it was

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<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese

as good as to sitt in the feildes, and in that tyme I might prouide a house by the kinges fauour or buyd it if Constrayned.

At Noone I visited the Persian Ambassador beeing the first tyme cyther of our leysurs would permitt yt. Hee receued mee with great respect and Curtesy After Complements I generally propounded the settling of a trade, the conditions wee required the Comoditye to his Master and our forwardnes in sending a ship this year to Iasques vpon his Masters *firmaen*. Hee answered mee that his king greatly affected the comming of the Chrstians, especially the English but that Shirly was now sent to make offer of the Portes to Spayne.<sup>1</sup> But vnderstanding from mee some inconveniences, wee resolved to dispeed a Post to the Shabas, and hee required mee to propound my desires in writing and hee would send them his Master as well to procure the sailes of the Cloth now landed as to prouide in future for a fitt Cargazon and residence on both Parts. Hee made mee a banquet of ill fructes, but beeing a good fellow it appeared well. In his Curtesyes hee exceeded all my entertaynment in India, rayled at the Court, at the kinges officers and Councell and vsd a strange libertye. I answered that I meddled [not?] in censure of other mens busines. I desired to effect myne owne. Hee offered to bee my linguist, desired mee to Pitch my tentes by him and whateuer I would propound to the king hee would deliuer assuring mee the king had diuers tymes made honorable mention of mee, and expressed a desire to giue mee all content. I seemed to accept of these fauours, but suddenly knew oot howe to trust them but determined to Consider it, for it appeard a faire way and

<sup>1</sup> The Ambassador added that, with a view to provide for the due reception of any English ships that might arrive, the Shah had sent a governor to Jāshak "to re-edefie the Castell, which hath bene long a neglected place" (Roe to Herdridge, January 5, 1617) but this seems to have been a polite fiction.

a hartie motion From hence hee proceeded to some vane-tyes of his Masters purpose to take Aleppo, that hee had Conquered Babilon, and as his aduises came hee would send them mee, and desired mee to mention him to my Soueraigne in my Next lettres and in these to his Master The Conclusion of busines betweene vs is included in my aduise to Kerridge in prosecution of his designe<sup>1</sup> and in the demandes to the Shabas, which was the substance agreed on in this Conference At my departur hee offered mee with much earnestnes a faire horse well furnished, which was brought to the doore, but I was as bountifull in refusing Hee pressd mee the earnestest, but not prevayling sent for 9 Peices of Persian stufes, silke, and 9 bottles of wyne, that I might not depart without some testimony of his loue I answered to effect my desiers with his Master should bee the only Pledges I would accept, wherein hee should do mee most frendship and him most seruice and honor that I acknowledged his magnificence by his offers, but hee should not beginn a frendship at such cost I could exchange a good hart, but had nothing, beeing a stranger, to requite Curtesye of that Nature Hee looking earnestly vpon my sword, I offered it, but hee by example refused it. At night I visited the king, who spent his tyme sadly with an ould man after reading long lettres, and few spake to him At his rising, he gaue this gentellman that sate by him, a Cripple for age, 5,000 *rupees*, and with many embracements tooke his leaue Passing by, hee bowed to mee The Persian Ambassador mett here, where renewing Complements, and repenting that hee refused my sword which hee fancied, hee fayerly beggd it, professing that liberty among frendes was good manners in his Countrye

*January 4* —I sent my sword<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> See *Addl MS* 6115, f 160

<sup>2</sup> Value five pounds (Roe's Accounts)

*January 5*—I dispeeded answers to Suratt with my aduise and conference with the Persian Ambassador and his opulion and to Adsmere what I conceiued fitt for the disposure of that factory

*January 6*—I translated the Articles to send the Shabas, according to conclusion Coppyes of all are registred.<sup>1</sup>

*January 7*—These dayes were Consumed on the way every other remoouing about 4 or 5 *Courses* Wee saie on the goodly riuert of Shynd<sup>2</sup>

*January 8*—I dispeeded the Articles to the king of Persia with lettres to Robbyns, by a Currier of the Embassador and sent Coppyes.

TO WILLIAM ROBBINS AT ISPAHAN

(*Add. MS.* 6115, f 166)<sup>3</sup>

17 January 1616 [17].

Breely our desier is, first, that a Port bee secured by the King, free for vs alone or for all indifferently wher wee may land our goodes, and such priueledges granted to vs as in such cases are requisite and next, that some agreement bee made and sett of Prices indifferently on both sides, according to the Condition of the Comodities; lastly that his Maiestie Command his silkes to bee brought downe yearly at the season, to the Port (which is easier then the way of Aleppo) or to some indifferent Citty not far vp, wher our factors may Constantly and securely reside for a staple Mart, as at Stoad or Middleborough,<sup>4</sup> that wee bee not enforced to seeke and trauell to vnprofitable Marketts. A trade thus settled wilbe dureable, and by Continuance increase, whereas shuffling and vnstable Courses one syde will relinquish by In comoditye. To this Purpose, and to shoue our forwardnes, wee

<sup>1</sup> See *Add. MS.* 6115 ff. 159-163, 166, 211. The articles have not been reproduced as they are sufficiently summarised in the letter to Robbins. As will be seen later they never reached the Sháh.

<sup>2</sup> The Kali Sind, a branch of the Chambal.

<sup>3</sup> There is another copy in the I O Records (*OC* No. 434), endorsed as received March 5 (at Ispahan?) and in London, by way of Aleppo and Marseilles November 26, 1617. The date of the letter is clearly wrong though it appears in both copies. Probably the 7th is intended (see p. 405, where Roe says that the letter was actually despatched on the 10th).

<sup>4</sup> Stade, on the western bank of the Elbe. Middelburg in the island of Walcheren.



haue now sent a ship to Jasques, to vnlade Cloth and other goodes, with our factors to attend the Pleasure of his Maiestie, and though the Comoditye bee not in quantety nor qualeyty such as may giue the King any great encouragement, yet hee shall see our desiers and will not judge vs by this beginning, for that wee Came not Purposely for the Place, but to trye and settle our enterteynment. To this end I haue sent his Maiestie articles firmed by mee and Commended by his Embassador, which if you will sollicite, that the Cloth may bee taken off, and, for the future, a Certeyne Course and residence dessigned, and a *firmaen* both what sortes and quantetyes of Goodes, eyther of Europe, India, Chyna, or the South Islandes, his Maiestie will require, wee will then roundly and duly fullfill his desire, that hee shall find the Profitt in his owne Coffers and in the weakening his greatest enemy. If this cannot bee effected, it is not woorth labor, wee shall both deceiue and bee deceiued. For wee ayme not at gnatts and small flyes, but at a Commerce Honorable and Equall to two so mighty Nations. You shall doe your Countre good seruice to acquaynt his Maiestie freely with this Motion, open his eyes, that hee bee not blynded with the smoky ayer of Spanish greatnes. Deale in this Clearly and substancially, and beleue not that a trade will euer proceede that is not at first settled vpon vnderstanding groundes, and if you in your judgment and experience fynd that these conditions will not bee agreed too, the Next best seruice you can doe is to assure the King wee will not come like Peddlears, and to aduice vs, that wee spend no more tyme and trauell in vayne. I shall not abyde in these Partes (I hope) to see any great issue, for in December 1617 I expect to turne my face homeward, vnlesse I be commanded by his Maiestie my lord and soueraigne to visitt the Shabas, which if it so happen, I will acquaynt him not only with the affection and Power of my master to bee his frend, but with many things that are woorthy to bee knowne to so braue a Prince, wherein hee is yet vnexcersiced, and expresse more fully my Particular desire to doe him seruice.

*January 9*—Jaddow, finding by the Invoyce small hope of sales, Picked a quarrell that hee wanted water at midnight, and without taking leaue forsooke mee. Soe that I resolved to bee noe longer tyed to the seruitude of such a villayne, who had so often Notoriously abusd vs, but dispeeded a *Pattamar* to Adsmere to procure the Comming of a Greeke that spake excellent language to supply my vse on the way, and to sollicite my determinations at the Comming of the Presentes, and to assist Master Bidolph in the

Companyes busines hee propounding him as the fittest man in India, but I purposed only to serue my vse on him, and to proue him or to dismisse him so soone as I was settled. But for feare of his refusall or to bee destitute, I wrote to Master Shalbanek to practise with Jaffer the broker in Agra, to Come downe and supply the Place, resolving soe to gett him into my Power to answere the accusations laid by Jaddow that hee should deceiue the factors of Agra in investments betweene 2 and 3000 *rupees* which hee yet offered to Iustefy to Master Bidolph.

*January 14.*—I receiued from Agra that the Plauge<sup>1</sup> was fallen to 100 a day and great hope of the Clearing of the Towne that Indico was like to bee at indifferent rates, and if mony Could bee fitted in tyme, that all the Cloth in barter might bee putt off which Iettres I answered perswading to Putt it in Practice by the debtes made and billes sent vp to the Creditors residing there.

*January 16.*—I sent a *Patamar* expresse to Suratt, hearing nothing of the *Presentes* nor *Casala* to require a resolution and to conuay the Packettes of Adsmere which found now no Passadge thence

*January 18.*—The king Passed betweene two Mountaynes, having Cutt the way thorough the woodes but with soe much trouble and inconvenience to the baggage that it was left behind<sup>2</sup> Without any refreshing I found my Tents by Midnight, having taken vp my lodging first vnder a tree. This Countrie is full of theecues and not in perfect obedience

<sup>1</sup> See p. 307

<sup>2</sup> "I am yet followeing this wandering King ouer Mountaynes and thorough woodes, so strange and vnused wayes that his owne People, who almost know no other God, blasphemne his Name and hers that, it is sayd, Conductes all his actions."—Roe to Smythe, January 16, 1617 (*Addl MS* 6115, f 164)

The gorge here mentioned seems to be the pass of Mukandwâd, memorable in later years in connection with Colonel Monson's retreat. A description of the pass and its beautiful scenery will be found in *Tod's Rajasthan*, vol. ii, p. 643.

but as they are kept by force It belonges to a *Raja* that desires not to see the king *Haud facile libertus<sup>1</sup> et dominus censetur* The exactor Complaynd, and some few of the People that fled, beeing taken and Chayned by the Neckes, were Presented the king, the strongest kept the Mowntaynes At night, the king fired the Towne by which hee sate, and appoynted a New gouernor to the quarter to reedefye and repeople it and reduce it to Ciuiltie. Hee left him some horse to effect it, *nam neque quies gentium sine armis, neque arma sine stipendius, neque stipendia sine tributis, haberi queant<sup>2</sup>*

*January 20*—The Banditi fled into the woodes, in reuenge of their towne, sett vpon a Company of stragglers behind, slew diuers, and robbd them

*January 22*—I receiued from Brampoore by Master Banghams aduise of the safe Passadge of the Agra *Cafala* and their goodes, but noe newes from Suratt, hee professing to haue sent 5 expresse *Patamars*, who were deteyned, and in two monthes hee hard not any aduise, hauing mony in Cash vnbestowed, to the Companies losse and his greife This made me desperat of the Presents expected, and resolved at night to visitt the king to obserue what Countenance he would show mee, or to giue occasion to aske after them When I Came, I found him sate in a New order, so that I was to seeke what Place to Choose, loth to mingle with his great ones (which was offered), and doubted to goe into the roome where hee sate, beeing Cutt downe the bancke of a riuer and none neare him but Etimon Dowlett, his father-in-law, Asaph chan and 3 or 4 others Soe I went to the brimme and stood alone Hee obserued mee and lett mee stay a while, and so smiling called mee in

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<sup>1</sup> *Libertas* is the reading of the original (Tacitus, *Hist*, iv, 64)—“Liberty and Lords go not well together”

<sup>2</sup> “For neither can the tranquillity of nations be obtained without armies, nor armies without pay, nor pay without taxes”—*Ibid*, iv, 74 The last word of the quotation should be “queunt.”

and with his hand directed mee to stand by him, a fauour so vnusuall that it both gaue mee some Content and much Grace, which I instantly found in others vsadge. Hee prouoked mee too talke and I calling for an interpreter hee refused it and pressed mee to vse such woordes as in Persian I had. Our discourse had not much sence nor dependance, hut hee tooke it well and with much curtesy demonstrated a good opinion.

*January 23*—I returned answere to Brampoore.

*January 24*.—Newes arriuing at Court that the Decans would not bee frighted out of their dominion (which Asaph chan and Normahali had pretended to procure this voyadge) but that they had sent their impediments into the hart and attended In the borders with 50,000 horse resolved to fight, and that Sultan Coronne was yet aduanced no farther then Mandoa, afraid both of the Enemie and *Chan Channa* these Councillors changed their aduise and declaring to the king that they conceiued the Decan before his Passadge ouer the last hills would haue yeilded by the Terror of his approach but finding the Contrary, perswaded him to Convert it to a hunting Iourny, and to turne his face toward Agra, for that the other was not an Enemie woorthy his Person. Hee replied this Consideration came too iate his Honour was ingaged seeing hee had so farr Passd hee would prosecute their first councells and his Purpose, and aduenture the hazardes of both But hee dayly dispeeded fresh troupes toward his sonne, partly from his owne the rest Commanded from Gouvermentes, according to report 30,000 horse but not by Muster

*January 28*—I receiued from Suratt that the Presents and goodes for Court were dispeeded the second of this month, and that if the Prince (which I feared) intercepted them not, I might expect them by the 10th of Feabruary<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The presents were in the charge of the Reverend Edward Ferry who, as already related (p. 246), had been chosen to fill Hall's place as

This late Newes yet refreshed mee, who was soe weary of an Idle Iourney that I had some hope to gett liberty to goe before and to dispatch at Brampoore with the Prince according to a Promise and a resolution taken, and the Necessitye of our busines exacting that respect too him, so I attended in Patience and expectation

*January 29*—The *Patamar* I returned with a Packett to Suratt At night arriued Diego Lopo, the Greeke, from Adsmere, with Master Fettiplace lettres of his endeauoring Carridg to remooue the gondes for Agra, of whom I purposed to make vse during my Necessitie if I found him fitt for employment, for Jaddow in all this tyme neuer offered so much as to visitt mee, and I resolved neuer to vse him Water is become very scarce, and though our *leskar* be halfe lessened, yet passing many dayes thorough a Country wher the People were guilty of some disobedience, and for feare forsaking the villadges with their Prouisions, grayne and all other necessities became soe deare, and the mony so abased by want of *Pice*, that I was at double Chardge of expence The king, who feesles it not, takes no order His *Channs* are Followed with their owne prouision and so enforme not The strangers, the souldier, and the Poore only, as woorst able, endure the burthen. Euery other day the king remooued 3, 4, or 5 *Course* Short yet of Mandoa, 60

*January 30-February 2*.—Euery other day 4 *Course*

*February 3*—Departing out of the Rode of the *Leskar* for ease and shade, and resting vnder a tree for the same Comodities, came vpon mee Sultan Corsoronne, the kings eldest restrayned sonne, riding vpon an Eliphant, with no great Guard nor attendance His People desired mee to

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chaplain to the ambassador He was instructed by Kerridge to give Roe timely notice of his approach, and, if the Prince interfered, he was to invoke the assistance of Afzal Khán (*Surat Letterbook*, f 142)

giue him roome which I did but attended to see him, who called for mee, and with some gentle and famillar questions full of Curtesye and affability hee departed His Person is good and Countenance Cherfull his beard growne to his girdle. This only I Noted, that his questions showed ignorance of all Passadges In Court in so much he neuer heard of any Ambassador nor English.<sup>1</sup>

*February 4 and 5.*—Wee rested not.

*February 6*—At night wee came to a litle Tower newly repayred wher the king Pitched in a Plesant Place vpon the Riuer of Sepra, short of Vgen<sup>2</sup> the Cheefe City of Malwa, one *Course* This Place called Calçada,<sup>3</sup> was an

<sup>1</sup> Terry (p. 431) gives the following account of an interview between Roe and the Prince. Although Terry speaks as if he had been present, and Roe is represented as having been at the Court for two years, it seems to refer to the present occasion. "Once he called my Lord Ambassador to him as we passed by him, asking him many questions, as how far distant our Country was from them, and what we brought thither what we carried thence, and how the King his father had used him since his arrive there; whither or no he had not bestowed on him some great gifts? The Ambassador told him that his business there was to obtain a free trade for his Nation the English and that being granted him, he had reward enough. The Prince replied that this could not be denyed us, we coming so far to trade there with him and the Prince further asked him how long he had been there the Ambassador told him about two years the Prince replied again, that it was a very great shame for the successor of Tamberlane, who had such infinite Rules, to suffer a man of his quality to come so far unto him, and to live so long about him and not to give him some Royall gift; and he further added, that for himself he was a Prisoner and therefore could do him no good, but he would pray for him, and so he departed.

<sup>2</sup> Ujjain, on the River Sipra.

<sup>3</sup> Kalyāda, about four miles north of the present city of Ujjain. It is described as an ancient palace, built on an island in the Sipra, and consisting of two square buildings, each covered by a cupola; a bridge connects the island with the mainland, and below the bridge are several apartments on a level with the water the rocky bed of the river is cut into channels of various regular forms, such as spirals, squares, circles, etc., and the whole place formed a very cool and attractive retreat for the hot weather (Hunter's *Narrative of a Journey from Agra to Ujjain*, in *Asiatic Researches* vol. vi see also *The Oriental Repertory* vol. vi, p. 266).

The building was erected by one of the Ghori kings of Malwa, named Nasir-ud-din (1500-12), the story of whose death is here related. The same tale, but with a few variations, is given in Jahāngir's *Memoirs*

ciently a seat of the Gentile kinges of Mandoa, one wherof was there drowned in his drinck, having once before fallen into the riuer, and taken vp by the hayre of the head by a slaue that diued, and beeing come to himselfe it was related to him to procure a reward Hee Called for the instrument of his safety, and demanding how he durst Putt his handes on his Soueraygnes head, caused them to bee stricken off Not long after, sitting alone with his wife in drunkennes, hee had the same Chance to slipp into the water, but so that shee might easely haue saued him, which shee did not, and beeing demanded why, shee replied shee knew not whither he also would Cutt of her handes for her recompence

*February 8*—Wee rested

*February 10*—Wee remooued to a *Course* beyond Vgen.

*February 11*—The king rode to Vgen to speake with a *Dernis* or Saynt living on a hill, who is reported to bee 300 yeares ould<sup>1</sup> I thought this Miracle not woorthy my examination

At noone by a foote Post I receiued that the Prince, notwithstanding all *firmaens* and Commandes of his father, had entercepted the Presents and goodes sent vp, to fullfill his base and greedy desier, and that notwithstanding any guift nor entreaty or Perswasions of Master Terry, to whose

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(see Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol vi, p 350) As Ferishta tells the story (*History of the Deccan*, Briggs' translation, vol iv, p 242), the king, while intoxicated, slipped into a tank, and was rescued by four of his women, who changed his wet clothes without his perceiving it On awakening from his stupor, he complained of headache, and was thereupon told that he had been so drunk that he had fallen into the water Enraged at what he thought (from the state of his clothing) to be a lie, and supposing them to be reproaching him for his inebriety, he put them all to death, in spite of their protests But he did not die himself till many years after, and then of a fever

<sup>1</sup> In his Memoirs the emperor relates this visit at great length It was paid to a *Sanyási* (ascetic) of the name of Murtázi Jadrúf, "who had retired many years ago from Ujjain to a corner of the desert to worship the true God" (Mr Rogers' translation of the *Tízak*) The "corner of the desert" appears to have been among the ruins of the ancient city of Ujjain

Charge they were Comitted would not part with them, but by force Compelld them to returne with him toward Brampoore, yet hee forbear to breake any thing open but pressed the English to Consent which they refusing by my order hee thought to wynn them by vexation Such is the Custome to see ali Merchanntes goodes, cauen before the king that hee may first Choose, but I resolved to breake yt In our behalfe. The Prince to satisfie his desire, before I could haue knowledg he sent a Post to the king to certlsye him that such goodes hee had stayed without mentlon of Presentes and Prayed leaue to open them and to buy what hee fancied. So soone as I heard of this faithlesse vniust vsadge, I resolved I was Iustifiable before all the world, If I vsed the extreamety of Complayntes, that I had practised all meanes to wyne and Purchase fauour, and had suffered beyond the Patience of a free man my former Courses will wittnes, and leaue mee without blame In Ill successes, though I found It In a rougher way, seeing I could synd no better In the smoothest. Breefly I resolved to appeale to Iustice by Complaynt, but as Calmely and warely as I Could, to expresse my wholle greiffe, extreame Inluryes, and long Patience. To goe to Asaph chan (though to neglect him would displease him) yet to trye him I feared would preuent my Purpose. To send to him that I desired to visitt the king at the *Guzel chan* I doubted what I entended might bee suspected If hee had heard of the Inlurye so I practised first to avoyd preuention. The Prophett whom the king visited offered mee occasion, and my new linguist was ready I rode and mett his Maiestie on his Ellphant and allighted, making signe to speake. Hee turned his Monster to mee, and Preuented mee My sonne hath taken your goodes and my Presents bee not sadd hee shall not touch nor open a seale, nor lock at night I will send him a Command to free them, with other very Gratiuous speeches that hee



knew I came full of Complaynt, to ease mee hee begann first. Vpon the way I could doe noe more, but at night, without farther seeking to Asaph chan, I went to the *Guzelchan*, resolved to prosecute the Complaynt of forcing back our goodes in respect of the Chardg and trouble, of the abuses of Suratt and all our other greeuances. Soe soone as I came in, the king called my interpreter and deliuered by his [means?] that hee had written and sent his Command very effectually that not a hayre should be deminished. I replyed the iniury was such, and the Chardge and abuses of our liberty by the Princes officers, that I desired redresse, for that wee could not longer suffer. It was answered what was Past I must remitt to his sonne, but by Asaph chans mediation I could procure Nothing but very good woordes, for hee smoothd on both sides. Soe that I was forced to seeme Content, and to seeke an oportunitye in the absence of that my falce frend and procurator. The good king fell to dispute of the lawes of Moses, Jesus and Mahomett; and in drinck was so kinde that hee turned to mee, and said Am I a king? You shalbe wellcome. Christians, Moores, Iewes, hee meddled not with their faith. they Came all in loue and hee would protect them from wrong. they liued vnder his safety and none should oppresse them; and this often repeated, but in extreame drunkennes hee fell to weeping and to diuers Passions, and soe kept vs till midnight.

Iudg all men what trauell I endured by reason the factors kept my Presentes 4 monthes and sent them eauen in the Mouth of the Prince, arriued within two dayes of Brampoore, and hereby euery way our Chardg doubled. Yet I rested not satisfied, but seeing I had begunn and that the Prince was, as I feared, enough exasperated with a little, I thought as good Loose him to some Purpose as to none, at least to trie the king what hee would doe. Soe I wayted advantage, but sent back the Messenger to

Master Terry to stand out and attend the kinges answer, which I would speedily send him.

*This Journall from this 11th february 1616[ 17] is posted into another booke<sup>1</sup> for want of roome*

THE JOURNAL CONTINUED FROM "PURCHAS HIS  
PILGRIMES" (VOL. I P. 564).

And so resolved to dissemble that I hope to repay<sup>2</sup> When I came, with base flattery worse then the theft, or at least to giue me some satisfaction because trouble was

<sup>1</sup> Which unfortunately can nowhere be found and henceforward we are dependent on Purchas's meagre extracts, together with such letters as have escaped destruction.

<sup>2</sup> As Purchas commences this entry in the middle of a sentence and gives no date, it may be surmised that some leaves were missing from the MS. he used. The date it is impossible to supply though it must have been in the latter half of February. Terry says their journey from Surat to Roe's camp lasted until the end of March but he was evidently mistaken in the month.

Some particulars of the seizure of the presents and their subsequent release are given in the following extracts —

"We were violently detained in our journey by Sultan Caroon, the Prince, whom we met in his march towards Brampore, and a very marvellous great retinue with him. The reason why he interrupted us in our course was that he might see the presents we had for his Father the King but, we having command from the Ambassador to tell him that we durst not open them till we came to the King we most humbly craved his pardon to spare us in that. So, presenting him with a pair of Rich Gloves (though they be things they wear not in those hot Countryes) and a rich embroidered bag for perfume (which amongst many other things of the like kinde were brought from England to be given away for presents), after that he had carried us back three dayes journey he let us go, taking further order for our safe Convoy — Terry's *Voyage* p. 194.

"The Prince seized all the Presents and goodes and tooke them into his tentes, forcing back their attendantes, but opened Nothing which Newes arriving I would not consent hee should search myne for the example and though it were reasonable to giue leaue to buy yet, noe Merchant being present, and the goodes sent vp vnder the Name of supply to the Court factory so base, so vnworthy of the honor of the Company that I thought it would redound to much scorne to divulge their quality. I desired the Kings lettre, which with many gracious additions hee gaue, and all was dispeeded after long stay and much expence. When they came neare, the King being gone Priuately ahunting and my selfe in the *Isker* the Prince's *Haddy* [*ahadi*, a soldier of the body-guard], whom he sent

in my face (for otherwise it is no iniury heere to bee so vsed), he beganne to tell me he had taken diuers things that please[d] him extreamely well, naming two Cushions embroydered, a folding Glasse, and the Dogges, and desired mee not to bee discontent, for whatsoeuer I would not giue him, I should receiue backe I answered there were few things that I entended not to present him, but that I tooke it a great discourtesie to my Soueraigne, which I could not answere, to haue that was freely giuen seized, and not deliuered by my hands, to whom they were directed and that some of them were entended for the Prince and Normahall, some to lye by me, on occasions to prepare his Maiesties fauour to protect vs from iniuries that strangers were daily offered, and some for my friends or priuate vse, and some that were the Merchants, which I had not to doe withall He answered that I should not be sad nor grieued that hee had his choyce, for that hee had not patience to forbear seeing them hee did mee no wrong in it, for hee thought I wished him first serued and to my Lord the King of England hee would make satisfaction, and my excuse the Prince, Normahall and he were all one and for any to bring with me to procure his fauour, it was a

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with Command to carry all to the King, betrayed mee, and though I gott the Merchantes goodes deliuered to Master Biddolph, yet in the night hee stole away myne and carried them to the King as Presentes, who opened and tooke all that liked him Next day I came and hee made many excuses, offering mee restitution, but yet I cannot gett yt and for some amendes hee promiseth his lettres for redresse of abuses But I neuer sawe what came vp, nor haue any thing for the Prince, except it bee returned, so that this yeare I am barer handed then the last All that I can vrdge is answered with such Promises, and, if they succeed, I am happely robbd"—Roe to Surat, March 10, 1617 (*Addl MS* 6115, f 175)

From other letters of Roe's it appears that when the goods and presents reached the camp, the king was four *los* away, hunting The officer in charge at once rode to report to him, "whose haste called for them and mee, but the Messengers at midnight carried all away, and his Majestie opened them and tooke euery thing before my arruall" Next day Roe reached the king's headquarters, and the interview here described took place



THE REV EDWARD TERRY  
(from his "Voyage to East India")



ceremony and unnecessary for he would at all times heare me that I should be welcome emptie handed, for that was not my fault and I should receiue right from him and to go to his sonne, he would returne me somewhat for him, and for the Merchants goods pay to their content concluding I should not be angry for this freedome he entended well. I made no reply Then hee pressed me whether I was pleased or no. I answered His Maiesties content pleased me. So seeing Master Terry whom I brought in with me he called to him Padre, you are very welcome and this house is yours esteeme it so whensoever you desire to come to me, it shall bee free for you, and what soeuer you will require of mee, I will grant you.<sup>1</sup> Then he conuerted himselfe with this cunning vnto me, naming all particulars in order The Dogges<sup>2</sup> Cushions, Barbers

<sup>1</sup> Terry's account of the incident (p. 440) is as follows "When I was first there brought into the presence of the Mogol, immediately after my arrive at his Court, I standing near the Ambassador (for no man there of the greatest quality whatsoever is at any time suffered to sit to his presence) and but a little distance from that Kioig to his *Gowlatan*, he sent one of his Grandees to me, to let me know that the King, had me welcome thither that I should have a free access to him whenever I pleased and if I would ask him any thing, he would give it me (though I never did ask, nor he give). And very many times afterward when, waiting on my Lord Ambassador I appeared before him, he would still shew tokens of Civility and respect to me.

<sup>2</sup> "That year I went for East India, the Merchants here (as from the Kioig of England, to whose name they sent all their presents) amongst many other things, then sent the Mogol some great English Mastives, and some large Irish Grey hounds, to all to the number of eight, dispersed in our severall ships. Only two of the Mastives cam alive to East India, and they were carried up, each of them drawn in a little Coach, when I went up to the Ambassador that he might present them to the Mogol. The fiercest of these two, to our way thither upon a time breaking loose, fell upon a very large Elephant that was hard by us, fastening his teeth in the Elephants Trunk, and kept his hold there a good while, which made that huge beast extremely to roare; and though the Elephant did swing the Mastive up and down above ground many times (as not feeling his weight) that he might throw him off, yet he could not suddenly do it but at last freeing himself from the dog by throwing him a good space from him, there came a Mungrill Curr of that Countrey towards our Mastive, who then lost [left?] this his most unequal match, fell upon that dog and kild him, by which means we recovered our Mastive again into our custody he not having received any apparent

case, you will not desire to haue backe, for that I am delighted in them? I answered No Then, said he, there were two Glasse chestes for they were very meane and ordinary, for whom came they? I replied I entended one for his Maiestie, the other to Normahall Why then, said hee, you will not aske that I haue, being contented with one? I was forced to yeeld Next he demanded whose the Hats were, for that his women liked them I answered Three were sent to his Maiestie the fourth was mine to wear Then, said he, you will not take them from me, for I like them, and yours I will returne if you need it, and will not bestow that on me, which I could not refuse Then next he demanded whose the Pictures were I answered Sent to me to vse on occasions, and dispose as my busnesse required So hee called for them, and caused them to be opened, examined me of the women,<sup>1</sup> and other little questions, requiring many iudgements of them Of the third Picture, of Venus and a Satyre, he commanded my Interpreter not to tell me what he said, but asked his Lords what they conceued should be the interpretation or morall of that He shewed the Satyres hornes, his skinne, which was swart, and pointed to many particulars Euery man replied according to his fancie, but in the end hee concluded they were all deceiued and seeing they could iudge no better, hee would keepe his conceit to himselfe, iterating his command to conceale this passage from me,

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hurts This storie pleased the Mogol very much when the dogs were presented to him, and he allowed each of them four attendants of those Natives to wait upon them, who by turnes two and two together carried them up and down with him in *palanquins*, to which they were tyed, and the other two went by them, fanning the flies from off them, and the King caused a pair of silver tongs to be made on purpose that with them, when he pleased, he might feed those dogs with his own hand"—Terry, p 149

<sup>1</sup> The Lady Montague [wife of Sir Henry Montague, afterwards Earl of Manchester], and the Lady Molyneux [probably Frances, daughter of Sir Gilbert Gerard, and wife of Sir Richard Molyneux] (Kerridge to Roe, December 12, 1616 — *Surat Letterbook*)

but bade him aske me what it meant. I answered An Inuention of the Painter to shew his arte which was Poeticall but the interpretation was New to mee that had not seene it. Then he called Master Terry to giue his iudgement, who replying hee knew not the King demanded why hee brought vp to him an Inuention wherein hee was ignorant at which I enterposed that he was a Preacher and medled not with such matters, nor had charge of them onely, comming in their company hee was more noted and so named as their conductor

This I repeate for instruction to warne the company and him that shall succeed me to be very wary what they send may be subject to ill Interpretation <sup>1</sup> for in that point this King and people are very pregnant and scrupulous full of lealousie and trickes. For that, notwithstanding the King conceited himselfe, yet by the passages I will deliuer my opinion of this conceit which (knowing I had neuer seene the Picture, and by Ignorance was guiltlesse) hee would not presse hard vpon me but I suppose he vnderstood the Morall to be a scorne of Asiaticques whom the naked Satyre represented and was of the same complexion and not vnlike who being held by Venus, a white woman by the Nose, it seemed that shee led him Captiue. Yet he reuealed no discontent, but rould them vp and told me he would accept him also as a Present for the Saddle and some other small Toyes, he would fit me with a gift to his Sonne, to whom he would write according to promise, so effectually that I should need no Sollicitor in many [my?] businesses, with as many complements, excuses, professions and protestations as could come from any very Noble or very base minde in either extreame. Yet he left

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<sup>1</sup> The Company sent out many allegorical pictures. Amongst those brought by Roe was one "expressing our government, which seems a difficult subject for a painter



not, but enquired what meant the figures of the beasts,<sup>1</sup> and whether they were sent me to giue to him I had vnderstood they were very ridiculous and ill shaped ordinary creatures, the varnish off, and no beauty other then a lumpe of wood I was really ashamed, and answered It was not my fault those that seized them must beare the affront but that they were not entended to him, but sent to shew the formes of certaine beasts with vs He replied quickly · Did you thinke in England that a Horse and a Bull was strange to mee? I replied I thought not of so meane a matter the sender was an ordinary man in good will to mee for Toyes, and what he thought, I knew not Well, said the King, I will keepe them, and onely desire you to helpe me to a horse of the greatest size it is all I will expect, and a Male and Female of Mastiffes, and the tall Irish Grey-hounds, and such other Dogges as hunt in your lands, and if you will promise me this, I will giue you the word of a King, I will fully recompence you, and grant you all your desires I answered I would promise to prouide them, but could not warrant their liues, and if they dyed by the way, onely for my discharge, their skinnnes and bones should bee preserued Hee gaue extraordinary Bowes, layd his hand on his heart, and such kind of gestures as all men will witnesse he neuer vsed to any man, nor such familiarity, nor freedome, nor profession of loue This was all my recompence, that he often desired my content to be merry that the wrong he had done me he would royally requite, and send me home to my Countrey with grace and reward like a Gentleman But seeing no-

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<sup>1</sup> These were six carved figures of a lion, buck, horse, greyhound, bull and talbot (a species of dog noted for quickness of scent), and had cost 57s each (*Surat Letterbook*, f 138) Mukarrab Khán's list of goods suitable for presentation to the King (sent home by Downton in 1614) included "any figures of beasts, birds, or other similes made of glass, of hard plaster, of silver, brass, wood, iron, stone or ivery" (*Letters Received*, vol II, p 173), and probably the models referred to had been sent in consequence of this suggestion

thing returned of what was seized but words I desired his Maiesty to delluer backe the Veluets and Silkes, being Merchants goods that they were sent vpon among mine by his Maiesties command for that by that pretence they escaped the raulne of the Princes Officers. So hee gaue order to call Master Biddolph to agree with him and to pay for them to content. Then I delluered a Letter I had ready written contayning my desire for Priuiledges and Iustice, otherwise, I should returne as a Fayzneane<sup>1</sup> and disgraced to my Soueraigne, and desired some Iustice for Sulpheckarkons Debt lately dead. He replied he would take such order with his Sonne for Surat as I should haue no cause to complaine and that he should cleere it for which he gaue instant order. For other places, he would giue me his commands, and euery way shew how much he loued me and, to the end I might returne to my Master with honour. Hee would send by me a rich and worthy Present, with his Letter of my behaulour filled with many prayes and commanded me to name what I thought would be most acceptable. I answered I durst not craue. It was not our custome nor stood with my Masters honour but whatsoeuer he sent I doubted not would be acceptable from so potent a King and so much loued of my Lord. He replied that I thought he asked in lest, to please mee, and that he saw I was yet discontent, but he conured me to belecue he was my friend and would at conclusion proue so, and vowed by his head hee spake heartily concerning Presents, but I must not refuse for his instruction to name somewhat. This earnestnesse enforced mee to say If his Maiesty pleased I thought large Persian Carpets<sup>2</sup> would be fittest for gifts of cost and value my

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<sup>1</sup> A do-nothing, (Fr fainéant).

<sup>2</sup> Roe himself took home a "great carpet with my [his] arms thereon, which he afterwards bequeathed to his cousin, Sir Henry Roe (Roe's will, in Somerset House).

Master expected not He answered he would prouide of all sorts and sizes, and added [add ?] to them what hee thought was fit, that your King may know I respect him Next, hauing Venison of diuers sorts before him, he gaue me halfe a Stagge, with these words Hee killed it himselfe, and the other halfe I should see bestowed on his wiues , which was presently cut out, in small pieces of foure pound, and sent in by his third<sup>1</sup> sonne and two women that were called out, to diuers such Mammockes<sup>2</sup> as if it had beene a dole to the poore, and carryed by the Prince bare in his hands Now I had as much satisfaction and so abundant grace as might haue flattered me into content , but the iniury was aboue words, though I were glad of these, and of colour to dissemble, for hee sent as a conclusion to know if I were pleased, and did not depart discontent. I answered His Maesties fauour was sufficient to make mee any amends Then, said he, I haue onely one question to aske you, which is, I wonder much, now I haue seene your Presents two yeares, what was the reason why your King sent a Merchant, a meane man,<sup>3</sup> before you with fife times as many, and more curious Toyes that contented all, and after to send you his Ambassadour with a Commission and his Letter mentioning Presents, and yet what you brought was little, meane and inferiour to the other I acknowledge you an Ambassadour, I haue found you a Gentleman in your vsage, and I am amazed why you were so slightly set out I would haue replied, but he cut me off I know it is not the Kings fault, nor yours, but I will let you see I esteeme you better then they employed you at your returne I will send you home with honour, with reward and according to your qualitie and, not respecting what you brought me, will like a King present your Lord and Master . onely this I will require from you, and not

<sup>1</sup> A slip for fourth (Jahándár) or fifth (Shahryár) Cp p 279

<sup>2</sup> Morsels (cp *Coriolanus*, I, iii, 63) <sup>3</sup> Edwards

expect it from the Merchants to take with you a patterne of a Quiver and Case for my Bow a Coat to weare a Cushion to sleepe on of my fashion (which was at his head) and a paire of Boots, which you shall cause to be embroydered in England of the richest manner and I will expect and receiue them from you for I know In your Countrey they can worke better then any I haue scene and if you send them mee, I am a King you shall not lose by it which I most thankfully undertooke and he commaunded Asaph Chan to send me the patternes. Then he demanded if I had any Grape Wine. I could not denie it. He desired a taste next night and if hee liked it he would be bold if not, he desired me to make merrie with it. So spending this night onely on me, he rose

March 3.—Wee came to Mandoa<sup>1</sup> into which the King entred in state. But no man was suffered to goe in before hee was set, by the adulce of his Astrologers so that wee all sat without attending a good houre.

[March] 6.—I came into Mandoa, hauing sent before and

<sup>1</sup> Mandā, once the capital of Malwa, now a deserted city in Dhar State (5 miles S.W. of Ujjain, 34 miles S.W. of the cantonment at Mhow and 15 miles N. of the right bank of the Narmadā. Burhampur lies about 90 miles to the S.E.

The city stands on the crest of the Vindhya, nearly 2000 ft. above sea level, overlooking the Narmadā valley while behind an abrupt gorge cuts it off from the tableland of Malwa. This strong position led to its being chosen as the capital of the Muhammadan kings of Malwa, who adorned it with many splendid buildings, which are still standing; but after its capture in 1531 by Bahādur Shāh and its consequent incorporation with the dominions of Gujārāt, it gradually declined in importance till at last it was abandoned to the jungle. Finch visited it in March, 1610, and described at some length its magnificent ruins (*Jurrikar* vol. i. p. 425); and subsequent accounts will be found in Sir John Malcolm's *Malwa* (1822), *Gleanings in Science* (Calcutta, 1830) vol. ii, p. 342; *The History of Mandu* by "a Bombay subaltern" [Lieut. Blake, as Dr Burgess tells me] (1844) reprinted in 1875 and 1879; and Harris's *Antiquities of Mandoo* (1860). The last-named work contains a number of coloured views of the principal buildings. The latest description will be found in the *Progress Report of the Archaeological Survey Circle N.W. Provinces and Oudh* 1892-93.

Possibly some future explorer will identify the building, in which

found a faire Court well walled, and in that a good Church, one great Tombe It was taken vp by one of the Kings Seruants, but I got possession and kept it, being the best within all the wall, but two mile from the Kings house, yet so sufficient that a little charge would make it defensible against raines, and saue one thousand *Rupias* ; and for Aire very pleasant vpon the edge of the hill.

[*March*] 11.—At night I went toward the Court, but the King, vpon newes of a Lion that had killed some Horses, was gone to hunt , so that I had leisure to seeke some water For we were brought to a hill with a multitude of people (so great is the foresight, and so good the Policie) where was no water, that men and Cattle were like to perish That little that was in Pooles some great men possessed, and kept by force I could get none , the poore forsooke the Citie, and by Proclamation many were commanded away, all Horses and Cattel forbid, and so those who were now in hope to rest were forced to seeke new Dwellings, who departed some two, three and foure *Course* off, to the extreame trouble of all men, and the terrible rising of prouisions I knew not what to doe , my Roome and House was good, and though I were farre from Markets, yet it was a lesse inconuenience then to sit in the fields without house or shelter , onely I wanted water So I rode my selfe to seeke some, and found a great Poole

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Roe took up his quarters It was "on the Sowth side, neare the edge of the hill, a *course* from the Towne," about two miles from the royal headquarters, and on the way from them down to the river ; and it consisted of a deserted mosque and tomb, probably both of date anterior to the Mogul conquest, with a courtyard surrounded by a wall not too high for a lion to leap over A writer in the *Calcutta Review* for 1857 (vol xxviii, p 254) mentions that some years previous Roe's name was to be seen on the walls of an old tomb among the ruins of Mandú, but he adds that it was generally supposed to have been scratched there at a comparatively recent date. It would indeed be hard to imagine the ambassador scribbling his name on the walls of his dwelling One of his suite might have done so, but it is a much more likely supposition that it was the work of some later traveller.

possessed by Chan, which was given by the King I sent to desire him leave to draw<sup>1</sup> who granted me foure load a day, which satisfied me in such sort that with selling away some of those lades<sup>2</sup> that were put vpon me from Surat and putting off my Cattell, I had hope to lue, to which purpose I sent two with them to lye out of Towne. There was not a misery nor punishment which either the want of Gouvernment or the naturall disposition of the Clime gaue vs not.<sup>3</sup>

[*March*] 12.—I went to the King, and carried a New yeares<sup>4</sup> gift, a paire of very faire Kniues of my owne, and sixe Glasses of yours.<sup>5</sup> The excuse I made was well re

<sup>1</sup> "The custome being such that whatsoever Fountaine or Tanke is found by any great man in time of drought hee shall keepe it proper and peculiar to himselfe" (Coryat's notes in *Parthas* vol. i, p. 600). The name of the Khan seems to have been omitted.

<sup>2</sup> By an amusing press blunder in the 1873 reprint of the Journal Roe is made to contemplate "selling away some of those ladies that were put upon him from Surat."

<sup>3</sup> "The misery, wrote Roe to Kerridge, "is pitifull; water sold in the streete at an incredible rate; many perishing for want all begging that only as almes." His own difficulty in this respect was removed by the discovery of a spring on the hillside—a discovery due to a young member of the Herbert family who had arrived in Pepwell's fleet, and had joined Roe at the latter's invitation. He had been shipped to India as a ne'er-do-well by his despairing friends on the voyage out he behaved so badly that he was turned before the mast; at Surat he was a plague to the factors; and on the way to the Court he endangered the safety of the party by first beating and then firing at a native, to the alarm of mild Master Terry who characterised him as "the most hasty and cholericke young man that ever I knew. He behaved very civilly however during his stay with Roe; and when, tiring of the hardships of camp life, he towards the end of 1617 returned to Surat, the ambassador made a special request that he should be well treated and accommodated with a passage home.

Coryat, who records Herbert's discovery of the spring (*Parthas*, vol. i, p. 600), mentions also that "the day after one of the Kings *Haddys* finding the same and striving for it was taken by my Lords people and bound all, &c., a great controversie being about it." He also praises "the Charitie of two great men that in the time of this great drought were at the charge of sending 10 Camels with twentie persons every day to the said River [*Narbada*] for water and did distribute the water to the poore, which was so deare that they sold a little skinne for eight *Pier*."

<sup>4</sup> See p. 142, note 2.

<sup>5</sup> The Company's.

cciued, and the King vsed mee with all grace, this onely was my comfort He said whatsocuer came from my hands was present sufficient he accepted my loue, and it was his part now to giue me I found a gainer<sup>1</sup> by him, who had so farre performed his promise that I perceiued the King instructed in my desire, and gaue present order to an Officer to send for Master Bidolph to pay him to his content for such things as he claymed, and all the others were acknowledged to be recciued by name, and that when I went to the Prince, the King would write, but was loth to part with any thing, of which the best sweetbagge lay before him I replied I was as loth to goe emptie-handed, so it rested The King commanded I should come vp and stand within, on the degrees<sup>2</sup> of his Throne by him, where I found on one side the Persian Ambassadour, on the other the old King [of] Candahar,<sup>3</sup> with whom I ranked, and he presently fell to begge a Knife, which next day I sent. The King called for the Persian to come downe, to whom he gaue a Iewell and a young Elephant, for which he kneeled and saluted the ground with his head The Throne was the same vsed the last yeare, and all the other furniture At the vpper end was set the King my Soueraignes Picture, the Queenes, my Lady Elizabeths, Sir Thomas Smiths<sup>4</sup> and some others, two pieces of good and fine Tapistrie below them that came from Persia, a Throne of Gold set all ouer with Rubies, Emeralds and Turqueis, and the old Musicke of singing Whores

<sup>1</sup> This is evidently a printer's error for Aganor (Agha Núr), of whom see p 161 He was master of the ceremonies at the *Nau-róz* festivities, and "new vndertooke my Court busines" (Roe's Accounts)

<sup>2</sup> Steps

<sup>3</sup> See p 257

<sup>4</sup> Several of these pictures had been displayed the previous year (see p 143)

This day I dispatched to Surat my aduice<sup>1</sup> of the Persian business and the new Ambassadour, and some remembrance to Abram Chan the Gouvernour, from whom I receiued a Letter that in his absence our Nation had beene wronged against his knowledge, but that, his power being augmented by the Prince, he desired me to be confident in him that while he liued In authoritie we should neuer suffer any such abuses, but we should liue in all freedome.

[*March*] 13.—I sent a Complement to Ayrath Chan, a faire wrought Night-cap of mine owne, and a rich paire of Gious which he returned as vselesse in this Countrey the Cap he receiued and desired some Alegant Wine, which I sent the next day at night. Aganor (whose diligence now gaue me great hope and ease) sent a *Bannian* his Secretary to tell mee hee had order for the dispatch of the Merchants goods and that his man should attend Master Ildidoiph to finish it that the patternes should be sent me home and that the King would giue me a Coat, and money to beare my charges to the Prince. I returned answere that I had no vse of a Babylonish Garment, nor needed money If his Maestie were pleased to consider the iniuries offered, of which the Paper testified remayned in his hands, and to giue me his Letter to the Prince with some Presents or else to write in my excuse, it was all I would desire but for his gifts I expected none but Iustice.

[*March*] 21 —<sup>1</sup> yet could not at Instant presse it further only I discovered the Kings doubts, for he suspected my stealing out of his Countrey and breach with our Nation for the Prince, either out of guiltinesse or feare, or perhaps cunning to make vs the pretence of his owne designs,

<sup>1</sup> See *Add MS* 6115 f. 175. The "new Ambassador" is Connock (see note, p. 330), who was reported by Barker to have assumed that title. Connock himself vehemently denied it (1 O Records O C., No. 466).

<sup>2</sup> Here again Purchas's extract commences in the middle of a story



had newly enformed the King that next yeare the English purposed the taking of Surat and keeping it, of which our owne folly gaue some colour, for lately vpon one of their ordinary brabbles they caused two hundred Musketers to land and march toward Surat, and being met by diuers the ioyfull Mariners gaue out they went to take it. This absurde brauado (for a handful of men to passe twelue mile to a walled Towne, able to put out a thousand horse armed and as many shot, a Riuer to passe which a few men would defend against a good Armie) gaue iust occasion of scorne and offence, and which the Prince apprehended for some other his owne ends, to refortifie the Castle and Towne, and to send downe Ordnance for the defence a good prouision to keepe a doore open to flie out, if his Brother liue to correct his ambition. But this information occurring with my discontents heere, and some free language, my pressure to goe to Brampore, and flying newes that we had taken Goa and were preparing a great Fleet in England, did cause some suspicion in the King, which, though he concealed it, yet hee thought to discouer by the former Discourse,<sup>1</sup> with which hee rested fully satisfied, but I did not. I had beene long fed with words, and knew as well as the heart that trembled, that feare of vs only preserued our residence.

*March 29*—This complaining of Officers is a tune so new, so odious in Court that it troubleth all great men, it beeing their owne case, who, liuing vpon farming Gouvern-

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<sup>1</sup> This Purchas has evidently omitted, but from a letter of Roe's to Surat, it appears that the king had told the ambassador that he intended to go to Lahore, "and therefore would not suffer me to goe to Brampoore, but first hee vsed policy with mee, thincking I had desiered to goe to slipp away (for such jealousyes hee conceiues of vs, enfused by the Prince), but when I mett him right, hee was well satisfied and assured mee it was better for mee to stay by him vntill I were recalled home, for that hee was my best frend, vrdging a Promise to goe to Lahor with him, which Conditionally I gaue" The Mogul thereupon wrote two letters to the Prince, one to excuse Roe's non-attendance, and the other to order redress of the abuses of which the ambassador had complained

ments in which they vse all tyrannie to the Naturals, are loth to suffer a way open to the Kings vnderstanding of their practice, who ordinarily hang men by the heeles to confesse money or to ransome themselves from no fault <sup>1</sup> this made all men enule my imployment, and auoid me as an Informer

*April 25*—I receiued from Dabull road from Captain Pepwell that according to adulse he had stayed the luncke bound for Mocha,<sup>2</sup> but, weighing the caution giuen by mee to consider well what correspondence were betweene that Prince and Mozolapatam (in whose Territorie the *Solomon* was and could not get to sea) finding both alliance and friendship, he freed her without spoile (alleaging the refusall of Trade to Middleton), which courtesie procured him so good entertainment as the Indies affoordes seildome free Trade and promise to take three hundred Clothes yearely, a good quantitle of Lead sold for money and some Ordnance (which I like not to arme the Indians, and the Portugals friends, enemies to the Mogoll) and all other courtesies, which (if this kindnesse proceeded not

<sup>1</sup> "The people of this Country being generally all so base, and theccues they are all from the begger to the Kinge, and liue as fishes doe in the sea—the great ones eate vpp the litle; for first the farmer robbes the peasant, the gentleman robbes the farmer, the greater robbes the lesser and the Kinge robbes all" (Jas. Bickford to Sir Thomas Smythe, March 4, 1617: *O. C.*, No. 454).

<sup>2</sup> In a letter to Pepwell of the 4th January 1617 (*Add. MS* 6115, f. 173), Roe had suggested, as a prize particularly worth taking the vessel which yearly traded between Dabhol and the Red Sea. Dabhol, a town on the Malabar Coast, 85 miles S.E. from Bombay was the principal port of the Bijapur kingdom; and in view of the war then being waged between the Mogul and the allied Dekhan princes, Roe thought that such a capture would be favourably received at court. Nor was a pretext wanting. At the time of Sir Henry Middleton's visit in February 1612, the governor while promising all friendly usage, had secretly prevented the merchants from trafficking with the English (*Lancaster's Voyages*, p. 197); and this action Roe chose to interpret as a mark of sympathy with the Portuguese and a sufficient reason for retaliation. He warned Pepwell, however first to make sure that the capture of the junk would not embroil the English at Masulipatam with the King of Golconda, owing to the close relations between the latter court and Bijapur.

for that the Iuncke was yet vnder command) giues me good hope of some Trade in sale yearely at the Port. Howcuer, the freeing of the Iuncke assures me the Commander will doe nothing by catching preiudiciall to the Company, and deliuer himselfe honestly from the iealousies cast vpon him from Dabul<sup>1</sup> Hee signifies his intent to proceed to Callicut<sup>2</sup>, and if that Factorie be not worth supplies to transmit it to Dabul

[*April*] 27 —By the Foot-post I receiued from Mesolapatam that the *Salomon* was got to Sea, and the *Hosiander* from Bantam arriued, who brought the ill newes of the losse of the *Hector* and *Concord*, careening in the Roade of Iacatra, on Iaua<sup>3</sup> in recompence, that the *Dragon*, *Cloue*, and *Defence* were homeward laden from Bantam I tooke this occasion to conuey a letter to the Gouvernour of Dabul ouer-land, to apprehend the ouerture newly made by him of the trade Though I had little opinion of the place, yet I would not neglect that, nor encourage the next Fleet to proceed but vpon better assurance then a forced friendship and offers made while their Iuncke was in our power The effect was to signifie the causes of our staying their goods for refusing trade to Sir Henry Middleton but now finding in him a better inclination, and a desire to receiue vs and to establish a friendship and league, a promise to take cloth in good quantitie, I required, if these motions were hearty and such as befitted a man of honour, that he would write to the King his Master to procure his *Firman* with

<sup>1</sup> Probably this is an error for "Surat" (Cp O C, No 467)

<sup>2</sup> A factory had been settled there by Captain Keeling on his way to Bantam in 1616, but it was not a success, and Pepwell took the factors away

<sup>3</sup> This report was afterwards corrected "The *Hector* was not cast away, but broke vp by Captain Keeling, who the 10th of October, 1616, sett sayle for England" (Roc's letter to Burhānpur, May 17, 1617 *Addl MS* 6115, f 192) Keeling had received permission from England to return, "such order Comming by the *Swanne* that if hee would he might" (*Ibid*, f 191)

Jacatra was the native town which was afterwards converted by the Dutch into their settlement of Batavia (Nova)

such priuiledges as were fit for Merchants, and his promise to buy our goods and to fulfil all the friendly offers made by him his Officer vnder his Seale, and with expedition to send it mee to the Court of the great Mogoll whereby I might receiue assurance and encouragement that they intended faith, and on such reception I did vnder take on the behalfe of the King of England a good and firme Peace toward his Master, his subjects free passage in the seas from any oppression by our Fleets and that yearly I would either send a ship to his Port for trade or (if it so required) leaue and establish a residence in his Gouernment. I doubt not but yearly for feare or loue, some good trade by sales may bee made but for enuestments it will not be worth it only I proceeded as I would haue wished all men, not with too seeming eager a desire, nor to swallow any offers and conditions hungerly, for strict care in the first settling is the best aduantage, and for misery<sup>1</sup> of ensuing times it being a generall rule neuer to mend your first estate, often to empaire it. Euery mans best houre is when he is new a stranger, and at first scene after the naturall lenitie [leuitie?] of these Barbarians finds all that brings not change fastidious. This dispatch I committed to Master Bangham,<sup>2</sup> and desired him to make diligent enquiry of the commodities aduantages, inconueniences, humours and affections of these Decannies towards vs.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The text is evidently corrupt. Possibly we should read "for preventing misery."

<sup>2</sup> Thevenot renders this "Je mis cette depeche entre les mains de nostre Bangan" adding as a marginal note: "Bangam signifie Interprete." This amusing confusion appears to have resulted from the Company's broker (who generally acted as linguist) being mentioned as a *Bangan*.

<sup>3</sup> Roe's letter will be found in *Add MS* 6115 (L 190). The Governor's reply was received in June. In this he reiterated the promises made to Pepwell, but would not commit himself to buy any specified quantity of goods yearly; as for the desired *farmen*, he had sent Roe's letter to the King, and would communicate to the ambassador his reply (Roe to Bangham, June 21 1617). This answer seemed to Roe sufficiently encouraging to follow up the matter; and he accordingly arranged in the following February

[*April*] 30 — The time<sup>1</sup> that he brought me the excuses of the Persian Ambassadour for failing in taking his leaue of me, which he would not send by a seruant, but vttered the truth that the Ambassadour was not sicke, as he pretended, but receiuing no content from the King in his businesse, he suddenly tooke leaue, and hauing given thirty faire horses at his departure, the King gaue in recompence three thousand *Rupias*, which he tooke in great scorne, whereupon the King prized all that the Ambassadour had giuen him at meane rates, and likewise all that the King had returned since his arriual, euen to slaues, Drinke, Mellons, Pines, Plantanes, Hawkes, Plumes, the Eliphant and whatsoeuer at extreme high rates, and sending both Bils made it vp in money. This base vsage and scorne caused him to excuse his not seeing Asaph Chan and Etimon Dowlet on a Feuer, which hauing done hee could not come through the Towne to mee without discouerie, but desired him to acquaint me with the truth, and to make all excuse and profession that hee would recompence this discourtesie by double friendship to my Countymen in Persia, with some bitterness against the King, which Aganor as freely deliuered, and I seemed as vnwilling to heare. I presented them with some Aligant and Kniues, and we parted.

*May* 12 — I receiued newes of a great blow giuen the Persian by the Turkes Army, so that Tauris was rased, and the Shabas not able to keepe the field<sup>2</sup>

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that the *Anne* should call at Dabhol on her way to the Red Sea, this, however, was found to be impracticable (*OC*, No 630), and nothing more was done till the sailing of the fleet in 1619, when Captain Bonner, doubtless at Roe's suggestion, put into Dabhol road on his way down the coast. No sales were effected, but the authorities were so lavish in promises that the English forbore to enforce a trade and sent word to Surat to advise a further attempt in the following year.

<sup>1</sup> Something has been omitted here. Agha Núr seems to have been the person referred to.

<sup>2</sup> An account of the campaign, written by the Turkish Grand Wazir,

## TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT

(Addl M<sup>S</sup>. 6115, f 194)

May 12, 1617

Vpon your last Complaynt sent vp In Persian and my deliery to the King, his Maiestie wrote a lettre to the Prince not many dayes Past (for I procured Aganor to moue it anew) as full of fauour as I could desire, Commanding vs to bee vsed in all sorts as respectiuely as his owne subiectes that wee came only to see him and his Cuntrie, and therefore hee would not endure any wrong to bee offered to vs. Hee tooke particular notice of your restraynt in victualles, and Customes for victualles, and the detention of the Presents and the sealing them to bee directed to the Prince, and many other Circumstances. Besides, hee gaue order to Asaph chan to write 4 lettres to fower of the Princes officers by name, to take knowledg of the Complaynt made against them and to signifie at lardg his Maiesties pleasure and what himself had written the Prince. These lettres Aganor voweth hee saw written and read them, and sayth they are sent away, but I feare Asaph chan did only blind vs both, though the other vowe sayre Play and that the King would bee extreame angry at any fraud alter his order because they Came not to my handes. I desier you to make all enquiry what lettres or *firmans* came lately to any In Suratt concerning vs for if our great solicitor haue sayled, I will not faile to make the King vn-

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will be found in Purchas, vol. II, p. 1612 Knolles, in his *History of the Turks* (1687 edn., vol. II, p. 950) gives the following particulars

"The War continuing still betwixt the Turks and the Persians, the Grand Visier was sent to invade Persia with a great Army; where, after many exploits of War, News came to Constantinople, that the Visier had gotten a great advantage vpon the Sophy of Persia in a Battell which had been fought, wherein there had been an hundred thousand men slain. And although the Turks lost the greatest number yet they remained Masters of the Field and spoiled the Persians Camp, who was retired or fled for that the manner of the Sophy is, to fight with the Turks in retiring or giving way a little and with this manner of fighting they have always made Head against the Turks. After this Overthrow, the Visier advanced with his Army and entred far into Persia, which made many doubt that his Return would prove difficult yet soon after there came Letters to Constantinople, importing That the Turks being in Persia in great distresse for Victuals the Sophy had sent an Ambassador to the Visier to demand Peace, promising hereafter to satisfie the Tributes of Silk which he ought yearly unto the Turk and that the Visier (in regard of the necessity of his Army) had accepted his Offer and granted him Peace, the which Sultan Osman did afterwards ratifie. After the conclusion whereof, the Sophy sent many Camels loaden with Victuals unto the Turke Army, which was in great distresse and want,

derstand yt I am Confident his desire is now to satisfye vs, and I would not lett it coole

The last newes that came to this Court from Persia is not good for vs The Shabas, sending Part of his Armie to entercept a Convoy of the Turkes, was betrayd by one of his owne Captaines and Cutt to Peices 12,000 of his Choyse Guardes, wherby the Turkes Armie aduanced into the feild toward Tawris, and the Shabas, not able to abyde him, razed it and desmantled it wholly, and, wasting the Cuntrie about, keepes the strengthes of the hilles The truth of newes that Comes soe farr is doubtfull, but the King receiued it from the Gouvernors of his borders .

[*May*] 25 —A Lion and a Woolfe vsed my house and nightly put vs in alarume, fetching away Sheepe and Goats out of my Court, and leaping a high wall with them I sent to aske leaue to kill it, for that no man may meddle with Lions but the King, and it was granted I ranne out into the Court vpon the noyse, and the beast, missing his prey, seized on a little Island Dogge before me,<sup>1</sup> that I had long kept But the Woolfe one of my Seruants killed, and I sent it the King

*June* 14.—Certaine goods of the Iesuites were sent from Cambaya in a Cabinet, Phisicke and necessities and a Letter, which were betrayed by the bringer, and deliuered the King, which he opened and sent for the Padre to reade the Letter, and to see all in the Boxes, of which nothing liking him, he returned all, which I obserue as a warning to all that deale in this Kingdome, to bee wary of what they write or send, for such is the custome and humour of the King, that he will seize and see all, lest any Toy should escape his appetite

[*June*] 18.—I receiued Letters from Amadauar of the Hope of the fall of Indico, by the failing of the Goa *Caffila*,<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> "A little white neat shock, that ran out barking at him" (Terry, p 197) While at Mandú the English found it necessary to keep a fire burning at night outside their dwelling to scare away wild beasts

<sup>2</sup> The non-arrival of the usual fleet of Portuguese frigates to buy supplies for Europe

and that there was plentie to be bought but deare That the Vnicornes Horne was returned as without vertue, concerning which I gaue him new aduice<sup>1</sup> many complaints against Surat and others which I meddie not with. I receiued from Brampoore two Letters, how doubtfull the Debt of Ralph<sup>2</sup> stood and newes of the returne of Spragge from the *Ieskar* of Decan.<sup>3</sup> The Generall Mellickamber<sup>4</sup> with much shew of honour gaue instant order for priuie search in all his Campe for the Persian fled and by me remanded but finding him departed to Vizeapoores<sup>5</sup> by testimony that businesse was pursued no further but by a Letter to a Dutch there resident. The Generall desired Spragge to be a meanes to bring him English cloth and swords to his Campe for the supply of his Souldiers, which lye within sixe dayes of Brampoore. In my opinion that had beene a good employment of some idle men and a way to vent our dead commodities.

*July 30.*—I receiued from Surat of the casting away of two Dutch ships on the Coast of Damon that hauing come from the Southward with Spices and China Silkes, were bound for the Red Sea, but, losing their season with much extremitie of weather beating many weekes about the entrance for harbour attempted the like at Socatra and vpon the Coast of Arabia, but being not able to get in any way they resolued for Surat hoping by the last yeares good successe to be able to ride safely but the yeares differ and beeing forced to anchor in extremitie their greater ship cut her Masts by boord and after her Cables breaking,

<sup>1</sup> See p. 290.

<sup>2</sup> A printer's error for Zulphe, *i.e.*, Zulfikar Khán.

<sup>3</sup> He had been sent in pursuit of a Persian, whom Fettiplace had trusted at Agra to the amount of 1700 rupees. The debtor had promised to make repayment at Mandu, but fled thence in the night, intending it was supposed, to take refuge in the enemy's camp.

<sup>4</sup> Malik Ambar, the well-known generalissimo of the Ahmadnagar kingdom.

<sup>5</sup> Bijápur



shee went ashore vpon the Coast, Ozie ground within Musket shot. The ship kept vpright, but hauing lost their long Boat, and their Skiffe not able to liue, by rafters foure men got ashoare, and the Tydes heauing her in vpon the Spring, they saued much goods and all their people Her Pin-nasse of sixtie Tunne was beaten to pieces<sup>1</sup>

*August 21* —The King of Candahor came to visit me and brought wine and fruit, sate halfe an houre, and for one Iest of his begged a bottle of wine.

The Prince Sultan Corseroone had his first day of hoped libertie, and came to take ayre and pleasure at the Ban-quetting house by me The Prince at Brampoore had made a Marriage<sup>2</sup> without the Kings consent, and gotten displeasure, besides, some practice of his was discovered against his Brothers life, but this as a secret. He was called for to Court. Normahal and Asaph Chan, by their Fathers aduice, came about to make a peace with Corsoroone and Alliance, and with infinite ioy his libertie is expected<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> These ships were the *Middelburg* and the *Duyve*, under the command of Pieter van den Broecke, the captain of the ship which had visited Surat in the previous year. They left Bantam on the 8th March, 1617, and after calling at Mauritius and Madagascar, stretched across to the coast of Melinde and into the mouth of the Red Sea. Then, as the *Middelburg* had sprung a leak, Van den Broecke made for Socotra, but, missing it, was obliged to run before the wind in the hope of getting into Surat. The storm increased in violence, and on the 18th July the ship struck on the coast near Damaun. As narrated by Roe, the crew reached the shore in safety, where they constructed a barricade to defend their goods. Shortly after, they were joined by the company of the *Duyve*, which had stranded a mile off. Van den Broecke burnt the wreck of his vessel, and the whole party marched to Gandevi, near Surat, where they took up their quarters (Van den Broecke, *Op sijne Reyzen*, p. 73). There is an interesting account of the shipwreck in a letter from the Surat factors to the Company, O C, No. 561.

<sup>2</sup> With the daughter of Sháhnawáz Khán, son of the Khán-khánán.

<sup>3</sup> On the 12th December, 1616, in writing to Surat, Roe had mentioned a rumour that "Sultan Carseroone shall marrie Normahalls daughter and haue liberty and that all the faction will adhere to him" (cp. p. 363). The lady in question was the daughter of Núr Mahál by her former husband, Shír Afgan, and there seems little

[*August*] 22 — The King feasted at Asaph Chane. I received from Aleppo and Persia passages of the Warre the Turkes retreat but no word of our English, only that the Captaine of Grinins<sup>1</sup> had written to practise their disgrace.

TO WILLIAM ROBBINS AT ISPAHAN<sup>2</sup>

(*Add. MS. 6115 f. 207*)

Mandoe, August 21 1617

Both your mentioned letters I have received by long Passadges this last arrived the 20 Present, by which I vnderstand your honest and effectual care of the trust Committ[ed] you. I doubt not you have long since received my letters by the Post of Mahomet Raza Naqce, the Shaw has his Ambassador dispatched from Court the 10th of January 1616,<sup>3</sup> and since you are fully possessed of our intents to prosecute the Negotiation of Persia by the arrivall of our factors. I can yet proceed to no further engagement then by way of aduise to wish you as a saythful englishman, to deale Clearly with the Prince what wee seeke and what wee will performe. I feare, as this beginning was rash, it may recorde some disgrace, especially if any of our seruantes either overlash in their woordes and Promises or in their titles.<sup>4</sup> Therefore that you may truly know what you may safely deliuer Edward Connock was sent from Suratt as a factor to beginn and make offer of the amety vnprovided either of Instructions, goodes or meanes fitt for such an enterprise. Therefore the Prince wilbe Pleasd not to iudge vs by this attempt, which was rather to shoue our affection then any prooffe of our abilitie. Neyther will it bee euer embrased by the English vnlesse a Port bee secured or Mart established, prizes agreed on for such quanteties of both sides as that neither be deceiued wee in fittling and Putting off of our Comoditye, nor the Prince of vent for his. Vpon these termes you may bee bould to say whatsoever hee desires may

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doubt that, had Khusrû accepted the proffered alliance, he would have regained his liberty, and perhaps his rightful place at court. But he was devotedly attached to his existing wife, and refused to listen to any proposal of the kind. His intended bride was therefore transferred to his youngest brother Prince Shariyâr whom the empress endeavoured (though unsuccessfully) to set up as a rival to Prince Khurram (cp. *Della Valle Hakluyt* doc. edn., vol. i, p. 56).

<sup>1</sup> "Ormus" is probably meant. There is some confusion as to the date on which these letters were received. As will be seen from Roe's reply they arrived on the 20th, not the 22nd.

<sup>2</sup> A copy sent overland by Robbins to the Company is in the L. O. Records (O. C., No. 530).

<sup>3</sup> See p. 373.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 395.

bee accomplished, but a straggling, Peddling, vncertayne trade will neyther Profit nor become so great Nations. My last is more lardge in this particular Only I find in all your lettres you haue a beleefe that Sir Robert Sherley is a well wisher to his Countre and an Enemie to the Portugall I would perswade you out of this error His actions shoue little reason, he hath not only procured for them a Peace, but is engaged to procure for them the whole trafique, and to that end is he imployed I doubt not the Sha-bas may haue a good affection to vs, but yet hee will deale like a King and Come fayre off from his first offer It is not good to bee blind, nor by blinding others to hope to atteyne our endes, therefore I would not wish any Englishman to vndertake that the English will deale for all the Kinges goodes, except hee will exchang it for Cloth and our English Comodities, then bee bould, the rest I knowe what wee are able to performe Nor that wee will take Ormus and beate the Portugall out of those seas. these are vanities<sup>1</sup> The Company entend a trade, not a warr, but in their owne defence, and that brauely and honestly It were better for the Prince to ayme only at that free Commerce, so he should vnderstand the sweetnes of a trade and the difference of Nations But I professe I know not vpon what tearmes any way to bee engaged, the Company not yet knowinge of the enterprise, therefore I will farthar spare my opinion vntill I can doe yt vpon good grownd, and only advise you to assist this beginning with all force and yet with all moderation, to Cast off all hopes of Sir Robert Sherley advancing vs, and trust to ourselues and our owne honest wayes Thus you shalbe sure to fynd a iust recompence to your desartes

I feare it wilbe my hard fortune this yeare to visitt you by order from his Maestie, and to help to build vpon this foundation, for by this fleete I expect a resolution from England, and suppose I shall receiue full Commission to treat effectually If it fall out so, you shall fynd a frend that will deserue well your Paynes In the meane tyme, let no newe inventions putt you out of the way to show the King my lettrs and the last articles sent his Maestie, wherof you haue a Copy in English, and they were agreed vnto here by his Ambassador I neede not send a transcript, for, if they miscarried, now they will arriue too late, for I shall almost bee in Persia as soone as this<sup>2</sup> If I Come not, I returne for

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<sup>1</sup> Yet in less than five years the English did both.

<sup>2</sup> As will be seen, the letters from England contained no definite instructions to Roe to proceed to Persia, and he contented himself therefore with authorising the factors already on the spot to act on his behalf It was, however, believed in London at the beginning of 1619 that Roe had either gone (*Cal State Papers E Indies*, 1617-21, No 532) or was going (*ibid*, No 536) to Ispahan, and this has been accepted as a fact by the editor of the *Calendar* (preface, pp xxx and lix) and others

England, and these assaytes will no more Concerne mee. So, in expectation of farther newes from the true sounteyne, I Commit you to God.

[*August*] 25—I aduised to Agra my proceeding in the Armenians businesse <sup>1</sup> backe to Surat and Brampoore of all occurrents.

This day Asaph Chan feasted Vornmahall [and?] the Prince Sultan Corsoroone as is reported to make a firme alliance, and that he will bring away a Wife, by his Fathers importunitie. This will beget his full libertie and our proud Masters ruine.<sup>2</sup>

TO THE EXPECTED GENERALL WHICH SHALL ARRIUE THIS YEARE.<sup>3</sup>

(*1617 MS. 6115 f. 258.*)

August 30, 1617

The Dutch at Suratt will Plant in spite of vs but I know no reason why wee should not beate them off at sea. Their insolencies would be requited, especially of this man, who hath robbd with english Coulors. If his ship bee yet alue and by search such could bee found, shee would [should?] bee fired, her goodes seized, and as many as you could take carried home to England to answer it. However charitie now Pittyes their estate of Naufrage,<sup>4</sup> enquire of Master Kerridge their Courses to the Southward and you will find they meritt noe Curtesye. Therefore my aduice is to woorke vpon their necessitie no way to releue them, but to buy their Comoditie fitt for the Redd Sea, to fitt our selues if that attempt be thought on, or for Persia if that last yeare they sould apices at such rate in Suratt as wee might well make profit on. It is wisdom to vse the Present to best advantage.<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> An Armenian had bought cloth at Ajmere from the English factors to the value of 7 500 rupees, but had failed to pay the last instalment of his debt.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 404.

<sup>3</sup> The "expected General" proved to be Martin Pring of whom see note on p. 420.

<sup>4</sup> Shipwreck.

<sup>5</sup> Roe's advice was acted upon. As soon as the English fleet arrived Van den Broecke went on board and begged that Pring would either give his men passage to Bantam or sell a Portuguese prize for this purpose. Both requests were refused, and the Dutchmen thereupon started to march overland to Masulipatam. They reached their destination in safety on Christmas eve, after a journey of a month and twenty five days (*op. cit.*, pp. 73 and 80). Roe seems to have changed his mind later for on November 8, 1617 he wrote

Now I shall come to a more generall consideration of the whole estate of the Companies affaires, which wilbe very requisite well to ponder<sup>1</sup> I doubt not but you haue brought a greate fleete and vast bellies to bee filled, and your stock and Cargoson but according to ordinarie and woonted aduise, for that the Company will relye on our helpes toward the Sowthard, which you will finde haue these former yeares beene very bare, and that this will spare you little toward soe great a lading Therefore first I will lett you see what last yeare was Complayned off that this factorie deuoured all the rest, and Captain Pepwell went on with little hope to make any quick returne. Master Kerridge can informe you of the wantes before you Mesolapatan will affoord you little or nothing; Priaman and Ticoe,<sup>2</sup> by a New factory (if it stand) somewhat, but their stock soe small as it will not bee seene Bantam is suckd drye, and the decay of the trade hastened home Captain Keeling, who, foreseeing the wants if hee should haue stayed out his tynte, saw hee should both fayle of hopes and beare the blame or ill fortune of that was not his fault, therefore wisely, first considering himselfe would returne loaden (for hee that comes full home is welcome for the Present, they that follow must stand to their fortunes), to lade him the *Hector* and all other were emptied, and shee found vnfit and so broken vp,<sup>3</sup> and all the factories so nere sucked that ther is little left to supply the last [general], who carned 3 great ships where to fill them I know not You will fynd the estate so much woorse by how much later you are and the greater fleete, and therefore must foresee it for your owne Creditt and the Companies benefitt After you are Past Bantam the other factories are of small consequence, that in Spacadana<sup>4</sup> is only for a box, the Moluccoes possessed by the Dutch and wee beaten out and they to strong for vs to requite yt, Japan a jest or not woorth the thincking on, if any factory remayning The Case standing thus, the wayes to meete these feares I will scramble at and deliuer my opinion First, at the Place wher you are, I confesse it is now the foun-

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expressing regret that Pring had not sold to the Dutch one of the prizes (*O C*, No 559)

In 1620 Van den Broecke returned to Surat as Director for Arabia, Persia, and India, a post which he held till April, 1629 Della Valle, who met him there in 1623, speaks of him as "a gentleman of good breeding and very courteous" (vol 1, p 25) A portrait of him is given in Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indien*, vol iv, Part II, p 222

<sup>1</sup> Some of this is, perhaps, not strictly germane to the subject of the present work, but it presents so interesting a summary of the position and prospects of the company's trade that it seems worth quoting at length Roe's advocacy of what was practically piracy should not be overlooked; but it was quite in accordance with the ethics of the age

<sup>2</sup> Pepper ports in Sumatra.

<sup>3</sup> See p 398

<sup>4</sup> Sukadana, in Borneo

layne and life of all the East India trade, and therefore Principally to bee respected, but not soe as to robb all others, except it could suffice to loade all your shippes, which, seeing it will, with the stock it hath, but Compass one (and that not the greatest), the other empirie bellies must bee cared for els it will prooue a deare bargaine. It is true the feare of the Portugalls will Compell vs to arrest all for defence of this, but that may bee better borne if you after know how to dispose the rest. The factors at Suratt, as men respecting in the Principall place their owne estates, will drawe from you all they Can for that they shall haue the Credit of this, and the misery of the residue they shall not feelee, or not so soone, but wee regard not Credit singly, but profit and Credit vniuersally in the Consideration of the whole voyage. Therefore, as you must bee liberall in sparing whatsoeuer may bee spared for this, soe you must bee very Circumspect to saue what you can for the Sowthward I meane Mony, for your Comodity (if as other years) is only fitt for this and is lost forward, so that you may discharge of that as much as they will take, and keepe that redy Comodity coyne, for Bantam, wherein the Dutch are soe furnished that they will overlay you or make you buy at vnreasonable price. Persia, I feare, will demand some, for the King will neuer tast vs without yt, for that is his end, to vent his silkes to rayse a reuenew, for the silke is all his and the best part of his Income. His Ambassador tould mee hee might buy some cloth to pay his souldiers with but no quantety neyther would hee truck nor wee effect any great woorke vnlesse wee resolved to bring two thirdes mony the rest in spices and fine ware. Our Cloth is sould Cheaper in Spahan then heere to my knowledg the Persians bring quanteties, which lye now at their Seray<sup>1</sup> of the same sorts and best coulors, bought at Aleppo and not vendible at home, and here afforded at a *rupie* and two in a *Cobdee* vnder ours. This will make you see what hope ther is of raising that way a stock by Cloth.

But, with the best husbandry you can vse, fitting this factone as it wilbe requisite, you wilbe so fleeced as you cannot haue hope by all the remayner and the proceed of the others to take in to lade one of your greatest ships, or but one at most and you shall synd diuers before you attending to bee serued, like men at a founteyne in scarcety of water. What then is to bee done with your flecte? First, I will propose to you the red sea. Though your stock bee not great, the returne may beeing remployed here, and so one ship may bee occupied and fitted, and you shall haue in your way these chances the Dabull shippes, or of the Samorin,<sup>2</sup> or any other where wee trade not. Beleeue me, Sir to Chasten any of these People makes not only them but any their Neighbors the better. If it bee doubted how the Mochas will take it

<sup>1</sup> See note on p. 90.

<sup>2</sup> Of Calicut.

or how admitt your trade, I answere to the last . very willingly, in Company of the Guzerattes Necessitie will enforce them to giue you Content, least you molest others by whom they profit , and ther is noe great doubt, for the Dutch had trade last yeare and good vsage in our Names,<sup>1</sup> and vpon that made this second attempt which is miscarried this yeare, as if oportunitye envited vs to that in our owne Persons which others did in our shadowes Besides, the Treachery vsed to Sir Henry Middleton was the first apperance and notice of any of our forces in that Seas , they tooke vs for Piratts, which now they better vnderstand, and dare not offend vs, because they know wee can bee revenged, if but by keeping others from trading with them For the former, to deale with any others that may bee safe Prise, it may bee done after trade at the seas Mouth It wilbe long before it bee knowne,<sup>2</sup> and, when it is, it matters not , the suffering the Guzurrattes to come Peaceably is fauour enough, because they are the mayne traders on that Coast Concerning the rest of your fleete, you may keepe company on this Coast and take your hazard about Zeilan If the King of Achin bee fickle and our factorie not flowrishing, hee must bee Chastised too, and this one way, by threatening him not to suffer the Guzerattes to supply him, whom yet you may not meddle with From thence you may attend the Passadg of the Chineses and other traders in the Sowtheren streights and Chandg with them at the best hand If you stand so low as China or towards Mocaa<sup>1</sup> itselfe, suerly all is Prise , and this may either gett you a trade or at least serue the Present, and cannot leaue the whole in woorse estate then it is, for as good wee doe it as beare the envy for no profit, for the Dutch practise it vnder our English Crosse Japan I doubt you will not see, or, if you doe, I feare you shall fynd cause enough to bidd you thinck nothing frye that abides in the nett The Portugalles I neede not any way Mention , their Iniuries and your owne Comission will guide you Some will say this Course will in tyme ouerthrow all trade I am of another opinion, considering the Nature of this People, that haue no sence of honor, but only Profit Wee shall in tyme teach them to know their superiors , and if they will not giue vs trade, wee can yet choose whither they shall enioy it or no Necessitye and feare will enforce them with whom no Curtesy nor reason can preuyle Necessitye alsoe Pleades now for vs, for, were wee admitted trade, wee want meanes for soe great flectes to vse it and the losse at hand wilbe heauie The gaine by good bootye once Pursued will bare out the couldnes of trafique

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<sup>1</sup> This is doubtful The Surat factors told Roe that the Dutch had been taken at first for Englishmen, but they did not assert that they had pretended to be so , while Van den Broecke distinctly avers that he hoisted the Stadtholder's flag over the Dutch factory at Mocha

<sup>2</sup> At Mocha.

<sup>1</sup> Macao

a yeare or two and some kind of Springes are the fresher for Cropping. Thus you haue my opinion which vs according to your discretion for I doe not decree but only propose<sup>1</sup>

And so, blessing the gracious God of Mercy for your safety and all your Company, to whom I desire to remember my hartly english wishes, I Committ you to God.

September 1.—Was the Kings Birth-day, and the solemnitie of his weighing<sup>2</sup> to which I went, and was carried

<sup>1</sup> The rest of the letter is occupied by a criticism of the policy pursued by Downton, when attacked by the Portuguese of keeping on the defensive in "the hole at Swally". Roe maintains that it would be far safer instead of allowing themselves to be "besieged in a fish Pond, to "Putt out. . . and attend them in sea Roome". "Captain Best with lesse force mett them and beate them like a man, not by hazard; and if he had had that force which Downton had, I belecue had brought away a better trophée. I ring agreed with Roe and in a letter to the Company of November 12, 1617 (*OC* No. 564) he stated that if the rumour proved true that seven Portuguese ships had arrived, it was his intention to go to meet them, "where I may be in a more spacious place then the pwole of Swally".

<sup>2</sup> Roe had missed this ceremony the previous year, owing to the mistake of a messenger (see p. 252). It was an old Hindu custom, adopted by Akbar and is still in use in Travancore and elsewhere.

Terry, who was present on this occasion thus describes the scene (p. 395). "The first of September which was the late Mogols birth day he, retaining an ancient yearly Custom, was in the presence of his chief Grandies weighed in a Balance; the Ceremony performed within his House or Tent, in a fair spacious Room, wherinto none were admitted but by special leave. The Scales in which he was thus weighed were plated with Gold and so the beam on which they hung by great Chains made likewise of that most precious Metal. The King sitting in one of them was weighed first against silver Coin which immediately after was distributed among the poor then was he weighed against Gold after that against Jewels, as they say but I observed (being present there with my Lord Ambassadour) that he was weighed against three several things laid in silken Bags on the contrary Scale. When I saw him in the Balance I thought on Belshazzar who was found to light, *Dan.* 5, 27. By his weight, of which his Physicians yearly keep an exact account, they presume to guess of the present estate of his body of which they speak flatteringly however they think it to be. When the Mogol is thus weighed he casts about among the standers-by thin pieces of silver and some of Gold made like flowers of that country and some of them are made like Cloves and some like Nutmegs, but very thin and hollow. Then he drinks to his Nobles in his Royal wine (as that of Ahasuerus is called, *Esth.* 1, 7) who pledge his health.

Other accounts of the ceremony will be found in *The Hawkins' Voyages*, p. 440. Mandelslo's *Travels* (second English edition), p. 42; Bernier's *Travels* (Constable's edn.), p. 268, and Blochmann's *Ala-i-Akbari*, vol. i, p. 266.



into a very large and beautifull Garden , the square within all water , on the sides flowres and trees , in the midst a Pinacle, where was prepared the scales, being hung in large tressels, and a crosse beame plated on with Gold thinne, the scales of massie Gold, the borders set with small stones, Rubies and Turkey,<sup>1</sup> the Chaines of Gold large and massie, but strengthened with silke Cords Here attended the Nobilitie, all sitting about it on Carpets, vntill the King came , who at last appeared clothed, or rather loden with Diamonds, Rubies, Pearles, and other precious vanities, so great, so glorious ! his Sword, Target, Throne to rest on correspondent , his head, necke, breast, armes, aboue the elbowes, at the wrists, his fingers euery one with at least two or three Rings, fettered with chaines, or dyalled<sup>2</sup> Dyamonds, Rubies as great as Wal-nuts (some greater), and Pearles such as mine eyes were amazed at Suddenly hee entered into the scales, sate like a woman on his legges, and there was put in against him many bagges to fit his weight, which were changed sixe times, and they say was siluer, and that I vnderstood his weight to be nine thousand *Rupias*, which are almost onethousand pound sterling<sup>3</sup> After with Gold and Iewels, and precious stones, but I saw none , it beeing in bagges might bee Pibles Then against Cloth of Gold, Silke, Stuffles, Linnen, Spices, and all sorts of goods, but I must beleeeue, for they were in fardles<sup>4</sup> Lastly, against Meale, Butter, Corne, which is said to be giuen to the *Baniani*, and all the rest of the Stuffle , but I saw it carefully carryed in, and none distributed Onely the siluer is reserued for the poore, and serues the ensuing yeare, the King vsing in the night to call for some before

<sup>1</sup> Turquoises

<sup>2</sup> Drilled? Cp p 322

<sup>3</sup> In 1616 Jahāngīr weighed 6514 tolahs (*Tuzak*), equivalent to 210½ lbs troy (Blochmann's *Ain-i-Akbari*, vol 1, p 267 n) or about 12 stone 5 lb Nine thousand rupees, if of the weight usual at this period (about 176 grains), would weigh about 275 lbs troy

<sup>4</sup> Bags or bundles.

him and with his owne hands in great familiaritie and humilltie to distribute that money. The scale he sate in by one side, he gazed on me and turned me his stones and wealth and smiled but spake nothing for my Enterpreter could not be admitted in. After he was weighed he ascended his Throne, and had Basons of Nuts Almonds Fruits, Splces of all sort made in thinne siluer which he cast about and his great men scrambled prostrate vpon their bellies which seeing i did not, hee reached one Bason almost full and poured into my Cloke. His Noble men were so bold as to put in their hands, so thicke that they had left me none if I had not put a remayner vp. I heard he threw Gold till I came in but found it siluer so thinne, that all i had at first being thousands of seuerall pieces, had not weighed sixtie *Rupias* i saued about twentie *Rupias* weight yet a good dishfull which i keepe to shew the ostentation for by my proportion he could not that day cast away aboue one hundred pound sterling. At night he drinketh with all his Nobilitie in rich Plate. I was inuited to that but told I must not refuse to drinke, and their waters are fire. I was sleke and in a little fluxe of bloud and durst not stay to venture my health. *Noble*

September 9.—The King rode to the Riuer of Darbadath<sup>1</sup> five *course* on pleasure and comming by my house, I rode out to meete him. The custome is, that all men by whom hee passeth neare their gate make him some Present, which is taken as a good signe, and is called *Mombareck*<sup>2</sup> good Newes or good Successe. I had nothing to giue nor might fitly goe with nothing nor stay at home without discourtesie which made mee venture vpon a faire Booke well bound filleted and gilt, Mer

<sup>1</sup> Narbadā.

<sup>2</sup> *Mubarak*. Bernier speaks of the Dutch embassy sent to congratulate Aurangzib on his accession as going to present him "with the *Mohbarac* (p. 127).

cators last Edition of the Maps of the world,<sup>1</sup> which I presented with an excuse that I had nothing worthy, but to a great King I offered the World, in which he had so great and rich a part. The King tooke it in great courtesie, often laying his hand on his breast, and answering Euery thing that came from mee was welcome. Hee asked after the ships arriuall, which I told him I daily expected. Hee told me hee had some fat wild Hogges sent him from Goa, and, if I would eate any, at his returne he would send me some. I made him due reuerence, and answered. Any thing from his Maiestie was a feast to me. He rode on his Eliphant, and the way was stonie, and I offering to bring him toward the gate, hee bade God keepe mee, and returne to my house, demanding which it was, and praying it (indeed, it was one of the best in the *Leskar*, yet but an old Church and large Tombe inclosed). Iterating his farewell, he said the way was ill, and desired me to goe home, and with much shew of courtesie tooke leaue.

[*September*] 16—I rode to repay the visit of Marre Rustam;<sup>2</sup> the Prince of Candahor, who at my arriuall sent word he durst not see mee, except hee asked leaue of the King or acquainted Etimon Dowlet or Asaph Chan, which at the *Durbar* he would. I answered he should not need, for I neuer meant to trouble my selfe with a man so vnciuill, nor to come a second time. I knew well it was a shift out of ill manners that the King would bee no more angry for his bidding mee welcome to his house then for his coming to mine: but that I cared not to see him, but came in ciuilitie to requite that I took so in him. His man desired me to stay vntill he told his Master my answere, but I would not, and returned.

At night, I rode to Court to visit the King, who que-

tioned about the Booke of Maps but I did forbear any speech of my debts.

[September] 25<sup>1</sup>—I rode to the Court, very weake to make triall of the King about our debts<sup>2</sup> for that Muckshud had also newly answered he had mist his *Prigany*<sup>3</sup> and knew not how to pay but by his house. I deliuered the King the Merchants Petition, which hee caused to bee read aloud and the names of the debtors and sureties and summes distinctly by Asaph Chan which done he called Araddat Chan<sup>4</sup> the chiefe of his officers of Hnushold and the *Cutwall* and gaue them order but what I vnderstood not. Reading the names hee questioned their abilities and qualities, and what goods they receiued finding some dead some strangers concerning Rulph<sup>5</sup> Asaph Chan offered to speake to the Prince at his annuall to finish it. My Interpreter was now called in and the King conuerted to mee, giuing this answere That the Merchants had made debts at their owne wils, and not brought a note of their goods to him therefore if the men were insufficient, it was

<sup>1</sup> The 23rd according to Roe's letter to the Surat factors of the 29th idem (*Add MS* 6115 f. 264).

<sup>2</sup> Two of these ~14,000 rupees due from Mukshud Dās, and 30,000 owed by "Croo [Guru]—were for cloth sold in Ajmere in October 1616. There was also a sum of 2,000 rupees due from "Hergonen, who had made over some elephants to satisfy the claim but, he dying at this time, all his goods were seized for the king's use. Asaf Khān promised Roe that he would see this debt discharged out of the proceeds of a house at Agra which had belonged to the deceased.

<sup>3</sup> His "*pargana*" i.e., the tract of country assigned by the king for his maintenance. Bernier in his glossary (p. 455 of Constable's transln.) has "*Pragna*, that is, the chief city burgh, or village, which has many others subordinate to it, and where the rents are paid to the King who is the absolute Lord of all the laods of his Empire. Purchas, in a marginal note on p. 455 of his first volume, explains that "*prigones* are lordships.

<sup>4</sup> Irādat Khān, the title of a Persian named Mīr Muhammad Bākīr. He was introduced at court by Asaf Khān, and later on assisted him materially in securing the accession of Shāh Jahān. The latter gave him in turn the governments of Bengal, Allahābād, Gujārat, and Jaunpur. He died in 1649.

<sup>5</sup> See note on p. 403.

at their perill, for that it was no reason to expect the money from him (which, I suppose, he spake of his seruant Hergonen, who being dead, his goods were seazed for the Kings vse): but seeing it was the first time, he would now assist me, and cause our money to be payed. but if hereafter the English would deliuer their goods to his seruants without money or acquainting him, they should stand to the hazard. but if, when their commodities came to the Court, they would bring a bill to him of all, he would first serue himselfe, and after distribute the rest to such as should buy that and<sup>1</sup> if any of them failed, he would pay the money himselfe. This is indeed the custome of Persia Merchants, to bring all to the King (which I haue often scene), who takes his choice and deliuers the rest to his Nobilitie, his *Seruanos* writing to whom, and his Officer cutting price; a copy of which is giuen the Merchant, and hee goes to their houses for money, if they pay not, there is an expresse Officer that hath order by currant course to force them. Then was it told my Interpreter what command the King had giuen. that Arad [Araddat?] Chan should call the debtors before him, and cause them to pay, but this pleased not our Merchants. I thought it both a iust and gracious answer, better then in such cases priuate men can get of great Princes.

The King, hearing I had been sicke and wished for wine, gaue me five bottles, and commanded, when I had ended those, to send for five more, and so as I wanted. and a fat Hogge, the fattest I euer saw, sent vp by Mochreb Chan, that came from Goa, which at midnight was brought home by a *Haddy* with this message. since it came to the King it had eaten nothing but Sugar and Butter. I tooke this as a signe of fauour, and I am sure in that Court it is a great one. Then he sent for the Map booke, and told me

he had shewed it his *Mulais*,<sup>1</sup> and no man could read nor understand it, therefore if I would, I should have it againe. I answered At his pleasure, and so it was returned<sup>2</sup>

[September] 26.—There being a *Rasa* in rebellion in the hills, not past twentie *Course* from the *Laskar* the King lately sent out two *Vmbras*<sup>3</sup> with horse to fetch him in, but he defended his quarter, slew one of them and twelue *Maanapdares*,<sup>4</sup> and in all of both sides about five hundred, returning scornfull messages to the King to send his sonne, for he was no prey for ordinary forces.

<sup>1</sup> See note 3 on p. 312.

<sup>2</sup> "The Mogol feeds and feasts himself with this conceit, that he is Conqueror of the world; and therefore I conceive that he was troubled upon a time, when my Lord Ambassador, having business with him (and upon those terms there is no coming unto that King empty handed, without some present or other). and having at that time nothing left, which he thought fit to give him, presented him with Mercators great book of Cosmography (which the Ambassador had brought thither for his own use), telling the Mogol that that book described the four parts of the world, and all the several countreys in them contained. The Mogol at the first seem'd to be much taken with it, desiring presently to see his own Territories, which were immediately shewen to him; he asked where were those countreys about them he was told Tartaria and Persia, as the names of the rest which confine with him; and then causing the book to be turn'd all over and finding no more to fall to his share, but what he first saw, and he calling himself the Conqueror of the world, and having no greater share in it, seemed to be a little troubled, yet civilly told the Ambassador that neither himself nor any of his people did understand the language in which that book was written, and because so, he further told him that he would not rob him of such a Jewel, and therefore returned it unto him again. And the truth is that the Great Mogol might very well bring his action against Mercator and others who describe the world, but streighten him very much in their Maps, not allowing him to be Lord and Commander of those Provinces which properly belong unto him. —Terry's *Voyage to East India*, p. 367

<sup>3</sup> Properly a plural word (Arabic *Umard*, pl. of *Amir*), but often used, as here, to signify a grandee or military commander of rank. Fryer styles the *Mansabddars* "petty *Omraks*."

<sup>4</sup> See p. 239.

## TO THE COMMANDER OF THE FLEET.

(Addl MS 6115, f 263)

Mandoa, September 29, 1617.

. . . Some alteration is hapned in the Project of Dabull for that I vnderstand Fearn<sup>1</sup> hath Robbd their great shipp It will stirr vp the Consideration of this People, but Crosse our designe, for I feere they will not venture out, nor beeleeue vs free If you Purpose not to trie the Port, wee shall haue leysure to Con-  
sulte of that in tyme of another Course at your departure

That which I would most impresse into you is the Consideration of the Redd Sea, the rather for that it is reported the King sendes his sister to Mecha, which, if true, wilbe the fittest oportunitye to treat of those Conditions which Pride now will not admitt off I assure you shce is the best Price that euer was taken In India. The King is fully resolved to visitt Guzeratt, Cambaya and Amadavaz and there will spend this yeare The Nearenes will some way aduance our expedition I receiue good woordes and good vsage, but without Presentes shall synd drye effectes Now is the last triall, for our Comoditye is badd, our Conditions vnstable, and if it mend not, wee must shewe them another Countenance . . . A few dayes since dyed with mee an Italian that long hath vsed Persia I enquired the estate of trade His answeare was it was not *tierra de negocio* <sup>2</sup> all the trafique lay betweene Aleppo and Casbin, for silke and mony that only wilbe accepted that our Cloth will neuer vent, for in experience it hath beene often tryed from Turkye and sould at

<sup>1</sup> In the spring of 1615 the Company had been alarmed by a report that Sir John Fern and others (of whom Pepwell was one) were meditating a voyage to the Red Sea under a commission from the French King. The aid of the Privy Council was invoked, and royal letters were obtained commanding Fern to desist. He thereupon fled into France, and the scheme came to nothing. The Court, however, feared that he would renew his attempt, and in the royal commission to the leaders of the 1616 fleet (*First Letter Book*, p 463), a clause was inserted authorising the capture of interlopers, Fern being particularly mentioned. Doubtless their letters to the East contained a warning to their servants to prepare for troubles from this source, for on the 30th May, 1617, Roe wrote to Kerridge "I much feare some ill Newes from the Redd Sea that will bringe vs all in Trouble by the fugitiue Fearn. Possesse all men with an opinion of french Pirattes. God turne his wayes from offending vs. If hee touch any of this Country goodes, the Prince will prosecute revenge and satisfaction with all Malice" (MS, f 193). Roe's fears were, however, groundless, for, at the date when he was writing thus, Fern was in command of a ship in Raleigh's ill-fated expedition to Guiana (see Hume's *Life of Raleigh*, p 325, Gardiner's *History of England*, vol iii, p 128, etc.)

<sup>2</sup> No country for trade

extream loose. The disposition of the King is to bee very familiar with strangers if they bee in Cash. In hope to gett, no man can escape him, when hee hath suckd them, hee will not knowe them.

October 2 —The Prince entered the Towne, and all the great men in wondrous triumph. The King receiued him as if he had no other, contrary to our expectation.<sup>1</sup> Bram pore left almost emptie vnder *Chan Channa*. I had sent

<sup>1</sup> The campaign against the Dekhao princes had now been brought to a close by the submission of the King of Bijápur, which forced Malik Ambar also to make terms by the surrender of Ahmadnagar and other territory which he had reconquered from the Moguls. As Jahángir loosely puts it in his *Memoirs* "The insurgents, with that craft which distinguishes them, made him [the Prince] their intercessor and abandoned the Imperial territory. They presented large offerings of money and valuables as tribute and engaged to remain quiet and loyal. At the instance of Khurram I remained for some days in the palace of Sháhdábád at Mandú and consented to forgive their misdeeds" (Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 376). Roe's account, contained in a letter to the English ambassador at Constantinople, August 21 1617 (*Add. MS.* 6115, f. 207), is far less complimentary. "The King is at I resent in that they call an Army; but I see no souldiers though multitudes enteriayned in the qualety. The purpose was the oppression of the vnited Decan kinges, who are perswaded to part with some rotten Castles that may pretend a shadowe of yeilding somewhat, for which they are pleased here to thinck themselves woorthy of the glorious Prayzes due to so honorable Conquest.

It was on this occasion that the Prince received the title by which he was ever after known. "About three o'clock after noon, Prince Khurram arrived and obtained audience in the fort of Mandú. He had been absent from the Court for eleven months and eleven days. After he had paid me his respects I called him in the window where I was sitting, and with the impulse of excessive paternal affection and love I immediately rose up and took him in my arms. The more he expressed his reverence and respect for me, the more my tenderness increased towards him. I ordered him to sit by me. He presented me with 1000 gold *mahurs* and 1000 *rupes*. Formerly at the conquest of the Ráná, a *mansáb* of 20,000 and the command of 10,000 horse had been conferred on Prince Khurram, and when he was sent to the Dakhin he was honoured with the title of a Sháh. Now in consideration of his present service, his *mansáb* was promoted to a *mansáb* of 30,000 and the command of 20,000 horse. I also conferred on him the title of Sháh Jahán. It was also ordered that henceforth a chair should be placed for him in the Court next to my throne, an honour which was particularly conferred on him and had oever been known in my family —Jahángir's *Memoirs* to Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p. 351



to Asaph Chan<sup>1</sup> to excuse my not meeting him, for I was not able to stirre, nor had no Present All the great men, and the Kings Mother, receued him foure *Course* off I sent also some of my seruants with my iust excuse, which his pride only nodded at.

[*October*] 5.—I receued from Surat newes of our shippes arriuall, the Admirall missing, and her Prize of Mosambique,<sup>2</sup> the rest well, who had taken two English Rouers,

<sup>1</sup> This is probably an error for Afzal Khán, the Prince's Secretary (see p 160) The same mistake occurs on p 435

<sup>2</sup> The 1617 fleet consisted of five vessels, the *Royal James*, *Royal Anne*, *New Years Gift*, *Bull* and *Bee*, commanded by Martin Pring, an old acquaintance of Roe Pring, whose Virginian voyages are well-known, had been master of the *New Years Gift* in Downton's fleet of 1614, and the ambassador was not without hopes that he would find him in charge of one of the incoming ships, his pleasure when "the expected general" turned out to be his desired friend is shown in the letter which follows

Part of the fleet reached Swally on the 20th September, but Pring himself, whose ship had a bad leak, did not arrive till five days later Three prizes had been taken one a Portuguese ship from Mozambique, laden with ivory and gold, and bound for Diu, the others, two English interlopers, who, when they were seized, were on the point of capturing the great junk which was yearly sent from Gogo to the Red Sea, and was now on her return journey These two ships were the *Francis*, of 150 tons, commanded by Samuel Newse, and the *Lion*, of 100 tons, under the charge of Thomas Jones, who had been formerly boatswain of the *Hector*, they were the joint property of Sir Robert Rich (who afterwards as Earl of Warwick was a prominent leader in the Civil War) and Philip Barnardi, an Italian merchant resident in London, and had been set out under the protection of a commission from the Duke of Savoy Roe strongly advised resolute action with these unwelcome intruders, and Pring, acting on his advice, confiscated both ships and goods for the use of the Company This course was entirely approved by the latter, but it involved them in a long dispute with the noble owner, who claimed damages amounting nearly to 20,000*l* The King, who could not deny that the Earl had infringed their patent, yet pressed them to give compensation In the controversy, Roe earned the gratitude of the Company by taking upon himself the responsibility of the seizure, and justifying it to the Privy Council In the end, the matter was referred to arbitration (see *Cal State Papers, East Indies*, 1617-21, preface, pp lxxvi-lxxx, Gardiner's *History of England*, vol iii, p 216, etc., *Historical MSS Commission, Fourth Report*, Lords' Papers, p 19, Court Minutes, *passim*)

Extracts from Pring's journals of his two voyages to the East will be found in Purchas's first volume, p 629 For Pring himself see Professor Laughton's article in the *Dict of Nat Biography*, and a pamphlet by Dr James H Pring, published at Plymouth in 1888

set out by ( )<sup>1</sup> who were found in chase of the Queen Mothers ship returned from the Red sea, which they fortunately rescued and brought safe in (if shee had bin taken we had all bin in trouble), with these the Companies Letter invoice instructions for Persia, and diuers other notes of aduise that by reason of the Admiralls absence they knew not what course to take with the men of Warre. I dispeeded to Surat orders about all businesse as appeares in my Letters.

TO CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING.

(Addl MS 6115, L 268.)

[5 October 1617]

Honest Man

God, that knowes my hart, wittnesse you are the welcomest man to this Country that Could here arriue to assist my many troubles.

The Company haue, it seemes, entrusted more to mee then I am willing to vndertake, for receiuing a Commission about Persia,<sup>2</sup> it is soe limited, and with soe good reasons, that I cannot proceed with such hast as a supply would requier neither dare I thinck it requinte to seperate your fleete, nor Convenient to venture more goodes before aduice, and aduice from a soberer man then Connaught, who was sett out without my knowledg and,

<sup>1</sup> Thus in the original. Purchas was unwilling to mention in this connection so exalted a person as the Earl of Warwikk.

<sup>2</sup> No date is given in the original.

<sup>3</sup> From Carew's *Letters* (Maclean's edn., p. 77) we learn that Roe's despatch to the Company of February 14 1615 16 (see p. 128) had reached England in good time by an express messenger from the consul at Aleppo; those to the King and Council were entrusted by the same official to John Pory and did not come to hand till later. On the 16th Jan., 1616 17 Sir Thomas Smythe and other leading members of the Company presented Roe's letter at the Council table. "The Lords like so well of it," wrote Carew, "and the marchants so willinge to finde itt, as that it was concluded that a tryall thereof shall be made;" and the result is seen in the letters now received. Carew suggested three possible objections to the venture: that Jāshak was an unsuitable port that the Grand Signor might be offended by a compact with his enemy and retaliate on the Englishmen in his dominions and that the need of ready money to drive the trade (600,000l he was told would be necessary) would exhaust the treasure of the kingdom. The resulting instructions to Roe (here referred to) will be found in Appendix B. See also the Introduction.

I am sure, vpon such Conditions as the Company haue restrayned mee in I am of a Nature not to hurt, it was the rashnes of our Merchantes last yeare, whom I would now excuse and helpe out, if anything Committed that may preiudice them I vnderstand the Company to entend noe farther yet then a treaty of Conditions, which they heare<sup>1</sup> haue begunne, but neuer sent me a Copy how they limited them For feare of their forwardnes I sent to the Shabas by his Embassador an ouerture of a treaty,<sup>2</sup> strict enough and wary on our Part, the answere wherof I expect, if Master Connocht, who is Ambassador,<sup>3</sup> haue not taken vpon him to enlarge yt and promise that wee cannot performe Therefore, the busines thus perplexed, it can from mee receiue noe farther authoritye then that I shall not Crosse any supply, if the Merchantes hould it necessarie. But I see no fitt Cargazon to send but will weaken this too much Steeles Proiectes<sup>4</sup> are Idle and vayne, smokey ayrye Imaginations His owne relations of Persia Contradictorye and silly, magnifying his owne woorkes I neuer sawe him, but I suppose I vnderstand him, and woonder how the Company are so deceiued if they Putt much trust in him.

That which causeth my present writing is concerning two men of warr taken by you, of which it seemes some make doubt to stay, by reason of their Commissions and the greatnes of their owners You know your strength, what you may doe to men of their qualetye, and I know the Companies lettres patentes prohibiting any of the subiectes of England to trade this way, much more to roue And if it prohibit it, it consequently giueth power to execute such prohibition, els were it in vayne Therefore I desier you not only to stay them, but to take out their officers and some of their men and change them with yours for safetye, least they make escape They will steed you well with the Portugalles, whom you may expect to Bicker with The reason of this strict dealing is, besides the right of the company and the equitye of Naciones, the Kinges honor is engaged that wee shall not molest free merchantes, not our enemyes I am here a Pawne, and represent his Person, assure you, what damage soeuer any of these subiectes shall susteyne by vs our bodyes and goodes shall answere If for any occasion of our owne you deteyne the said ship of Suratt, it is in our owne Power to free her that is another case I heare one Captain Newse is in one Hee, if I mistake not, is a follower of my lord Dauers,<sup>5</sup> himselfe a souldier and a valiant Man Deale with him to bee content to referr himselfe to mee I will vse him well and like his qualetye,

<sup>1</sup> The Surat factors

<sup>2</sup> See p 373

<sup>3</sup> See p 395

<sup>4</sup> See p 438

<sup>5</sup> Lord (Henry) Danvers (1573-1644), afterwards Earl of Danby

and, If wee might bee assured of his sayth, perhaps some way employ him. Sir Robert Rich is my friend, but I am now a Publique minister and cannot see anything with those eyes, yet hee shall synd I will not vie any extreamety in the End. Ther are many Better Countes then this, to wrong his Soueraigne and his Nation.

Assure them they shall be better vied and may thanck God they fell into our handes, for as men of warre they shall haue honest shares, If wee purchase vpon our enemies if not, I can tell them where to make a voyadge they shall justefye. Deale effectually with them to make them frendes and saythfull and wrie mee your opinion whither wee may trust or no.

There is one Pearle<sup>1</sup> in a box directed to mee, and somewhat concerning it concealed from the Merchantes. That may bee sowed so in Cloth that it may come safe and speedily by the first English but take heed you bee cunning hiders, for here are cunning searchers.

I pray loue that little woorme John Hatch,<sup>2</sup> and Commend mee to him. If no letters from the King to the Mogol nor Prince a great error

Your loving friend,

THO. ROE.

I know not Captain Andrew Shilling<sup>3</sup> but by fame to be a braue honest man and therefore I am bound to loue him and to wish him all good. If hee will trye mee hee shall synd I remem ber some of his Actions. If Captain Adames bee our ould Virgi

<sup>1</sup> A valuable pearl weighing 29½ carats, "shaped like a pear very large, beautiful and orient" (Terry p. 374). Four strings of small pearls were also sent (Biddulph's Accounts).

<sup>2</sup> From the mention of Hatch on p. 6 it seems probable that he was master's mate in the *Lion* when Roe came out in her. The latter wrote to the Governor of the Company in his favour and Smythe, with a jest about turning plain John Hatch into Master Hatch, sent him out in the present fleet as master of the *Mer*. In her a little later he made a voyage to Jāshak. When the fleet was leaving Surat, the ambassador made it his special request to Pring, that he would either take Hatch home with him, or send him back to India that he might be with Roe. In April, 1618, however Hatch was made commander of the *Arct* *Years Gift* and did not return to England till 1621 when he was censured by the Court for having "carried himself very weakly in the fight with the Flemings."

<sup>3</sup> Shilling the commander of the *Anne* (in which Roe made his homeward voyage), has earned a place in the *Dictionary of National Biography* by his action with the Portuguese off Jāshak, in which he lost his life (Jan. 1621). An account of him will also be found in the preface to Sir Clements Markham's *Voyages of William Baffin*.

nian Adams,<sup>1</sup> hee is my good frend Commend mee to him whosoever, and to all our Countymen

[October] 6—I rode to visite the Prince, at his vsuall houre, to giue him welcome and to acquaint him with our businesse, determining to make offer of all respect to him, and to that end not to come emptie handed, and bought a fine Chaine of gold, China worke I sent in word He returned that I should come next morning at Sunne rise, when he sate to be worshipped, or stay till his riding to Court, which I must haue done at his doore This I tooke in extreame scorne, his Father neuer denying me accesse, and his Pride is such as may teach Lucifer, which made me answere roundly I was not his Slaue, but a free Ambassadors of a King, and that I would neuer more visite him, nor attend him, hee had refused me Iustice. but at night I would see him with the King, to whom only I would addresse my selfe, and so departed.

At night I went to the King, who receiued me graciously I made a reuerence to the Prince, but he would not once stirre his head Then I acquainted the King that, according to his order, I had brought an abstract of our ladings, desiring his command After his manner he asked what and what, and was so wonderfully satisfied, especially with Arras, that he promised mee all fauour, all priuiledges, all that I would desire He enquired for Dogges, which I could not answere, and for Iewels, which I told him they were dearer in England then in India, at which hee rested satisfied I durst not name the Pearles for many reasons, if I had, our people

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<sup>1</sup> Robert Adams, commander of the *Bull*. He was sent home with her from Surat in February, 1618, and went out again to Bantam the following season with the news of the agreement made with the Dutch. Frequent references to him will be found in *Cock's Diary*.

A Captain Adams is mentioned by Purchas (vol. iv, pp. 1733, 1756) as going out with Gates's Virginia fleet of 1609, and doubtless it is to him that Roe refers, but whether he was identical with the commander of the *Bull* does not appear.

had been waylaid for by the Prince and such snatching as I could not auoyd infinite trouble, I knew I could bring them ashore and to Court by stealth that the lesser expected, the better welcome but my maine reason was, I would make a friend by them. Therefore, when Asaph Chan pressed me to know, I desired him to make that answer of dearenesse and that I would speake with him alone. He soone vnderstood me, and made excuse.

The King being well pleased I thought it good time to moue againe for the debts, and hauing my Petition ready, opened it, and offered it vp. The King not marking, others discovered what it was, and knew the King would bee enraged that his order was neglected, whereat one stept to me, and clapt downe my hand gentily, desiring me not to doe so. I answered Aradake Chan<sup>1</sup> had absolutely refused me Iustice, at which he being by, came in in much feare, calling Asaph Chan desiring him to hinder me from complaint. I answered our shps were armed and we could not forbear nor endure such delays. So they consulted together and called the *Cutwall* giuing order to execute the Kings command, who that night at midnight beset their Tents, and caught some of them. So that now we shall haue reason.

I had great thanks of all the *Vmreies*<sup>2</sup> for protecting the Queenes ship and our courtesie to their passengers, which they enformed the King who tooke it kindly, and they all promised that they were obliged to loue our Nation and would doe them all seruice, but they wondered we could not gouerne our people, but that theeues could come out without the Kings leaue.

At the Kings rising Asaph Chan carryed me with him to his retyring place and there first we translated the Abstract into Persian to shew the King an houre after in

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<sup>1</sup> Irddat Khán of whom see p. 415.

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 417

which I inserted the money with some addition,<sup>1</sup> because the King might perceiue was [wee?] brought profit to his Dominions , next the cloath and sorts , then the fine wares in generall . lastly the grosse commodities , desiring his Maiestie to order what he would buy, and to giue vs liberty for the rest This finished, Asaph Chan renewed the reason why I would speake alone, bad me be free, vowed and protested such friendship as I neuer could expect. I replied The reason why I desired it, was to aske his counsell , for it was true I had somewhat, but my vsage last yeare was so bad, that I durst not trust any , but, that he might see how I replied [relied ?] on him, I was willing, on his oath, to reueale it , which he presently gaue I told him I had a rich Pearle, and some other ropes faire I knew not whether it was fit to tell the King, lest the Prince were displeased , I told him how in the morning I had been to visite him, and his discourtesie, and my resolution but that I knew his fauour was so necessary for vs, that I hoped I might recouer it by this one respect that I kept the Pearle for him. This, I said, was my purpose and reason I concealed it he was father-in-law to him, and fauorite of the King : I was ready to please both, and desired his aduice. He embraced me, and began I had done discreetly, but I should acquaint neither if I did, I should neuer want trouble . the King would vse me well, but keepe such a stirre to see it and get it into his hand, according to custome, and then I must sue for mine owne the Prince was rauinous and tyrannicall, and wearied all Nations. He bade mee steale all ashoare, trust none, and shewed mee many conueyances,<sup>2</sup> bade me observe the vsage of the Portugalls, how they were ransacked , and desired to buy it, which if I would grant it, I should haue money in

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<sup>1</sup> An astoundingly frank admission

<sup>2</sup> "*Convey*, the wise it call "

deposito, what I should aske, and he would, for this trust of him, sollicite all my desires, that without him I could doe nothing. Now was an oportuntie to make a friend. I answered I was willing, but I feared hee would reueale it, which hauing receiued his oath, and a ceremony of couenant by crossing thumbes we embraced. I promised to be directed by him, and he to doe all that I required for the comming vp of the rest he would take order to giue me *Firmans* no man should touch any thing, but all come to me, to dispose of at pleasure. The Prince he would reconcile to me, and the next time he visited him he would take me, and make him vse me with all grace, and for other businesse it should not be in his power to crosse me but, if he did, he would assigne vs a Syndic,<sup>1</sup> which was in his gouernment, or procure any other Port at my desire and whatsoever I demanded should be performed faithfully. He also aduised me to giue his sister Normahall some toy. He said he would make the King giue me money, to which I answered I desire you to conuert it into the well vsage of my countrey men. I asked no more.

Thus we rose, and he carryed me in to the King, with the Note translated, who gaue mee all good vsage, asked if the Arras were a Present. I answered yes, lest it should be seized, for the Prince was by. In conclusion, hee said hee would buy all the parcell of cloath, and many other things, appointing me to send for it speedily, Asaph Chan to take order for a *Firman* from the Prince.

Thus I had a good night, and I knew, though they are all ( )<sup>2</sup> yet in this he<sup>3</sup> would deale truly because it was to helpe himselfe, and durst not betray me till he

<sup>1</sup> Syndic (*i.e.* Lârfbandar) is meant (see p. 122).

<sup>2</sup> Thus in the original.

<sup>3</sup> Asaf Khân.



had the Pearle, for feare to misse it , nor after, for hauing himselfe betrayed the Prince<sup>1</sup>

TO THE FACTORS AT SURAT

(Addl MS 6115, f 270)

Mandoa, 8 October, 1617

I perceeaeue you conceiue that either the Company hath Putt a new authoritie into my handes or that I am very willing to assume one First, lett me desier you not to mistake mee nor them , they haue giuen no more then I thought euer I had, nor will neuer take more vpon mee, which is, frendly to joyne with all their good seruantes in aduice, not to gouerne or ouerrule nor to doe any thing of myne owne head, except in such case that any by grose misdemeanor should abuse the Company I doe first as my opinion deliuer that, if Master Kerridge thinck his authoritie is any way lessened, that he bee persuaded to the Contrarye, for that both his deseruings and experience will protect him from any such matter .<sup>2</sup>

If the ship of Goga<sup>3</sup> bee free, I am pleased If not, before

<sup>1</sup> On October 11 Roe wrote very hopefully to Kerridge "It hath pleased God to rayse mee vnexpected frends, soe that I am almost confident to doe all yours and my busines to ease and contentment and that noe reasonable thing wilbe denied mee of the King, who soe graciously now vseth mee The Prince I haue yet refused to visitt, but treated by a third Person , I receiued from him a messuage of better tast then former, but not such as I will relie vpon This I knowe, I shall neuer recouer his hart, but I dare allmost say I shall ease you all, and from the King obteyne more then you expect" (*O C*, No 548)

<sup>2</sup> Roe's remarks on the suspicious attitude of the Company towards him, and on the evils consequent on his powerlessness to control their factors, had had their due effect, and by a letter dated February 6, 1616-17 (no longer extant) the factors at Surat were notified that the ambassador was authorised "to instructe, directe and order all the Factors in the Mogulls Country in all the Affaires and buisines of the said Honourable Company" (see *O C*, No 538) Apparently Kerridge, resenting this, had announced his intention of returning to England, which he was now at liberty to do, as his stipulated period of service was nearly at an end Roe, who, in spite of their differences, fully recognised Kerridge's abilities and knew the difficulty of replacing him, did his best to dissuade him, assuring him that "you shall all fynde me a tame lyon," and that the newly-granted authority "you shall see I will use with all modestie (or rather neuer lett you see but in case of Necessitie), hoping you will suffer mee to aduise, and either follow it or show mee a good reason wherin I err, which for me is very easie" (Letter of November 8, 1617, *O C*, No 558), and, somewhat grudgingly, Kerridge consented to stop

<sup>3</sup> Roe, impatient at finding that nothing had been done to secure payment of the debts, in spite of the King's orders, had asked Bangham

shee passe, gett, I pray a letter into your handes of acknowledgment, to bee sent mee to show the Prince, whose Pride only will take no knowledge of any Curtesye.

The first thing to be Considered is the supply of Persia, which I should necessarie not to bee neglected, though wee shall runne blindly on, having no reason from them last yeare employed.

That you may the better vnderstand the Companies Purposes, I haue sent you two Copies directed to mee,<sup>1</sup> whereby you may see both their desier to follow and procure that trade, the objections against it and the restrictions of their Conditions, out of which I gather that they suppose yet no vndertaking,<sup>2</sup> but desier some established Conditions and Articles and some assurance of vent of theirs and easie rates of the Commodities of Persia before they would engage them selues, or at least not farr, which limitations of theirs agreeing with the want of supply in Cargazon

I am of opinion that it is fitt to forbare any supply of goodes this yeare, yet if you all thinck otherwise I yeild willingly. But that wee must not lett the Protect sleepe I am resolute in, first, not to disgrace our Nation, next to releue our Countriemen, who will expect vs and to make a Iudicious experience of the profitts and possibilitie of that trade, for the encouragment or satisfaction of our Employers. But the question is how it may bee done.

Vse your discretions, I will agree, consent too and confirme whatsoever Captain Prinne, Master Kerridge and those Merchantes joyned with them shall thinck in this Case most requisite to bee donne and this is all in that Poynt I can say<sup>3</sup> I mention not Master Steele for this employment of

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on the 3rd (J/S., L. 266) to send an express to the General desiring him to seize the Prince's ship at Surat or the Queen mother's junk, "that by Complaynt hither I may bee questioned for yt. I would deliuer the King the truth of all our vsage and doubt not but to make a good exchange and to send downe sufficient warrant for all our debtes to gett the shipp cleared. I know wee shall runne some trouble at first by it, but I most but I care not for any thing they dare doe if I can bring to passe our owne safety in the end." Apparently the news from Surat had now made it clear that this could not be done.

<sup>1</sup> See the instructions printed in Appendix R.

<sup>2</sup> The Company were, of course, ignorant of the despatch of Connock and his fellow factors to Jāshak.

<sup>3</sup> The letters brought by Pring's fleet had amply vindicated Roe's authority in this matter. "Persia," he wrote to the factors at Agra, "is wholly referred to mee, the Company no way thincking any Man had meddled in yt without mee. But, for the reasons stated in the text, and in the absence of any news from Connock, he judged it inexpedient to send any goods this season. In case, however it should be decided at Surat to send a ship to Jāshak for intelligence, he drafted the instructions which follow the present letter as also a formal commission (O. C., No. 544), authorising Connock to negotiate a treaty with the Shāh.

These two documents (with the signatures of Pring and Kerridge

Persia suddenly, because I thinck his speedy repayre hither of more vse

As I was writing came in your seruantes with other letters from England, wherin receiuing from the Kinges Maiestie my gracious Master his fauorable lettres and Instructions,<sup>1</sup> I haue order to prosecute the Proiect of Persia, but still with restraynt only to Conclude and contract, if I thinck it fitt, not to send any goodes vntill the Next Joynt Stock, according to the Companies order

Disperse the Pearle<sup>2</sup> so in stitched Clothes, or the great one in the stock of a Peice, bored and finely stopped and blacked that it cannot bee seene, and if Master Steele will come speedely with them, lett him soe convey these Pearles that hee may passe vp with them If one of the swoordes sent mee by the Company may come vp with Master Steele, or any other thing of the Companies by stealth I shalbe woonderous glad

INSTRUCTIONS GIUEN TO OUR LOUING FREINDS EDWARD CONNOCKE, Thomas Barker, George Plea and William Bell,<sup>3</sup> Employed in the Seruice of the Honourable Companie of East India, by the Port of Jasques or any other in the Coast of the Shabas

(I. O Records O C, No 545)

1 You shall principally and first regard the limitations of the Company sent to the Embassador, the copy wherof is your direction, and not enlardge nor swerve from them but in Cases expressed following

2 You shall well way the obiections sent out of England, especially that which mentioneth a true [truce?] of the Trade if the Grand Sinior and the Sha shall make peace but to haue the ould trade continewed, and soe wee shalbe made a stale and turned out

3 You shall Judicioushe consider whither the port of Jasques or any other bee fitt to receiue and secure our shipp vnder a

added) were accordingly despatched to Jásbak in the *Bee*, which sailed on the 14th November, under the charge of John Hatch, with Edward Monnox and Francis Tipton as factors Hatch's instructions will be found in O C, No 560

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B

<sup>2</sup> Pearls

<sup>3</sup> Of these four merchants, Connock's brief career in the East is sufficiently described elsewhere, Barker, whom Roe praises as "a sober man and of good stayd judgment," succeeded to Connock's post upon his death (December, 1617), and endeavoured, though in vain, to obtain a fresh grant of privileges from Sháh Abbás, he died on November 30, 1619, Plea, or Pley, who was a cousin of Kerridge, died before Connock, Bell lived long enough to become Agent, but he in turn succumbed to the climate (February 24, 1624)

fort, which admitted, you shall contract to haue such forts repayred and mayntayned at the chardge of the Sha, for which, if required, you shall consent to pay Custome for goods 3 per Cent. (or somewhat more rather then breake), for mony or Boullion oothlog the import beinge sufficient profit and noe wise prince demandinge that, outward you may insist to pay no Custome, the Sha takinge none at his confine townes of Turkey

4. You must alsoe well consider the Neighborhood and strength of Ormus, whither one shipp may safely trade or not, for that the Chardge of a flecte to defend her will oot bee borne, least you fall into our incomoditie at Suratt, and this one thinge I feare aboue all other. The best prevention wilbe if your proceeds can bee readie to bee shipt in tenn daies, wherby no great preperation can be made against you.

5. This Custome beinge paid, you shall agree to passe freely too and froo with all your goods without any New or farther imposition to bee imposed, except it be some customes or toles of priuiledged townes that all subjects pay which, if reasonable, cannot bee auoyded without trooble and disconttent, the same to remayne in your owne power and Custodie without molestation or other pretence of any Gouvernor

6 You shall contract to haue a settled residence withio one month Iourny at the farthest from your porte, wher you may reside and whither the silks may bee brought, that you bee not enforced to wander to seeke marketts. For this, Shyras,<sup>1</sup> as I suppose, is most coouenient and indifferent for both.

7 You shall article not only to haue liberty to sell your Cloth and Comoditie if you can (which I doubt not they will easely grant), but contract for so much of euery sort at such prises as are limited by the Company to be taken of yearly by the Sha or his marchantes; but for these prises you need not bee bound so strictly as not to sell somewhat vnder if you see it may bee raysed againe in the silkes bought more reasonable, and that it may bee a meane to vent and putt off yours, but in this you cannot fall much, and in barter nothinge, for that the silkes wilbee deare.

8. Whatsoeuer you can contract for to sell at certeyntie, in English and sowtherne Comodities, it beinge two thirds, you shall condition to bring io one third more io mony of [or?] Boullion, Gould or siluer and without this proportion at least in goods may bee vented, it is not worth labor neyther this proportion, except you can thus putt off of clothes and english Comodities as one halfe of that two-thirds in goods, the other halfe to be supplied in spices and Iodyan goods, the other third in mony, whereby the retournes in silke may beare the Chardge but for as much more in proportion as you can.

<sup>1</sup> Shiraz.

9 You must Contract for the price of your silke with the Sha or his merchants, for I am enformed that Comoditie is all the Kings The price the Company hath limited, but wheras they say they would receiue their silke at one Royall and halfe at watter side the pound, I suppose you may venture to giue that price, or 7s 6d sterlinge, accountinge your Royall at 5s At Shiras this you must cast in your sales and in your Chardges downe, which I suppose is not great

10 You must contract that any English dyinge in any parts of the Shaes dominion, that all his goods, bills and papers may bee free and beecome to the English suruiuing without any molestation or pretence of confiscation whatsoeuer, and if no such English in Company, that the next Magistrat shall take all such goods, monyes and bills into his protection by Inventory and wittnes, and the same to deliuer vpon demand to the next english that shalbe authorised to receiue it, and in Case of any imbelment, the said magistrat to bee respondent

11 You shall Article that in places of knowne danger you may at the Chardge of the Country haue sufficient guards to Conduct your goods, or in Case of losse the next towne to bee respondent.

12 That no English bee imprisoned for any debt except prooued by his bill wittnessed before the *Casie*<sup>1</sup> or Ordinarie Notarie of the place where the debt was made

13 That fresh victualls may bee supplied to our shippes at reasonable rates and without Customes

14 These Conditiones granted and signed by the Sha, you shall also haue power to contract one your parts yearly to send a shipp to bringe the said quantities of goods and monys contracted for, or more in proportion if required, and the same monyes to bestowe in raw silkes or such other persian goods as shalbe most convenient for you

15 That your most Royall Kinge of England will send his letters of Confirmation to make peace, leauge and Amety with the Shaw-bas, and the English nation be readie to doe him all seruice

Lastly you shall enforme your selues of the prises and requests of all sorts of goods, jewells, druggs and other marchandiz, where to bee had, at what rates, and which way they passe most readely, and study what Comodity may bee found to rayse a stocke, which is the mayne matter to encrease this beginning.

*For your Priuat Directions*

1 You shall lue frugally, soberly like merchants without prodigall expences, the Country beeing Cheape, and trauell with as few seruants as may stand with safety

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<sup>1</sup> *Kādf*, the Indian form of the Arabic *kādf*, "a judge."

2 You shall not bringe vp a Custome of giuen presents to euery Gouvernor nor at Court flourish and braue yt for I giue it for a rule you shall meete with a kinge affable and Curteous to strangers, not like our Mogol, but one that will eate vpon any man, greate<sup>1</sup> and gett ond when hee hath left you empty will not know you<sup>2</sup>

3. The Chardge of your house and trauell I cannot limitt, though Commanded to doe soe but thinke that a houshold of five may honestly passe their ordinary chardge for 100 *li* sterling per anno, keepinge two horses. In trauell it shalbe allway better to buy then hire your horses or wagons, If your seruants bee care full.

4. You shall, of all other things, obserue this strictly that the proceede of your goods, how much or little soeuer may bee ready to bee shipt at your port the 10th of September

5 Yf you send by shipping, wheras I mentioned sendinge two merchants in my lettre, I hould it needlesse, only one to carrie these Commissions and Instructions, to bee deliuered to those whome I hope you shall find ready, it beinge just and reasonable that they who haue begune this negotiation should bee esteemed as most worthie and sufficient to continew it. But wheras ther are noe goods sent, I hould it fitt that two or 3 at most remayne to make this triall ond to cleare the ould estate aduentured [and?] the proceed, ond such as are found vselesse and vnitt, to returne with the shipp to bee imployd in other service or, if they already in experience find it to bee no fitt place nor course of trade to be conunewed, then it shalbe most expedient to reship all your goods and seruants ot port, and if any remayning aboue with any parte vnould, to direct or send one vp with these directions, to make once more a full ouerture ond to adulze ouerland, both to England and India, and, in case of noe hopes to proceed, to passe by Carrauan with his remayner in the finest goods to Agra.

6 If it shall soe happen that Master Connoock or any other hath either taken vpon him [the] title of Embassador<sup>1</sup> or otherwise by any prodigality wasted the Companies stocke, not behauinge himselfe as a merchant in sobriety or in religion and manneres as a good Christian you shall then all joyntly togither dischargdge him, or any such, from any more interest in the Companies seruice in persia [and] shipe him away requiringe him or any other

<sup>1</sup> Compare Westmoreland's speech in *K. Henry IV* Pt. II iv 1

<sup>2</sup> "Wherein have you been galléd by the king?

What peer hath been suborned to *grate* on you?"

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 419. This character of Sháh Abbás is fully borne out by his treatment of Sherley and Cotton, as narrated by Herbert.

<sup>4</sup> This clause is intended for the factors at Surat.

<sup>5</sup> See pp. 395 422.

so offendinge to obey and submitt himselfe to yeld vp all such authoritie vsurped or giuen, in the name of his Maiestie my Souerange lord, as hee will answere it at his vtmost perill, if not soe (which wee hope), to contineue him in his place and reputation

In such case, by virtue of the King's authoritie giuen vnto mee his Ainbassador, and vnto the cheefe Commander of the fleete, Captain Martin Prinne, and the Cape merchant, Master Thomas Kerridge, by the Committes of the Honourable Company of East India Merchants, wee doe ordeyne and nominate to the excecution of these instructions and to the manadging of the said Companys stocke and affayres, as Cheefe or Cape Merchant or Principall, Thomas Barker, and in case of any defaulte of him in death or otherwise, George Plea, and for his second, William Bell, whom wee require to excecute with all diligence these instructions, and all other to obey them in their place and qualety

God, whom I hope you will all only rely one, direct and blesse you

THO ROE

I am not so in loue with myne owne opinion that I thinck it ought to bee a law If you the Cheefe Commander [and] Master Kerridge, Cape merchant, with your Counsailes can add any thinge to these my suddeyne thoughts or in your iudgementes find any fitt to bee altered (for god knowes I am no merchant, but follow common reason), I desire you to bee very free It is the Companies seruice, I will consent vnto it . neythere doe I thincke it fitt, choosinge sober and discreet men to negotiat any busines, so strictly to tye them to instructions as that they may not haue the vse and libertie of their owne reason and experience, for I well knowe no man can sitt in India and direct punctually busines in Persia, subiect to alterations and new accurents Therefore that these in generall shall serue only as a rule, wherby to frame their course that shalbe employed, which in extraordinarye occasion they may alter, vpon the perill of their honesty and discretion

Dated in Mandoa, 6 October, 1617

[*October*] 12 —According to promise, Asaph Chan carryed mee to the Prince, into his priuate roome, where I presented him with a small China Gold-chaine,<sup>1</sup> in a China Cup He vsed me indifferently Asaph Chan perswaded him to

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<sup>1</sup> See p 424

alter his course towards vs, telling him hee gained yearly by vs a *Leede of Rupias* at his Port that it appeared we yearly encreased our trade, and it would in time bring profit that if the hard measure were continued we would quilt both that and the Countrey of which Inconuenience would ensue That we were his Subiects (such words he must vse) if for desire of toyces he gaue vs discontent, we would practise to conceale all from him but If hee gaue vs that libertie which was fit, wee would strue to bring all before him for that I only studied his content and fauour for my particuler that he should receiue mee, when I came to visite him with honour and according to my qualitie It would encourage mee to doe him seruice, and content my Nation. Finally, hee moued him for a *Firman* for our present case, and obtained it, promising all manner of content, and at instant gaue order to Asaph<sup>1</sup> Chan his Secretary, to draw it in euery point according to my owne desires, and to write a Letter to the Gouvernour in recommendations of it and that I should at all times haue any other Letter when I called for it. It is easily scene with how base and vnworthy men I traffique. Asaph Chan, for a sordid hope only of buying some toyces, was so reconciled as to betray his sonne,<sup>2</sup> and to me obsequulous euen to flattery for the ground of all this friendship was that he might buy the Gold taken in the prize<sup>3</sup> and some other knackes. To which end he desired to send downe a seruant, which I could not deny without losing him I had so long laboured to get neither was it ill for vs for his payment is good, and it will saue vs much charge and trouble to sell aboard especially wine and luggish that spoiles in canage, and he obtained leaue vnder false colours, and wrote to the Gouvernour in our behalfe, with all manner of

<sup>1</sup> "Asaf" is meant. cp. p. 420.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 420, note 2. Its value was 350*l* (O. C., No. 561).

<sup>3</sup> Son in law



kindnesse. There is a necessitie of his friendship · his word is law , and therefore I durst not see his vnworthinesse , and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good vse of him Vpon this occasion I moued for a *Firman* for Bengala,<sup>1</sup> which he promised, and would neuer before hearken to And this effect of his greatnesse [gratefulness?] I found that hee prosecuted our debtors,<sup>2</sup> as if his owne , and, passing by the *Cutwalls* on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an vnusuall fauour , vpon which G100 was imprisoned, and Muckshu had two dayes libertie only to pay vs , and I doubt not but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand *Rupias*, and the debtors most shifting false knaues in India.

[*October*] 21 —At this instant came in to me from Asaph Chan a seruant, in the name of Normahal that shee had moued the Prince for another *Firman* that all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her seruant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged . That Asaph Chan had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delayes that now, hee was sure, that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle . that vpon his honour I should receiue all things consigned to mee that shee had written such a command, and charged her seruant to assist our Factors, so that we should haue neuer more cause to complaine of Surat Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to vse him kindly, and let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare. This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse , and gaue

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<sup>1</sup> See p 349

<sup>2</sup> See p 415

him a note on condition to see the Copy of the *Firman*<sup>1</sup> which was sealed and I could not without leaue and so he was dispeeded. But you may by this iudge this place, how easie it were to raise a stocke. Last yeare wee were not looked after. Now because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gaue it to the King euery one is ready to runne downe to buy. Normahall and Asaph Chan studying to doe me good offices, many great men desiring a letter to send their seruants downe so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought vp aboard, and saue you custome and carriage and spoile. For which purpose out of this I haue ordered your Factory to sell to the seruants of Normahall and her brother whatsoeuer may bee spared so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall saue trouble and you charge the Prince preuented and our friends confirmed and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne at the delluery of which Asaph Chan hath vndertaken the *Firman* for Bengala, or any Port, and a generall command and grant of free Priuiledges in all his Dominions.

[October] 24.—The King departed Mandoa foure *Course* and wandering in the hills, left vs irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose.

[October] 26.—I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price.

[October] 29.—I remoued after forced away by the desolations of the place.

[October] 31.—I arriued at the Kings Tents but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting no

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<sup>1</sup> This and the *farman* promised on the 12th were sent by Roe to Surat this same day. The latter was "very ample for our generall good vsadge, and ordered (1) that no duty be leuied on victuals for the ship; (2) that no delay be used in rating the English goods at the custom house (3) that the presents be sent up at once unopened (O. C., No. 552).

kindnesse There is a necessitie of his friendship his word is law, and therefore I durst not see his vnworthinesse, and hope by this course to winne him, at least to make present good vse of him Vpon this occasion I moued for a *Firman* for Bengala,<sup>1</sup> which he promised, and would neuer before hearken to And this effect of his greatnesse [gratefulness?] I found that hee prosecuted our debtors,<sup>2</sup> as if his owne, and, passing by the *Cutwalls* on his Elephant, called to command dispatch, which was an vnusuall fauour, vpon which G100 was imprisoned, and Muckshu had two dayes libertie only to pay vs, and I doubt not but to end that in ten dayes, the summe being foure and forty thousand *Rupias*, and the debtors most shifting false knaues in India.

[*October*] 21 —At this instant came in to me from Asaph Chan a seruant, in the name of Normahal that shee had moued the Prince for another *Firman* that all our goods might bee in her protection, and that shee had obtained it, and was readie to send down her seruant with that, to see and take order for our good establishment that shee would see that wee should not bee wronged That Asaph Chan had done this for feare of the Princes violence, and because of his delayes that now, hee was sure, that his sister had desired to bee our Protectresse, that the Prince would not meddle that vpon his honour I should receiue all things consigned to mee that shee had written such a command, and charged her seruant to assist our Factors, so that we should haue neuer more cause to complaine of Surat Therefore hee desired of mee two or three words to the Captaine and Factors to vse him kindly, and let him buy for her some toyes, such as I would spare This I durst not deny, though I saw the greedinesse, and gaue

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<sup>1</sup> Sec p 349

<sup>2</sup> See p 415

him a note on condition to see the Copy of the *Firman*<sup>1</sup> which was sealed and I could not without leaue, and so he was dispeeded. But you may by this Iudge this place how easie it were to raise a stocke. Last yeare wee were not looked after. Now, because I translated the Cargazon of fine wares (yet concealed the Pearle) and gaue it to the King euey one is ready to runne downe to buy. Normahall and Asaph Chan studying to doe me good offices many great men desiring a letter to send their seruants downe so that if you had treble this stocke, it would be bought vp aboard, and saue you custome and carriage and spoile. For which purpose out of this I haue ordered your Factory to sell to the seruants of Normahall and her brother whatsoeuer may bee spared so that I may bee fitted at Court in any proportion. Thus I shall saue trouble and you charge, the Prince preuented and our friends confirmed, and yet I hope sufficient for to please the King and his sonne at the deliuey of which Asaph Chan hath vndertaken the *Firman* for Bengala, or any Port and a generall command and grant of free Priuiledges in ail his Dominions.

[*October*] 24.—The King departed Mandoa foure *Course* and wandering in the hills left vs irresolute what way to take, no man knowing his purpose.

[*October*] 26.—I got a warrant for ten Camels at the Kings price.

[*October*] 29.—I remoued after forced away by the desoiations of the place.

[*October*] 31.—I arriued at the Kings Tents, but found him gone with few company for ten dayes a hunting no

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<sup>1</sup> This and the *farman* promised on the 12th were sent by Roe to Surat this same day. The latter was "very ample for our generall good vsadge, and ordered (1) that no duty be leuied on victuals for the ship; (2) that no delay be used in rating the English goods at the custom house (3) that the presents be sent up at once unopened (O C, No. 552).

man to follow without leaue, the *Lcskar* diuided and scattered into many parts, ill water, deare prouisions, sicknesse and all sorts of calamitie accompanying so infinite a multitude, yet nothing remoues him from following this monstrous appetite Heere I vnderstood the Kings purpose was vncertaine, whether for Agra or Guzerat, the latter giuen out, the former more probable, because his Councell desired to be at rest, but that, howeuer, for the dispatch of my businesse, seeing hee would linger heere about a moneth, I was aduised, and thought it as fit to send for the goods and Presents as to deferre it vpon vncertainties, being that dispatched, I had hope of some quiet in this course I wore out my body, being very weake, and not like to recouer vpon daily trauell in the fields, with cold raw muddie water

*November 2* —Arriued Richard Steele<sup>1</sup> and Master Iack-

<sup>1</sup> Steel's mission to Persia and his journey thence overland to England have already been mentioned. The loss of the Court Minutes of this date prevents us from following in detail his subsequent negotiations with the Company, but their main purport can be gathered from a letter written by him to the Court at the end of 1616 or the beginning of 1617, which is printed in *The First Letter Book* (p. 457). In this he refers to his advocacy of "the Trade of Rawsilkes from Persia," and then goes on to unfold four more schemes: first, the transportation of the goods of native merchants from Sind to Persia by sea, to save the long overland journey by way of Candahar; secondly, the carriage to Persia of spices and other commodities of the Far East; thirdly, the convoying of the Gujârât ships to the Red Sea; fourthly, the erection of waterworks at Agra, to supply that city with water from the Jumna, for which he doubted not that "either the king will giue a good gratification, or the people of that Cittye pay quarterly or yearly for yt." In this last project, he was willing to venture 300*l*, and he was also prepared to serve the Company for five years at 200*l* per annum. If Roe should be sent to Persia to conclude a treaty, Steel would gladly "keepe him Companye in so worthy a buisines and be a help for obteyning many fauours from the said Sophey."

Apparently the Company were unwilling to take a part in his waterworks scheme, but (in an unhappy hour for their long-suffering ambassador) they engaged his services in a general capacity, and allowed him to take with him a number of workmen on the chance of his being able to interest the Mogul in his very visionary project.

With him came other troublesome adventurers, viz. Captain Tower-son and his wife and Mrs. Hudson. Towerson (well known in after

son<sup>t</sup> with the Pearle and some other small matters stollen ashore, according to my order, which I receiued and gaue quittance for. With him I had conference about his proiects which because I would not rashly reiect them as he had set them afoot, after hauing made him see his fancies and vnderstand the qualitie of these people how for the water worke, if to bee effected it must bee begunne at our charge, and after triall we shall not enioy the profit, but the Naturalls taught and our people reiecte neither our commoditie vented by it for that the Lead will treble his price by portage ouer land, and cannot bee deliuered at Agra so cheape as found there yet I was content hee should make triall for satisfaction by carrying his work men to Amadauas to meete mee there, where by assistance of Moerib Chan who only is a friend to new inuentions, I would make offer to the King of their industry and make prooffe what conditions may be obtained, but in my Iudgement it is all money and labour cast away. The Company must shut their eares against these projectors, who

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years as the chief of the English factors put to death at Amboyna) had been in the Company's first voyage, and had been chief at Bantam from 1605 to 1608. In 1611 he had commanded the *Hector* in the Eighth Voyage and on his return had married the widow of William Hawkins. As will be remembered, she was an Armenian girl whom Hawkins had enioured at Agra at the instance of Jahāngir; and it was in the hope of pushing his fortunes in India with the help of his wife's relatives that Towerson had persuaded the Company to grant the passage.

Mrs Towerson brought with her her friend, Mrs. Hudson, and a maid Frances Webbe. The latter was secretly married to Steel, either before or during the voyage and their son, born at Surat soon after the ship's arrival, may be safely set down as the second English child born in India (the first was the infant of Sir Thomas and Lady Lowell, Shirley's companions).

<sup>1</sup> A gentleman who had come out in Pring's fleet with letters of recommendation from Sir Thomas Smythe and "many honourable Lords of his Majestys Councell." He seems to have decided very quickly not to remain in India, for on November 3, 1617 the ambassador wrote (*O. C.*, No. 556) to the Surat factors to assist him "to goe to the Southward, if hee desier it, to seeke a better fortune and to advise him which way he may reape some honest recompence of two years trauell without Inlurie to the Com<sup>an</sup>."

haue their owne employments more in their ends then their Masters profits Many things hold well in discourse, and in the theorique satisfie curious imaginations, but in practise and execution are found difficult and ayrie, especially to alter the constant receiued customes of Kingdomes, where some drinke only raine-water, some of a holy Riuer, some none but what is fetched by their owne cost His second of reducing the *Caffilacs* and Merchants of Lahor and Agra by the Riuer Indus, that vsed to passe by Candahor into Persia, to transport by sea in our shipping for Iasques or the Gulph, is a meere dreame, some man in conference may wish it, but none euer practise it The Riuer is indifferently nauigable downe, but the mouth is the residence of the Portugalls, returns backe against the streame very difficult Finally, wee must warrant their goods, which a Fleet will not doe, neither did the Portugall euer lade or noise [*sic*] such goods, but only for those of Sindie and Tatta, that traded by their owne Iunckes, they gaue a *Cartas* or *Passe* to secure them from their Frigats, and traded with them, for which they payed a small matter, and that onely which came to the purses of the Grand<sup>1</sup> of Diu, Damon and Ormus Or if all other difficulties were taken away, yet will the Lahornes neuer bee drawne downe, being that *Caffila* consists most of returning Persians and Armenians that knew the passage from Iasques almost as bad as from Candahor, and for that little on the Confines of Sinde not worth mentioning Notwithstanding, for his better satisfaction, I was content hee should by experience learne his owne errors, so it were not at the Companies charge, but I suppose hee will let it fall, not knowing at which end to beginne

A third proiect for to ioyne the Trade of the Red Sea with this, I recommended to him, for that it was alreadie

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<sup>1</sup> Elsewhere called the Captain

in use, and the perill for the Guzurats very apparant;<sup>1</sup> therefore I doubted not some Merchants might be drawne to lade in our ships at freight, whereby wee should make our selves necessary friends to these people supply our owne defects saue export of monies, and finally for this yeare employ one ship of the olde account that should returne in September and receiue the proceed of the remaynes of this ioynnt stocke,<sup>2</sup> which will be sufficient to re lade a great ship otherwise to transport it ouer will be extreame losse. This I opened and vrged the consequence, shewed which way to effect it, and commended by him to the Commander the Cape Merchant, and your Factors with all earnestnesse, as by my Letters appeares. The consequence I will make euident in your profit, if they follow it. For were the goods and estate all my owne If I could not procure somewhat towards charge by freight from the Guzurats yet hauling so many emptie vessels for so small a stocke and two fallen into your hands of men of warre, I had rather goe emptie, and for company with them then to omit that. There are many chances in that Sea and in the way, her returne onely of our owne remaynes shall requite all forbearance, and be readie in time, for employed she must be If we intend to send the rest vpon this account, for that here is no harbourage. At his arriuall I found him high in his conceits, hauling some what forgotten me, Master Kerridge and him at warres which I endeauoured to temper on all parts but for his Wife I dealt with him cleerely she could not stay with our safety nor his Masters content that he had ruined his for

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<sup>1</sup> As we have seen, Roe had proposed this to the Company quite independently of Steel.

<sup>2</sup> The first joint stock had been brought to an end and a second started. The goods belonging to the former had either to be exchanged for native commodities and these sent home, or else they must be carried over ("transported") to the new stock at a valuation. The former course was obviously the more profitable.



tunes, if by amends hee repayed it not that shee should not trauell nor liue on the Companies Purse (I know the charge of women) that if he were content to liue himselfe like a Merchant, as others did, frugally, and to be ordered for the Companies seruice, and to send home his Wife, he was welcome otherwise, I must take a course with both against my nature. Hauing to this perswaded him, I likewise practised the discouragement of Captaine Towerson about his Wife (you know not the danger, the trouble, the inconuenience of granting these liberties) To effect this, I perswaded Abraham, his Father in Law<sup>1</sup> here, to hold fast I wrote to them the gripings of this Court, the small hope or [of?] reliefe from his alliance, who expected great matters from him Finally, I perswaded his returne quietly To further this, I wrote to your chiefe Factor that such things as hee had brought and were vendible should bee brought to your vse by Bill of exchange, to such profit for him as both might saue, and this inconuenience you bring on your selues by liberties vnreasonable But to take tye [anye?] of his trash to lye vpon your hands, vpon any condition I did prohibit.

I find by your Letter your strict command in priuate Trade, as well for your owne Seruants as others, whereby I collect you meane not that he shall haue that libertie hee expects, for he is furnished for aboue one thousand pound sterling, first penny here, and Steele at least two hundred pound, which he presumes, sending home his Wife, his credit and merit is so good towards you, that you will admit in this case to be rid of such cattell I will not buy,

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<sup>1</sup> This individual appears to be "the Dutchman, the Princes jeweller," mentioned on pp 189, 332 He was "a Dutchman from Antwerp, called Abraham de Duyts, a diamond polisher, a great friend of the prince Sultan Khurram, in whose service he was" (I O Records *Hague Transcripts*, 1st Series, vol iii No 96) Jourdain refers to him (*Sloane MS* 858) as the father-in-law of Mrs Hawkins (now Mrs Towerson)

but order that it be marked and consigned to you that you may measure your owne hand. You discourage all your olde Scrivants. Some may doe nil things for faire words, some nothing for good actions. I could instance some gone home two yeares since that onely employed their owne stocke did no other businesse and liue now at home in plesure others that raise their fortune vpon your monies from Port to Port and returne rich and vnquestioned. Last yeare a Mariner had sixe and twentie Charles of Indico others many Pardles a third seven thousand *Mamudes* first pennie in Baroach Bastaes,<sup>1</sup> chosen apart (for hee inuested your Monies and it is probable hee chose not the worst for himselfe) a fourth<sup>2</sup> aboue one hundred and fiftie pound first pennie. These I mention nnt for spight but to mneue you to equalitie neither by their example these may escape, for they swallow you vp but that an indifferent restraint be executed vpon nil.

For the effecting of all these purposes the sending home the woman and the prosecution of the Red Sea, I sent backe Richard Steele with orders to Surat,<sup>3</sup> hauing altered my purpose of the goods and Presents from the *Leskar* it being declared that the King will for Guzurat where I haue appointed Richard Steele, after hauing dispatched other matters, to meete with them and his Ingeniers. I also sent my aduice and directions to Captaine Pring to take an Inuentorie of all the Monies and goods in the two men of Warre to make it ouer to your stocke and land it to sell or dispose of the ships, as his occasion shall require (the monies if sold to be put to stocke) to grant

<sup>1</sup> "Bastias"

<sup>2</sup> "The Names are omitted (marginal note by Lurchus)."

<sup>3</sup> See Roe's letters to the Surat factors of the 3rd (O. C., No. 556) and 8th November (No. 558), and to Pring on the latter date (No. 559). In the letter to Pring he suggested that the *five* might be sent to Bengal if the *farman* were obtained.

passage to some of the Chieftes, to entertaine the rest and to referre it to you at home, whom [how?] you will deale with the Owners that set them out My opinion is peremptory that their surprize is iust and iustificable, all their goods forfeited, if you will restore anything, at your courtesie, but with the more rigour you deale with these, the better example you will leaue for such barbarous Piracies, for, if this course be practised, take your leaue of all Trade about Surat and the Red Sea, and let the Company of Turkie stand cleere of the Grand Signors reuenge, and we heere must expect cold Iions

[*November*] 6—I went to Asaph Chans, hauing receiued his Passe, vnto whom I shewed the Pearle according to promise Though the sorts fit not the Countrey (iust as I was informed hereafter), yet their performance with him gaue him such content that I am confident I may vse Pharaohs words The Land is before you, dwell where you will, you and your Seruants For the price wee talked not, but he vowed such [much?] secrecie, and for my sake, who haue shewed this confidence in him, hee will giue more then their worth, and not returne one, and pay readie mony, of which hee professeth not to want, and to lend mee what I want His Sister I haue promised to visit,<sup>1</sup> whom hee hath made our protectresse, and briefly whatsoever contentment words can bring I receiue, and some good effects When the Presents arriue, assure you I will not be liberall to your losse, little shall serue. Asaph Chan admonisheth mee himselfe so they came with somewhat to induce them, as well accepted, bought as giuen, experience of others makes mee to approue of this doctrine

Finishing these complements with him in his Bed-chamber, he rose to Dinner, hauing inuited me and my people,

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<sup>1</sup> A noteworthy instance of Núr Mahál's independence

but he and (m) friends dined without appointing mee a messe with him apart for they ate not willingly with vs where I had good cheere and well attended the reuersion for my seruants.<sup>1</sup>

After dinner, I moued Groos debt, told him the deliyes. Hee answered I should not open my lips he had vnder taken it that Groo by his meanes was finishing accounts with a Jeweller that hee had ordered as money was paid it should rest in the *Cut valls* hand for vs which I found true, and the *Cutvall* promised to finish it in three dayes desiring mee to send no more to Asaph Chan

I cannot omit a basenesse or fauour according as you will interprete it The King when his Prisons are full of condemned men some he commands to be executed some he sends to his *Virtues* to redeeme at a price. This he esteemes as a courtesie to giue meanes to exercise charitie but he takes the money and so sells the vertue.<sup>2</sup> About a moneth before our remoue, he sent to mee to buy three Abassines<sup>3</sup> (for fortie *Aspits* a man) whom they suppose all Christians. I answered I could not buy men as Slaues,

<sup>1</sup> This appears to be the dinner spoken of by Terry (p. 207)

<sup>2</sup> Once my Lord Ambassadors had an entertainment there by Asaph Chan who invited him to dinner (and this was the only respect in that kinde he ever had while he was in East India). This Asaph Chan entertained my Lord Ambassadors in a very spacious and a very beautifull tent, where none of his followers besides myself saw or tasted of that entertainment. We ate in that large Room as it were in a Triangle; the Ambassadors on Asaph Chans right hand, a great distance from him; and myself below all of us on the ground, as they there all do when as they eat with our faces looking each in the other and every one of us had his several mess. The Ambassadors had more dishes by ten and I less by ten, than our entertainer had yet for my part I had fifty dishes. They were all set before us at once, and little path left betwixt them that our entertainers servants (for onely they waited) might come and reach them in us one after another. At this entertainment we eat long, and much longer than we could with ease cross-leg'd, but, all considered our feast in that place was better than Apicius, that famous Epicure of Rome, could have made with all provisions had from the Earth, and Air and Sea.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 305

<sup>3</sup> Abyssinians.

as others did, and so had profit for their money, but in charity I would giue twenty *Rupias* a peece to saue their liues, and giue them libertie The King tooke my answere well, and bade them to be sent me They expected money, and I was not hastie, hearing no more of it, I hoped it had beene forgotten, but his words are written Decrees This night the Officers, seeing I sent not, deliuered the Prisoners into my Procuradors power, and tooke his Screete for sixtie *Rupias*, which at my returne I payed, and freed the Slaues

TO MASTER KERRIDGE AT SURAI

(I O Records O C, No 573)

Leskar in Rannas Wood,

December 2, 1617

My last dated the 17th of November,<sup>1</sup> I doubt not hath signified the Kings hast to Amadava, which hee Continewes without rest, by soe miserable wayes as I beleue never Armie or multitude euer went Hee purposeth to enter it about the 13th Present Asaph-chan stands obliged on both sides betwene the Prince and mee, the King drincks and is indifferent

Wee trauell daylie I haue scarce leasure to eate, or noe Meate, but ill water<sup>2</sup> A little glasse of yours would helpe a weake stomacke

P S — Abram-chan is called vp, vpon the Complaynts of Shaw-Hussen and Sale-Beage The *firmaen* was sent before I had knowledg I went to Asaph-chan about it, who knewe it and

<sup>1</sup> Not extant

<sup>2</sup> Terry (*Purchas*, vol II, p. 1481) says there were "no lesse then 200,000 men, women and children in this *Leskar* or Campe (I am hereof confident), besides Elephants, horses and other beasts that eate Corn all which notwithstanding, wee neuer felt want of any prouision, noe, not in our nineteene dayes trauell from Mandoa to Amadauar, thorow a Wildernesse, the Road being cut for vs in the mayne Woods" It will be seen that he differs from Roe as to the discomfort of the journey, but his account (written after his return to England) is continually inaccurate in detail Thus he speaks of the length of the present journey as nineteen days, which is obviously too short a period, in his later narrative, on the other hand, he gives the date of departure from Mandú as the 20th September, which is over a month too early Jahángír's route appears from the *Tuzuk* to have been by way of Nalcha to Hasilpur, thence to Dhar, and so in a fairly straight line to Ahmadábád

supposed I was glad for that hee thought wee could not make soe many Complaynts and the Gouvernor honest. I made him vnderstand the Contrarie, and his goodnes and his justice, which hee protests hee will deliuer in his defence and if hee desier to returne wilbe his friend and helper

TO MASTER HERRIDGE AND ASSISTANTS AT SURAT

(1 O Records O C, No 575)

The woods, 30 *Cowrie* short of Amadauas,<sup>1</sup>

December 6 1617

Yours Nowe receiued of the 21th Nouember mentioneth one of the 9th that neuer came to mee with this the Copy and Note in English and Persian of what deliuered to Asaph-chans seruant, the weight of Gould, and prizes as by Inuoyce. His payment is better then any Mans, though his prizes hard made. By this I am sure I have saued Custome, contented a friend, and not borne the hazard of lortage.

Your bills for Agra are receiued and mony almost all invested 200 Camells on the way this 13 dayes cloth bartered Credit for about 25 000 *rupies* 3 monthes, The Proceede much enlarged, double to former years (as they write), in best Commoditie, and all things ther performed much to my Content, and (I hope) their Credit and the Companyes I rofitt, the Number of Semias enlarged (a new sort of Cloth),<sup>2</sup> and carpetta not yet gotten but in hand. Their day I will not faile on nor haue they found difficultie, as wee supposed, in trust nor I nses hoysed<sup>3</sup> out of reason, and I make noe question, by this yeares and the next Practise, to enter soe into good opinion as to buy on tyme for a *stocke* of goods, by which the ships shalbe supplied in tyme, and, if care taken to preserue the foundation it shall prouoe an advantage of better vse then to bee so good husbands as to venture Nothing

A *firmaen* from [for?] Bengala cannot be had while the Prince hath Suratt, vnles wee will quitt it and rely on the other only. Hee pretends that all our fine goods shall come thither and his Port beare the burthen of trash and hinder others.

For Pnuat trade you know my orders, and I the Companyes Pleasure. The Prime Comoditie<sup>4</sup> no man, I hope, will deale in vpon any pretence cloth If they doe and consent to acquaint the factors with it and remitt it to their Masters, it may Passe and by your and my adulse may bee fauored, but for

<sup>1</sup> From this and from the contents of the letter it seems probable that the date is wrong and should really be December 13.

<sup>2</sup> See p 265

<sup>3</sup> Raised

<sup>4</sup> Indigo.

all such as are obstinate, I require execution of Commission to the utmost, notice of their Names, and I will vse my Creditt to bring them to repentance by losses .

Master Steele hath satisfied him easely that loues not Contentions But I can discerne woords and shawdowes from truth and substance I hope well of all men, of him, and would not put my finger to the ruine of any I cannot so soone help a man as destroy him, it is a tender thing in a mans conscience Yet I am not soe easie as to bee abused much You shall see I see both wayes and will choose the best

. Abulhassan<sup>1</sup> pretends to bee sorrie for the Princes vsage of vs, sayes hee dare not stur in his<sup>2</sup> owne *Prigony*,<sup>3</sup> but if hee weare remooued would make a New Suratt for vs at Swally To Night, I will question with him of that dissimulation, but I knowe the Complaynt came to the Prince, by him to the King, and disputed before my face not long since, to which Abulhassan sayd nothing nor seemed to bee concerned in yt The King was not Pleased at the folly, but, after his Manner, gaue vs no satisfaction, but only bad his sonne vse strangers better

I Complayned of this New trouble before your lettres arriued, am promised a lettre downe of New fauour, but on the way vnpossible to sollicite it If that were the woorst, to take away their<sup>4</sup> weapons and restore them, except they were more gouerned, itt matters not, or if you would shew them in a glasse their folly, The Generall may disarme their boates and, beeing demanded reason, may say wee doubt they are bound for the Conquest of England and the taking of London

. Mesolapatan is a New question I thought them soe bare as they Needed noe shipp to fetch any Procede They speake of some on Creditt, I knowe not what it is, nor whether it be fitt goods [for one ship?], much lesse two In this Poynt I wish your due consider[ati]on, for, if the factorie shalbe continued as Profitable, and that bee the Companyes intent, some supply they must haue, but whether from vs or Bantam I knowe not Custome<sup>5</sup> . I thinck if the stocke were kept togither, and that disolued, it were better for the owners But this must come from themselues, I will goe noe further then Mogolls India

. Your despatch for Persia I understand, but sawe noe cause to spare two factors to Carry lettres,<sup>6</sup> both, it seemes, soe sufficient as to doe all if the woorst happen All I shall farther add in it is to putt you in mynde it is to mee his Maestie hath

<sup>1</sup> Asaf Khán (see p. 115)

<sup>2</sup> The Prince's.

<sup>3</sup> See p. 415

<sup>4</sup> The English sailors' (see p. 450)

<sup>5</sup> Pring, on his way from Surat to Bantam (April, 161E), detached the *five* with a supply of money for Masulipatam (O. C., No. 764)

<sup>6</sup> See p. 433.

referred it, and the Company entrusted it. I cannot answer for England until the returne of this voyage to any satisfaction. That therefore I expect the first sight and receipt of all that comes, except your private letters and accounts of sales for the bookes perfecting, but relations, treaties, Priviledges, Protects and all of that qualitie, are noe mans to judg off but myne, and I shall either receive them whole or not meddle in them.

Thus I conclude answer to your letter, when I fall into consideration of the Paynes by myne owne wearines. You may suppose I write not at ease in a house, remove every other day, forgett to answer none have much to prepare for England and no helpe. Therefore what is written in hast must not bee severely Censured. I am long in some instances it is to lett you see my motions come not at adventure without Consideration, though they bring not allway their reasons.

Nowe I come to our estate here. I have recomplained to night visit the King with his Majesties letter translated deferred till nowe for extremite of wayes, that made all in confusion at which tyme I hope to dispute our owne Cause answere. Asaph chan remaines the same, hath feasted mee, and wee meete often. The Prince against his will shalbe left at Amadava hath that Government geven him and Cambaya. This is doubtles an ill signe that the King removees him. It is out of doubt true. The good to vs is Asaph-chan hath enformed hee<sup>1</sup> quitted divers small jaggers<sup>2</sup> to the King of which hee<sup>3</sup> will procure Suratt may bee one, which hee will take; and then I doubt not to see all amended. This will suddenly bee tryed, and vpon these changes the Prince will not have cause of opposition. Asaph-chan then promiseth to procure the *firmaan* for Bengala (for hee suspects not vs to seeke it to betraye Suratt, but to encrease our trade) and all other my just demands, and voweth hee will make Englishmen content and happy. Thus in New hopes I rest a tyme and so I must from writing, for I am not able scarce to write my Name. I Committe you all to Gods Mercy

[December<sup>4</sup>] 10.—I visited Asaph Chan, having received aduice from Surat of a new *Firmaan* come downe to disarme [disarme] all the English, and some other restrictions of their libertie, vpon a complaint made to the Prince, that we intended to build a Fort at Swally, and

<sup>1</sup> The Prince.

<sup>2</sup> *Jagirs*—estate rentals.

<sup>3</sup> Asaf Khán.

<sup>4</sup> In this and the following entry, Purchas merely says "the tenth" and "the thirteenth," which would imply the tenth and thirteenth of November. The exact order of events is not clear but from Roe's letters it seems most probable that "December" is right for this entry, as it certainly is for the next.



that our shippes were laden with Bricke and Lime for that end (which suspition arose only by bringing a few on shoare to found the ships bell<sup>1</sup>) ; yet the Alarum came to Court so hot, that I was called to answere ; which, when I made it appeare how absurd the feare was, how dishonorable for the King, how vnfit the place for vs, without water or harbourage, yet the iealousie was so strongly imprinted, because formerly I had demanded a Riuer by Goya [Goga] for that end,<sup>2</sup> that I could hardly perswade the Prince we intended not some surprise By this you may iudge how easie it were to get a Port for our selues, if you affected it, which I can<sup>3</sup> neither so profitable for you, nor a place tenable. Notwithstanding all remonstrances, this furnace must be demolished, and a *Haddey* of horse sent downe to see it effected The disarming of our men, being all that our people stomacked (though it was only to leaue their weapons in the Custome-house, and that only of the ships company), though it were quieter for vs, except they were often more ciuill yet I told Asaph Chan wee would not endure the slavery, nor I stay in the Countrey that one day the Prince sent a *Firman* for our good vsage and grant of Priuiledges, the next day countermanded it, that there was no faith nor honour in such proceedings, neither could I answere my residence longer He replied at night

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<sup>1</sup> "Moreover, our Bell beinge broken, there was a few bricks landed at Suallie to new cast the bell, at which ther was great Murmuringe amongst the Countrie People, who said we went aboute to buyld a Castell, the which some did write to the Kinge, and the Kinge tould it the Prince, who presentlie sent downe a chiefe man from the Courte to forbidd vs buyldinge our Castle and also to take order that not aboue 10 Englishe should be suffred to com into the towne together and those 10 to leaue their Armes at the customhouse, and the Gouvernour, Abram Chan (who to his Power hathe bin ever a freind to our nation) was in danger to be displaced, if not quite thruste oute, for that he had not written his master of our buyldinge a Castle (in the Ayre)" — Monnox to the Company, December 28, 1617 (*O C*, No 586)

<sup>2</sup> See p 467

<sup>3</sup> Thus in the original The text is evidently corrupt, but the sense is clear enough

hee would mooue the King, before the Prince and giue me answere.

[*December*] 13.—I reuisited Asaph Chan. He told me wondrous matters of the Kings affection to my Souereigne to my Nation and to mee that hee had ventured the Princes disfauour for our sakes, and had full promise for a new reformation but because he feared the Princes dealing he gaue me this assurance, that he would take the *Prigany* of Surat, which the Prince must leaue being made Gouvernour of Amadauas, Cambaya and that Territorie<sup>1</sup> and to giue me satisfaction that he had not dissembled with me, he desired me to come at night in Court, and bring the King my Masters Letter and the translation the oportunitie was faire to delluer it vpon the occasion of which he bade me persist in my complaints, and offer to take leaue I should then see what he would say for vs, and so I should belecue my selfe. At euening I went to the King it beeing a very full Court, and presented my Letter which (the King sitting on the ground) was layd before him and he, busie, tooke no great notice. Asaph Chan whispered his Father in the eare, desiring him to reade the Letter and to assist vs, for that he might better begin that then himseife. Etimon Dowlet tooke vp both Letters gaue the English to the King and read the translated to which when the King had answered many words of complaint to that point of procuring our quiet Trade by his authoritie among the Portugals, he demanded if he [we?] would make peace. I answered his Maiestie knew long since I offered to be gouerned by him and referred it to his wisdome, and had expected his pleasure. He replied hee would vndertake absolutely to accord vs, and to make agreement in his Seas<sup>2</sup> which he would by answere to my Masters Letters signifie, and therein giue him content in

<sup>1</sup> See p. 449.

<sup>2</sup> Of this no copy is extant.

<sup>3</sup> Cp p. 471

all other his friendly desires Notwithstanding, I demanded leaue to goe before to Amadauas to meet the Kings Presents and to prepare for my returne Vpon which motion, the question grew betweene the King and the Prince, who complayned that he had no profit by vs, and that he was content to be rid of vs. Asaph Chan tooke the turne, and very roundly told the King that we brought both profit to the Port, to the Kingdome, and securitie that we were vsed very rudely by the Princes seruants, and that it was not possible for vs to reside without amends it were more honourable for his Maiestie to license vs [to depart ?] then to intreate vs so discourteously, for it would be the end The Prince replyed very cholerickly that he had neuer done vs wrong, and had lately giuen mee a *Firman* at his entreatie He replyes It is true, you gaue a *Firman* to his content, and in ten dayes sent another, in effect, to contradict it that he stood surety between both had vndertaken from the Princes mouth our redresse, but now he had the shame and dishonor of it that he ought me nothing, nor I him he spake for no ends but for the Kings Honor and Iustice, in that which he<sup>1</sup> said that he did vs no wrong, he must appeale to me, who complayned that our goods were taken by force, that two yeeres past Rulph [Zulphercarcon] had begun it, would neuer pay vs, and his Officers continued euery shipping that if the Prince were weary of vs, he might turne vs out, but then he must expect we would doe our owne Iustice vpon the Seas He demanded if the King or Prince gaue mee meanes to eate, or who did? That I was an Ambassadour and a stranger, that liued and followed the King at great charge. that if our goods were forced, and after we could get neither goods nor money, how should I liue and maintayne myselfe?

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<sup>1</sup> The Prince.

This deliuered with some heate, the King caught the word Force, Force, redoubling it to his sonne, and gaue him sharpe reprehension. The Prince promised to see me paid all that he had taken nothing but only caused the Presents to be sealed because his Officers had no Custome and desired to haue them opened before him. I absolutely refused it, also I told the King I would only doe my dutie to my Master, in deliuering his Presents free after I would giue the Prince all content.

Etimon Dowlet who is always indifferent and now by his sonne made our friend, whispered with the King and read a clause or two in my Masters Letter at which the King made his son rise and stand aside. Asaph Chan loyned in this priuate conference (which they told me was for my good) and in conclusion the Prince was called commanded to suffer all the goods to come to my hands quietly to giue me such priuiledges as were fit, which Asaph Chan should propound. The Prince would not yeeld the Presents except Asaph Chan would stand surety that he should haue a share, which he did and then we all agreed vpon that point, the King giuing mee many good words, and two pieces of his *Pawne*<sup>1</sup> out of his dish to eate of the same he was eating. Then I tooke leaue to goe to Amadauas to meet the Presents and so we parted. At night I set on my lourney leauing my Tents, supposing the next day to reach the Citie but I rode two nights a day and a haife, with one baite vpon straw and the fiftenth at noone arrued at Amadauas.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Betel leaf, chewed by the natives with the dried areca nut. The Hindustani term here used is in full *padm rupari* which is generally employed for "the combination of betel, areca nut, lime, &c., which is politely offered (along with otto of roses) to visitors, and which intimates the termination of the visit" (Yule and Burnell's *Hobson Jackson* p. 522).

<sup>2</sup> Ahmadabad, the principal city of Gujarat, where Roe spent (with a short interval) the remaining period of his attendance on the Great Mogul. It is situated on the left bank of the Sabarmati river

TO MASTER KERRIDGE AND ASSISTANTS AT SURAT

(I O Records O C, No 578)

Amadavaz, 18 December, 1617

Your lettres come soe quick vpon mee in this huddle of trouble and journey that I know not which or what is answered, but rather double then omitt any thing necessarie.

That of the 11th dicto by your expresse touchd in part, by which you vnderstand of my arriuall in Amaduaz The Complaynts therein I cannot speedelie redresse, the King beeing turned to Cambaya and not expected here this 13 dayes, at which tyme I will soe lardgly enforme in all kinds as, if ther bee any honor or sence or Common vnderstanding, I shall procure amends or licence to depart

The Motion to leaue the bringing of Corral or any comoditie that will sell<sup>1</sup> is all one as to mooue the expulsion of vs, for if wee bee debarrd our trafique free, wee will not stay My answere the last brought round if they seeke our embarque<sup>2</sup> wee will trade into the Red Sea in spite of them and vpon them Vnlesse wee professe this, they will bee still caulling

I Perceave, by some heare, a resolution in Captain Towerson to goe to the Sowthward, to which I neuer can nor will consent

Hee is here arriued with many seruants, a trumpett, and more shew then I vse With him is arriued Captain Newse,<sup>3</sup> of whose Comming the Commander aduised mee noething, thence I gather it was without his knowledge Hee is very wellcome to mee, seeing hee is come, but I mannerly refused it to him, for reasons not expressed which were very Materiall I had professed to the King, to giue him the more feeling of our seruice and affection, that wee had taken the ships and their Company that offered to robb the *Beagams*<sup>4</sup> junck Our enemies replied to my face it was a trick that wee were all theeues now wee could not doe it faierly, and therfore sett a Counterfeyt show vpon it. The King questioned how any English durst offer such an

about fifty miles from the sea, and was at this time a large and populous city, with flourishing manufactures and a considerable commerce A good description of it is given by Della Valle (vol 1, p 95), who was there in February, 1623

Mukarrab Khán, the viceroy, had furbished up the royal quarters for the reception of the emperor, but Jahángír was not at all pleased with Ahmadábád as a place of residence, and in his memoirs complains bitterly of the hot winds, the all-pervading dust, and the scanty and disagreeable water (Elliot and Dowson's *History*, vol. vi, p 358)

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the Surat merchants had objected to the competition of the English, and had endeavoured to secure its limitation

<sup>2</sup> Embargo

<sup>3</sup> See p 420

<sup>4</sup> The Begum's, *ie*, the Queen Mother's

Iniurie and come soe bouldly if not by Consent of his Maiestie, which when I had answered I deliuered on my Credit that what wee had done was Hona side and sincerely that the Captains were made Prisoners in our ships, kept in Irons and that I would soe send them to his Maiestie, who would make them an example of such bouldnes to dare to disturbe the Allies of his Crowne. Hee is knowne here by Merchants come vpon the same funck and in Companie with him who I doubt not will betray him, and in him mee. With what face can I answere this if I bee questioned? To send him back is discourtesie, being admitted as Captain Townerons Companion nor what to doe in it doe I Well knowe. I should bee much eased if you were more reserved in this kind belowe. Hee is very conformable to all reason, offers to returne, but it is knowne already and I may haue the shame, you the losse, of that curtisie which before was thought wee had done them.

Since, on the 16 arrived with mee safely your goods and Presents and all the Company (more then I wished) and for Master Steeles reasons for them, they are very carefull ones, wher there is noe Neede. I am sorry for all such Chardges, that wee can doe nothing without the utmost of expence. They remayne with mee yet vnopened, by reason of the Kings absence and I doobt not but to haue Peace with them and by them. With these are arrived Master Steeles Artificers, with whom I haue spoken and tould them my judgment. Hee is confident to doe somewhat woorthy his labor and answerable to his hopes if I barely sayd noe, hee might lay his owne errors vpon mee. Therefore I haue consented hee shall haue a little Roome apart, keepe house with them, ouerseer them, and sett them to worke in Triall two Months. If hee can doe it, hee shall haue all the honor and due Prayse if not, they shall returne and hee will vndergoe the shame. This will cost the Company some mony against my will, but they that adventure must sometymes Pay for their crudulitie, and his owne reckonings shalbe apart. Secondly hee tells mee hee hath brought vp some Merchants that sue for Passadge into the Red Sea and promise to drawe in many More, to which I harken most willingly, for ther shall neuer bee any good trade in Guzeratt for vs, nor any thing tye them by the Noses, but our Mingling with them in the Red Sea or eating them out of that trade and seruing them by necessitie of what they want. I knowe that their trade in the Red Sea without vs is more profitable for them, and in hope of that wee liue as wee doe. But it is all Naught wee must teach them by constraynt and Necessitie, and talke with them of leauling that trade when wee haue possessed it to our gaine and their want, then will they begg the Conditions which they Now will not harken after. In this employment I haue both interested Master Steele and designed him the Cheefe Merchant, for lesse then some Cheefe will not content him, and it

cannot bee in this countrie to the Iniurie of any I hope the Comander, you, and hee will finde some employment of a shipp that way If it were myne owne busines I would goe spend tyme only for hopes, though I had noe helpe of the Guzeratts, and this I haue often declared

The supplies for Agra wilbe lardger then your Monies, Master Fettplace hauing assured me of 25,000 *rupees* Credit, and if tymely will goe farther Hee vrdgeth keeping Credit soe pressiuely, and it is of such consequence to vs, that I haue sould the great Pearle for 12,000 *rupees*,<sup>1</sup> without abatement to bee payd 10,000 *Iangeries* in Agra, which mony I haue made vp I knowe the Pearle somewhat better woorth, not much, neither could I euer procure it esteemed at that rate, but for our Present vse, and for some other very good reasons, I haue yeilded to Please in it Asaph-chan Considering the Royall of Eight at Suratt and in England the Price equalls almost 1,400*li* in that money at 4*s* 6*d*, and is Paid clear in Agra without abatement of exchange with *Shraff*, which is profit allsoe It Paid noe custome, and cost in England, as Master Steele avowes, but 1,000*li* This made mee yeld, els I would haue ventured to haue taken it back

*January* 8, 1617-18—There was some question about Presents The Prince asking for them, I answered They were readie, if hee pleased to receiue his Then hee demanded Why I brake his seales?<sup>2</sup> I told him It was dishonorable for me to bring a Kings gifts in bonds, and great discourtesie to set seales vpon them I expected and attended his licence twentie daies, but seeing no hope, I was enforced to doe it. Some heate began; at which appeared a Gentleman of the Kings, who was sent to obserue the passage, and to stickle,<sup>3</sup> and told vs both the

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<sup>1</sup> Apparently these were *khazāna* ("treasury") rupees (the usual currency at Ahmadābād), six of which were equal to five *Jahāngīris* (see p 352) Reckoning the latter at 2*s* 7*d*, the pearl fetched only 1,291*l* 13*s* 4*d* Roe appears to have reckoned the 12,000 rupees as equal (roughly) to 6,000 rials, which at 4*s* 6*d* apiece would be equivalent to 1,350*l* Steel was wrong as to its cost, which was 2,000*l* (see *Court Factory Journal* in I O Records), there was thus, even on Roe's reckoning, a considerable loss on the sale

<sup>2</sup> See p 453 It would seem that the presents had been sent up from Surat sealed with the Prince's seal, and Roe, after applying in vain for permission to open them, had cut the bonds and taken possession

<sup>3</sup> To accommodate matters The old meaning of "stickler" was one who attended on combatants, to see fair play and part them when they had fought enough,

King commanded wee should come before him at a Garden where he sate a *Course* out of Towne, vpon the Riuer So the Prince tooke his *Palanke* and I a Coach well attended by seruants both of father and son. When I came to the gates the Women were entring and then no man can but the Prince who made within a bltter complaint against mee that I had dared to cut his scales, and to take out what I list. Asaph Chan was called for, who was my suretie and the Prince laid it on him hee, as the custome is, denyed it, excused himselfe yet I had not accused him but tooke it vpon me as knowing my selfe better able to beare it and that he would denie it Then I was sent for to the water side where the King sate priuately where I entered with mee the Presents, but the King was within amongst his Women. Asaph Chan chafed at mee for breaking his word, told mee the Prince had shamed him I replied by Iaddow You know I had your consent, this man is witnesse. He denyed it to vs both. I replied Though I would not cast it vpon him it was true, for I had witnesse. Iaddow would not returne the answer, but told me he might not tell him he lyed to his face. And this is vsuall, If any command come from the King that he forgets, he that brought the message will disauow it. I bore vp as high as I could The great men told me it was a great affront no man durst doe such a thing Others smiled. I answered Not so great as the Prince had done me often

Thus we spent the day and the King appeared not, but priuately stole away, leauing vs all sitting in expectance. At night word came the King was gone, and I offered to goe home but was so well attended I could not but by force. In the way new messengers came to seeke mee, and I arriued backe at the Kings Court not hauling eaten or drunke but the King was not come In nor could I get loose of my attendants, but they vsed me very respectfulliy



We sate an houre Suddenly newes came to put out all lights, the King was come; who entred on an open Waggon, with his Normahall, drawne by Bullocks, himselfe Carter, and no man neare When hee and his Women were housed, the Prince came in a horse-backe; and entring in, called for me I found them alone with two or three Capons,<sup>1</sup> and about mid-night the King set on it an angrie countenance told mee I had broken my word. that he would trust me no more (the Prince had desired him to doe so) I answered as roundly I held it fit to giue freely I had done nothing of offence in my owne iudgement if their customes were other, it was ignorance, and I must bee pardoned Wee had many disputes At last the Prince interposed, offered his friendship, and wee were all reconciled fully, and promises too large. Then I opened the Chests, gaue the King his Presents, the Prince his, and sent in that for Normahall We were aboute two houres in viewing them The Arras he tooke well, but said it was course, desired to haue a Sute of such as the sweet Bagge, and wee concluded that in the morning I should come to the Prince, that he should be my Protector and Procurator The goods (except Three things) more then<sup>2</sup> Presents were there returned mee, for those three the Prince told me he would pay, seeing his father tooke them

*January 10*—I went to the Prince, was receiued with all fauour, had order for a *Firman* for the man murthered,<sup>3</sup> a declaration of his reconcilment in publike, command to all his Officers to take knowledge, and to his chiefe *Raia*<sup>4</sup> to be my Procurator, and to draw what *Firmans* so euer I desired I presented Captaine Towerson and some English, whom hee vsed with grace, and for a signe of

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<sup>1</sup> Eunuchs

<sup>2</sup> Other than

<sup>3</sup> Presumably in some brawl at Surat.

<sup>4</sup> Possibly Rāja Bikramājít, who was afterwards left at Ahmadábád as the Prince's deputy

this peace, gaue me a Cloth of siluer cioak, and promised to be the Protector of our Nation in all things. I told him of Master Steele and his Work men Hee desired me to bring a small Present to his father at night hee would present them, which I did Hee kept his word, and spake for vs to him, who was willing enough. I presented Captaine Towerson to the King who called for him vp and after a few questions rose. At the *Gushel Choes* I presented Master Steele and his Work men. The King sate in a Hat I gaue him all night, called for Master Paynter,<sup>1</sup> and after much Discourse, gaue him ten pounds and promised to entertayne the rest.

*January 13*—The Dutch came to Court with a great Present of China ware, Sanders,<sup>2</sup> Parrats and Cioaues, but were not suffered to come neere the third degree. At last the Prince asked me who they were. I replyed The Holianders resident in Surat. Hee demanded If they were our friends. I replyed They were a Nation depending on the King of England but not welcome in all places their businesse I knew not. He said for being our friends, I should call them vp, and so I was enforced to send for them to deliuer their Present. They were placed by our Merchants, without any speech or further conference.<sup>3</sup> Finally I had all granted I desired I attend the performace and money And thus I conclude that without this contestation I had neuer gotten anything, for I told the Princes Messenger in the presence of all the English,

<sup>1</sup> The painter brought by Steel; see p. 477.

<sup>2</sup> Sandalwood.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 469. The Dutch embassy was headed by Pieter Gilles van Ravesteijn (see p. 234), whose report to the Directors at Amsterdam will be found in *Hague Transcripts* 1st Series, vol. III, No. 96. He says they were well treated, and obtained a *farmen* from the Prince granting them a number of privileges, though not all for which they had asked. He records a conversation he had with Roe, who complained of the hostility of the Dutch towards the English in the Moluccas, and said that King James was very angry about it, and would take steps to avenge his subjects' wrongs "but," adds the Dutchman, "I am not at all afraid of that."

that if he vsed force to me or my goods, he might doe his pleasure, but it should cost bloud that I would set my *Chop* vpon his Masters ship, and send her for England

*January 18* —I receiued from Surat of the imprisonment of Spragge and Howard at Brampoore, their house and goods seized, their liues in question, for drinking with the *Cutwall* in their house that one of the *Cutwalls* men dyed that night, vpon which they stand accused of Poyson and the *Cutwall*, to free himselfe of comming into the house, pretended that he came to fetch a mans wife away from Thomas Spragge What the truth is I know not Information is come to the King against them, and I went to the Prince (who vndertooke all my causes) but could not speake with him With the same came complaint of a force vsed to the *Caffila* vpon the way, notwithstanding the *Firman* sent, by the *Raia* of the Countrey<sup>1</sup> In both which to night I will make petition to the King My toyle with barbarous vniust people is beyond patience At the Princes I found the *Firman* promised, drawne, but halfe the conditions agreed on left out, vpon which I refused it, and desired nothing but leaue to depart to treat with these in the Sea

*January 21* —A command to free the English and their goods, and that if the Moore came into their house to drinke, if they killed him with a Dagger, hee had his iust reward The second to *Raia* Partapshaw, to repay vs all exactions whatsoever not to take hereafter any dutie vpon the way towards his Port <sup>2</sup> and in case of failing, that he would deliuer his sonne into my hands<sup>3</sup> He

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<sup>1</sup> Partab Sháh (see p 87) As the Surat-Buñhánpur road ran partly through his territory, he claimed the right of levying a toll at Daita Roe, however, had procured a *farmán* freeing the English from this imposition (Roe to Surat, October 21, 1617 — *O C*, No 552)

<sup>2</sup> The Prince's

<sup>3</sup> Partab Sháh had visited Jahángír at Mandú, and had left his son in the Mogul's hands as a hostage,

further ordered the deliuey of the *Firman* for Surat the Articles by mee demanded, and to pay vs all our debts of Surat, and to cut it off vpon his *Manapdaris*, that had taken that without delay. He called to account his old Customers, charged the new to vse vs as his friends, shewed as much fauour publikey as I could require. I mooued expedition. He replied To morrow by nine in the morning all should be deliuered into my hands.

*January 22*—I went my selfe to receiue them and carryed the Merchants with some Pearle that the Prince had bin instant to see, pretended to be Master Towersons. But he had receiued some vncertalne Information of Pearles to the value of twentie or thirtie thousand pound which he hoped to draw from vs. When his Secretarie saw the small sorts hee replied The Prince had *Mands* of these if we brought no better commoditie wee might be gone, he cared not for our custome. How basely false and couetous are those of Iewels you may Iudge. I vndertooke reply that I had procured those from a Gentlewoman to satisfie them. If they liked them not, they could not be made better. It was Incivillity to be angry with Merchants for their goodwill but told him I came for my *Firmans* and expected them. I was answered Wee had deceiued their hopes, and the Prince would deceiue ours. *Firman* I should haue none. I had asked leaue to depart. I might come and take leaue when I pleased. I answered Nothing contented mee more, but that I would visit their vnjustice in an Iodifferent place that I would speake with the King and depend no more on them for I saw all was couetousnesse and vnworthinesse. So I rose and parted. But he recalled me to come to the King and Prince together the next day. I should haue content.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Here Purchas's extracts come to an abrupt end. "For the whole," he says, "my selfe could haue wished it, but neither with

INSTRUCTIONS TO THE CHEEFE FACTORS THOMAS BARKAR AND  
EDWARD MONNOX IN PERSIA<sup>1</sup>

(I O Records O C, No 608.)

Amdavaz, February 4, 1617 [-18]

1 First, you shall bee instant with the Sha to take some Course with the Portugall to enforce him to consent to a free trade, that the Seaes and Ports may bee open, which may bee effected by forbidding all releefe to bee transported to Ormus from the Mayne or any other of his Dominion, or els by fortyfying some Port, if any sufficient for shipping, or some Road where may both Command the traders and they the sea betweene them

2 You shall avow Connaught to haue beene a Messinger sent from the King, though not with absolute Power as Ambassador to treate and Conclude but that if the Sha shall fullfill the desiers of the English, his Maiestie will send ample authoritie further to Contract with him in the meane tyme that hee hath giuen mee full Power to Conclude in these Poynts following and to Confirme those treaties already begunn by Edward Connaught, to which you shall propound

3 That his Maiestie bee Pleased to bartar yearly for some Certayne quantetie of silke, whatsoever hee please vnder 8,000 Bales, to bee bought of him at 6s 6d the Pound, to bee deliuered by his Merchants at Xiras; for which hee shall receiue pay one third money, one third Cloth, Tynne, quicksiluer or any such English goods as hee shall require, at the Prises made by Edward Connaught, to say, Cloth at 37 *shahees*<sup>2</sup> the yard, the rest as you fynd the marketts, one other third in spices, sugars, gynger,

the Honourable Company nor else-where could learne of it the worthy Knight himselfe being now employed in like Honourable Embassage from his Maiestie to the Great Turke "

<sup>1</sup> The *Bee* had returned from Jáshak in January, bringing news of the concessions obtained from the Sháh by Connock, and of the death of the latter. The concessions, however, did not cover all the points stipulated for in the Company's recent orders. Roe therefore issued the present instructions to Barker and Monnox to negotiate further with the Sháh. It was intended that the *Anne* should take them to Jáshak on her way to Mocha, but (as will be seen later) this was found to be impracticable. The document was therefore (as the endorsement shows) sent to Kerridge to be forwarded overland "by way of Smd". Later in the year, upon the arrival of Bonner's fleet at Surat from England, the *Expedition* was sent to Jáshak, where she arrived on November 22, and was laded with 71 bales of silk which the factors had in readiness for shipment. On her way to Persia, she surprised two Portuguese ships of considerable value (O C, No 777)

<sup>2</sup> *Sháhis*, four of which went to an *abbásí*, and fifty *abbásís* to the

steale, Cloth, and *shashes* of Indya, such kynds and sorts as his Maiestie shall nouinate, and ther at Xiras, shall receiue the said goods in bartar yearly in the Months of Nouember December, January February, March or Aprill.

4. That hee shall giue you full Priuiledges for a staple and standing Mart at the City of Xiras, wher it shalbe lawfull for you to sell, bartar and trade with any of his subiects or other inhabitants or Merchants in his Dominions residing, all such surplus of goods as you shall haue landed more then that which his Highnes contracted for, and shall make declaration vnto all his subiects that it shalbe lawfull for them thither to passe downe with their silkes or other goods to sell or bartar with the English.

5. That you may att all tymes haue free Passage with your goods to the sea syde, and a Place of secuntie ther granted you, as well for the goods you shall land as for such you buy and shall bring downe to attend for your flecte, vpon such Conditions as it hath Pleased him to grant to the English by the Negotiation of Edward Connaught.

6. Having thus Contracted for the sure vent and Investments of goods on both Parts, you shall haue Power to signe by this my Commission on our Parts to performe the said Contract (the Perills of the sea only excepted) and to Couenant in my Name in the behalfe of his Maiestie that by the Next shipping that shall arriue after the returne of this contract, his Highnes shall receiue the Confirmation both of the former and these Present conditions vnder the great seale of our Soueraygne Lord his Maiestie of great Brittainne.

7. You shall haue full and due regard in this negotiation to the Instructions giuen Edward Monnox, as well from the Honourable Companie as from mee, and in all Poynts as far as you may obserue the same.

8. You shall prepare what proceed soeuer of silkes and goods to bee ready in Mogustan, free and vncharged, or if with security at Iasques by the 20 of August and you shalbe very warie in contracting vpon Creditt with the Sha for more goods, or for other species of Payment, then you are sure you shalbe able to satisfie, vntill full aggregation<sup>1</sup> and aduise come from the Company except alway if the Sha will beare the adventure of any Bales of silkes to bee shipt for England and to bee payd vpon the returne of the said goods arriued in England, in which case I am of opinione it is also vnfit to grant Passage of any his Mer

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*towden*. Steel (*First Letter Book* p. 462) reckons the *shaks* as equal to fourpence, and this makes the *towden* 3*l* 6*s* 8*d*.—exactly the value given by Herbert (c. 1630) and Fryer (1677).

<sup>1</sup> Agreement, approval. Cp. "the agregation of the Councell of State" (Prynne's *Sev Power of Parl.*, 1643, quoted in *New Eng Dict.*).

chants with goods vpon our shippes, wherby they wilbe enformed of the Prices both of ours and their comodities<sup>1</sup>

9 You shall follow the Companies orders for Payment of wages to all their factors the Royal at 5s, and shall at the fleetes arriualls take none as adendants nor entertheyne any New into the Companies seruice For all such as are already seated, you shall enforme who are necessarie and improueable in the Companies busines, sober, Industrious and honest, them to keepe and to encouradge, and by your lettres may procure them a Competent encrease of wages, others, whom you fynd Negligent in their duty or dissolute in their life, you shall send them to the Port to bee reshipt

10 You shall give speedy and full aduise as well of the reception of these conditions as of the procedure and probabilitie of this trade to the ends by vs aymed at, and of the Prices of all sorts of goods to bee imported or exported, both to the Company in England (by way of Aleppo, in Charractar) and to mee and the Cape marchant resident at Suratt by the way of Syndu and by the Meanes of the Mogolls Ambassdor in Spahan, or by any other speedy, sure and Convenient Passadge

11 You shall entertheyne John Leachland as one of your factors to bee employed in veiwing and buying the silkes, in which hee pretends hee hath had breeding and experience, and shall allow him 10*li* yearly for his Mayntenance, and for the rest of his wages hee referrs himselfe to his desarts and the Companys fauour

12 You shall take Notice that notwithstanding Edward Monnox receiuing from mee commision<sup>2</sup> derued from the Instructions and Power conferd on mee by his Maestie to goe into Persia and to take account of the former proceedings, and no other, that hee finding it necessarie to abyde in the Countrey I fully giue my Consent therto, and hereby do appoynt him the second factor in that trade, and in Case of the Death of Thomas Barkar to reside Cheefe or Cape Marchant in his steed, and doe giue him full power to the excecution of all these former instructions,

<sup>1</sup> This was perhaps a wise precaution, considering that the English were not prepared to give more than 7s 6*d*. a pound for silk which was estimated to fetch in London 16s (Company's instructions to Roe, see Appendix B)

It may be mentioned that the silk brought home by the *Anne* in 1619 sold for 26s 10*d* the great pound of 24 oz., which is at the rate of 17s 10*d* the ordinary pound

<sup>2</sup> See p 463 Monnox's instructions (no longer extant) seem to have required his early return, but finding the factory in so weak a state, he had judged it best to remain. Upon Barker's death (30 Nov. 1619), Monnox became chief in Persia, but returned to England in 1623 A "Relation of the late Ormuz businesse" from his pen is given in Purchas's second volume (p 1793)

to dispose of the Companies busines, estate and seruants and to Gouverne and direct them as their head and Principal to the benefit of his Honorable employers, Prouided that hee proceede by consultation and aduise of the most antient and experienced that reside with or neare him and no otherwise and that hee follow not the stepps of prodigallitie and greatnes begunn by Edward Connaught, but negotiate in the Name and qualitie of a Marchant, liue soberly and thrsiteley as becomes his Place and the trust imposed vpon him that hee giue no occasion of dislike or offence vnto his fellow seruants but vse them with all fitt respects that hee seeke to quench and reconcile all factions and discontents, which will breed first distraction and after ruine to themselves and their employment and that, wheras vpon his last dispatch hee wrote at lardge vnto the factors [and] to them consigned such lettres as properly to mee belonged, and to mee, to whom the busines is Committed, breefly and brokenly with reference [to] the factors, I giue you to vnderstand that I looke for that due respect from him and all other in this busines employed as is owing to my place, qualitie and authoritie committed and entrusted to mee by his Maestie and the Honourable Company your Masters, and that first account bee to mee geuen of all your Proceedings, except only your bookes of account, ledgar and Journall and such other assayres of Marchandice, of which alsoe I expect the foote or grosse account, that I may judge of the whole Profitt and losse the others to consigne and render vnto the Cape Merchant at Suratt with Coppies for England as well of the said bookes and accounts as of all lettres, consultations and other proceedings that shalbe registred vntill this factorie of Persia bee settled and absolute of yt selfe or otherwise disposed off by full order and Power from the Companie in England.

13. Lastly I requier you to bee carefull in the estates of such your factors as shall render their soules vnto their creator, that true inventorie and accout bee kept and made over vnto the stocke of the Honourable Companie to avoyde all scandall or vnjust dealing, Particularly in the estate of William Tracy who is lately dead and had to his Purse at his departure [from] Suratt Neere 100*li*, part of which Edward Connaught had borrowed, that his frends may haue some just accompt, which they may expect of mee, beeing by them recommended to mee, but enueigled away by Edward Connaught, and that whatsoever goods, monies or debts may bee found of the said Edward Connaught may bee seized or recovered to the vse of his Creditors and for the satisfaction of the Honourable Companie, Particularly one debt of 7 *Toman*<sup>1</sup> lent by him to the friar Padre Paulo, resident in Spahan,<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> See note to p. 462.

<sup>2</sup> Possibly the friar mentioned on p. 130.



whose bill at his death it seemes hee burned and bequeathed the Companies mony for Diergees and dead Masses,<sup>1</sup> and of all such summes of mony, debts, silkes and goods whatsoeuer pretended to bee the said Edward Connaught['s] to make true accompts and to putt it to the stock of the Companie, who will with more conscience and equitie render reason to all that shall of them demand it, as far as his estate arose, themselues beeing first in measure satisfied

So I Committ you all to Gods Mercy

TO THE EAST INDIA COMPANY

(I O Records O C, No 610)

Amadavaz, 14 February, 1617-[18]

My Honourable Frendes,

Your lettres mentioned upon the *Charles* safely arrued at Swally Roade in September, 1616, and came to hand October following, were answered by the *Globe*, dispeeded from the Coast the 7th of March after,<sup>2</sup> to which I referr you, Coppies wherof I cannot now send (and by Godes Mercy ther is no cause) for I, beeing fully determined to returne, was vnprouided of them, or of any but my hooke, and beeing in continuall trauell haue beene much streightened to send you these of Newer dates and soe more necessarie, hauing but one hand<sup>3</sup> to assist mee, and that oftener weake then able

For the Passadges of your busines in Court or factories, as much as I was made acquaynted with, the one you shall receiue by a Journall, and the other you may collect out of transcripts of lettres directed to your seuerall factories by mee, all which are Punctually sent you, wherein you may see what wayes I held, and what my opinions were In reading these, yf you compare the dates with those of your seruantes corresponding, you shall haue more light and Judge of all as if you were Present I make noe question others send their owne, for soe I aduised tymely, and I could perswade you to appoynt one to view them together, to collect the reasons and conclusions for your full enformation You may in some clauses fynd mee sharp and

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<sup>1</sup> Connock professed himself a Roman Catholic just before his death, as his implacable subordinate, Barker, put it in a letter to Roe (O C, No 792) "he lived an Atheist and died a Papist." Barker further accused his late principal of extravagance, cowardice and deceit, but we need not attach much importance to such charges, for Barker's own behaviour was severely reprehended by Monnox and Pettus, the latter of whom declared that "the Company have lost a worthy servant in Connock"

<sup>2</sup> Roe's letter referred to is no longer extant

<sup>3</sup> His secretary, the scribe of the present letter

censuring your aduises from home but you will find my reasons iustificable and my endes honest and vpright.

To the Particular of your last receiued by the *James Royall* by my frend Captain Pring and to all instructions sent therby you shall receiue answere either in this or in some single Papers to that Purpose and in all you shall see my Judgment of all your trades, for I haue dealt openly and freely as well before you committed to mee any thing as since.

As this bnngeth a Coppy of yours [of] the former yeare, so I will runn along with yt in the Poyntes mooood.

The little doobtes that rose betweene mee and Captain Keeling, soone vaolished.<sup>1</sup> I found him in all thinges a reasonable and discreet man, nor want of any performance on your Partes of any thing promised mee.

Wee haue this yeare, for suffering the Insolencies of the Prince, made triall of Goga and searched all the Bay,<sup>2</sup> but can synd noe place fitt for your head residence but Suratt, soe that qoestion is at an end, and wee must study to make the best of that Place.

To waite the Mogolles subiectes into the Red Sea will neuer giue your Men bread and water. They neither desier it nor will admitt it, except wee doe it of Curtesie for they Pay their *Cartasse*<sup>3</sup> notwithstanding, being Compounded with the Portugall, and they feare none but Pirattes, which is a New trade of a yeares standing, yet that feare will sooner make them not trade (for in all they are but slaues to the Lordes of the Portes, who Cutt vpon them) then giue vs the remayner of their Profit for their safe Conduct, as in Master Steeles Projects you will perceiue my triall, for hee had other endes.

The Motions of building a fort haue begott such Jealousies in these Moores that vpon bringing brick ashore to foond a shippes bell,<sup>4</sup> it rang to Court, our People disarmed in Suratt, and I am not yet cleare of liberties lost vpon yt, though I haue made the Prince ashamed at the weakenes of the suspition to confesse a handfull of men could take o Part of their Countre by force. But it is true wee would bee lordes there, ond haue Committed soe many Insolencies that I haue woondred at their Patience<sup>5</sup> yet wee complayne. The last yeare for another folly our People were restrayned in the Towne, and they sent from the shipes 200 Naked men ashore to take Suratt, who as brutishly bruted it in their March, yet ten Men would haue kept them from Passing the great Riuer<sup>6</sup>. This yeare wee haue offered vpon *Puntoes*<sup>7</sup> to

<sup>1</sup> Cp. p. 343.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 450.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 440.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 450.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. p. 365.

<sup>6</sup> See p. 396.

<sup>7</sup> Ital. *punto* a point, a small matter hence, minute obseruances, or as we now say punctilios (cp. Bacon, *Advancement of Learning*, Bk. II, ch. xxiii where that [reputation] is not, it must be supplied by *puntos* and compliments").

force the Custome house and Twenty drawn their swoordes in yt  
If these bee not iust causes of Jealousy, I am silent, yet I patch  
it vp

The Commander<sup>1</sup> now by his great Modesty and discretion  
hath both reformed many abuses, gayned you much good will,  
himselfe all mens loue and his owne Credit An honest man.  
I suppose you cannot send, and that his Actions will approoue  
one that studies your endes, is ready to ioyne with any, without  
insisting vpon disputes and tearmes

To returne to a fort Ther is noe Place to bee obteyned  
They are weary of vs as it is, and indeed wee see wee haue em-  
pouerished the Portes, and wounded all their trades, soe that by  
much Perswasion of the Gouvernors the Merchant goes to sea  
Or, if ther were licence gianted, ther is none fitt for your Ship-  
ping except one that lies out of all Commerce and hath more  
inconueniences in yt then this, which, when your goodes are ready  
by September, wilbe easie enough And if you began to build  
and plant here, quarrell would arise, the enemie exasperated,  
who may now bee drawn to Composition, and all your proffittes  
eaten in Garrizons and dead payes It is noe way to driue your  
trades by plantation The Dutch haue spoyled the Moluccoes  
which they fought for, and spent more then they will yeild them,  
if quiett, in seauen yeares

Syndu<sup>2</sup> you may freely goe too, lade and relade, but it is in-  
habited by the Portugall, lies noe way well for your stock (except  
you scatter it), it ventes only your teeth<sup>3</sup> and affordes good Cloth  
and many toyes But if the sortes you haue seene serue your  
Markettes, you are nearer seated and may haue what quanteties  
you Please, and for your teeth the marchant will fetch them at  
Suratt

Bengala hath noe Portes but such as the Portugalles Possesse,  
for smalle shipping<sup>4</sup> It will vent nothing of yours The People  
are vnwilling in respect of the warr, as they suppose, like to ensue  
in their Seas, and the Prince hath Crossed it, thincking wee  
desired to remooue thither wholly, and that, if wee stay in India,  
hee takes to bee an affront. But now I may obteyne one ship  
to come and goe vpon hope of Rubies from Aracan and Pegu,  
but I knowe not what profitt you can make by any residence  
there, and I speak vpon searching the bottome of all the secrettes  
of India If you will haue Patience to try one yeare, you shall  
see one thing effectually done is woorth twenty by fragmentes  
You will find it is not many factories here that gettes you a penny  
I will forecast your ease, and by godes grace, settle not only your  
priuiledges but your Profittes This two yeare the Prince hath

<sup>1</sup> Pring.

<sup>2</sup> Ivory ("Elephants' teeth")

<sup>3</sup> See p 122

<sup>4</sup> Cp pp 217, 349, 447.

beene myemie, and if I had yeilded I must haue beene his slave. This last I haue stood out to the last and aduentured the fiercenes of his wrath. It hath succeeded better then I expected. Wee are soe reconciled that hee is now my effectuell mediator and will procure mee Content. Indeed hee only can giue it. His father growes dull and suffers him to write all Commandes and to gouerne all his kingdomes. [*Marginal note by Roe*—When I wrote this, I had woordes enough but such delays in effects that I am weary of flatteries as of ill usadge.]

You can neuer expect to trade here vpon Capitulations that shalbe permanent. Wee must serue the tyme. Some now I haue gotten, but by way of *firmaens* and Promise from the kynge. All the Gouernment dependes vpon the present will, where appetite only gouerns the lordes of the kingdome. But their justice is generallie good to strangers they are not rigorous, except in seearching for thinges to please and what trouble wee haue is for hope of them, and by our owne disorders. In both I haue propounded to you a new course, and will here Practise it.

The Presentes last yeare were all seized by the Prince in the way. I gott them released but to spight mee hee sent them to the king. What I Challenged of yours was returned a good Part went for Persia. The remayner the king had in a base fashion, as my Journall will relate.

The Fleminge is planted at Suratt, {and} hath obteyned a *firmaen* vpon as good termes almost as wee. I did my endeavour to Crosse him, but they come in vpon the same ground that wee began, and by which wee subsist, feare. And if I fynd not all performed with mee now promised, I shalbe as bould as to chasten them once agayne, els the Duch wilbe before hand and doe it first, and then hee wilbe the braue man. Assure you I will not leaue this Coast but vpon good termes.

What I haue done in reformation of particular wronges and recouering of debtes my Journall will enforme how my lardge demandes were reiected and my selfe tyed to obserue the Custome to make sute vpon New occasion. I haue done my endeavor and though you will find many yet vn timer, many yet vn timer, notwithstanding it will appeare not my fault, for I neither spared labor nor meanes, and in many thinges the error hath beene our owne, by negligence or disorder. The substance is I haue gotten many bribes restored, many debtes, many extortions, and Commandes to take noe more that by litle and litle I shall ease all: now I am vpon best termes, and if the Court were settled would soone finish these my tedious labors. You shalbe sure of as much priuiledge as any stranger and right when the subject dares not plead his. The Troubles at Suratt depending vpon couetousnes of Curiosities to satisfie the Prince (for your grosse goodes passe with ease) I will reforme by yeilding him Content but it is priuat men that make the broyle and then exclaime most.

The aduise I gaue to procure a Place of securitie at the first face seemed good to mee, and I gaue it as I receiued it, but you must excuse mee of recanting twenty thinges which I could not knowe but from others Ther is none fit, nor to bee had<sup>1</sup> The *Bee*, sent to transport your goodes vp the riuer of Suratt, hath fully tried it and cannot performe it, for the many shiftes of sandes, without grounding, and then subiect to bee fiered<sup>2</sup> Wee must sticke to Swally Roade, and, if I can effect my purpose to prouide your ladinges ready, you shall not feele the other inconveniences The renting your Customes I haue endeauoured,<sup>3</sup> but as your seruantes in former yeares would neuer answeere niee in the Poynt, soe these demand twise more then euer you payed, supposing then wee would double our trades

A Peace with the Portugall here were the best seruice I could doe you I made, as by enformation you know, an ouerture to the viceroy, which his Pride neuer answered Since wee haue giuen them a knock or two, and at this instant I am vpon hopes of treatye But, that you may vnderstand the true estate of this busines, you shall know the Passages First, the attemptes made vpon your fleetes were not, as I collect, by expresse order from Spayne The ould viceroy who came in Person, 1614, against Captain Dowton discontented the wisest of his councell and all the inhabitantes of Goa in yt, his inprosperitie made his action the more hatefull and hee is now prisoner in the Castle, to bee returned to answeere, I know not whither that hee did no more, or for doing so much, but for that busines only<sup>4</sup> The New viceroy declares not himselfe, but prepares a fleete to supplant, as hee pretendes, the Dutch in Cormandell

The Jesuite here, who much affectes an agreement,<sup>5</sup> wisely fore-

<sup>1</sup> Cp p 344

<sup>2</sup> Pring wrote to the Company to the same effect (*O C*, No 564) Presumably the pinnace had been sent in consequence of Roe's suggestion on p 94

<sup>3</sup> See p 222

<sup>4</sup> Upon the arrival of the news of Azevedo's unsuccessful attack upon Downton, the king appointed D João Coutinho, Conde de Redondo, to succeed him as Viceroy The latter arrived at Goa towards the end of 1617, and, acting upon orders from home, arrested Azevedo and sent him to Lisbon, where he died in prison (Bocarro's *Decada XIII*, c 186, Faria y Sousa's *Asia Portuguesa*, Stevens' transl'n, vol iii, p 274) Faria y Sousa says that the chief charge against him was his failure to fight the Dutch

<sup>5</sup> Cp p 286 In a letter to Agra, dated October 8, 1616, Roe says that "the Padre hath entreated and promised that if any Iniury bee offered, on the least woord of Complaynt to them wee shall receiue full satisfaction" Not long before the date of the present letter, Corsi had taken the opportunity to render Roe a service, for the following entry appears in Roe's accounts under the date of November 18, 1617 "Geuen to the Padre, in recompence of a

seeing they maynteyne it more by stubbernes then reason, hath often mooued lately to mee a Peace and to that end hath written to his superiors in Goa but receiued no direct answer. I have demanded to show mee a Power that the viceroy hath authoritie to Conclude it, but in the Poynt could not bee satisfied but that the Merchant, the Coaster the Inhabitant and the discreeter sort, all desired, only the Clonous souldier withstood it. Since, the arrivall of his Maiestie[s] letter which in one Clause mooued the Mogoll by his authoritie to enforce the Portugall<sup>1</sup> or to secure his owne Coast that wee might have safe and quiet recourse vnto yt, hath ministered occasion. It seemes the Portugall stood vpon a *Point* that he would not offer vs that which hee once would not answer but by that motion (which I signified to the Jesuite to show our deuers were sincere to accord with Christians) I drew from him that hee supposed theirs were the like, but that a third Person wanted<sup>2</sup> to mooue it but that was happellie by the letter offered, that the Mogol would bee mediator betweene both to which end, after the letters deliuerie the Padree followed it to Asaph Chan as a man of Peace for the quiett of the seas and to avoyd effusion of blood. On our parts it was declared by his Maestie on theirs no way but by the Jesuite and therefore, before the king would mooue it to bee refused, it was demanded if the Jesuite would undertake the kinges desires should vpon reasonable termes take effect, which hee could not promise but by aduise from Goa. Soe it rested only betweene vs some speech vpon what termes and how farr wee intended this treaty, generall in the Indies was improbable to effect for a Couple of shippes vpon all this Coast it might bee granted. At first I stood vpon no restraynt, to come as wee listed but after promised that when I saw Power to treat I would agree vnto conditions reasonable and honorable. Returne of these are not Come, in the direct poynt. But, the King being neare the sea, the Viceroy (which neuer before was done) sent an Ambassador toward the Court to congratulate in the Name of the King of Spayne. He yet stayer at Balsare,<sup>3</sup> the Confines of this Territone below Surat. The Jesuit mooued his admittance, and the King replied if hee come with Presentes fitt for his Master to send and mee to receiue, he is wellcome if not, I shall not acknowledge him for the Person hee pretendes nor giue him honor. This answer

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small Present geuen mee and of a great Curtesie done mee in Court. One foulding Case with Combes Richly embrodered, cost 5/., and the embrodded girdle and hangers with Pearle sent me by the Company." What the "great Curtesie" was, does not appear.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 451.

<sup>2</sup> Was needed.

<sup>3</sup> Balsar a town 40 miles south of Surat, on the river Auranga. De Laet speaks of it as "ad limitem Damian." This embassy does not appear to be mentioned by the Portuguese historians.

was strange ; but, getting noe better, it was returned , and as yet wee know not whither hee will proceed or not By him, as the Jesuite subtilly tells mee (for hee sayes hee cannot averr it for truth, hauing not receiued it authentically), is come some authoritie to enter into communication of Peace, if the King motion it, and that it is one of his endes I haue answered I can acknowledge no Ambassador from a viceroy to treat on equall tearmes, and that I must see Power from Spayne Att last, this is the truth the viceroy is woone by the inhabitantes to consent to a treaty, but hath noe Power to conclude it, but, as his Masters deputie generally, he hath authoritie to doe much at his discretion, and if wee can agree vpon fitt tearmes, to make a Conditionall truce for three years, with reference to the Confirmation of our Masters in Europe, and this is all wee can hope for If hee come, wee may proceed, if not, they shall not coosen mee, I am wher I was<sup>1</sup> I haue to Master Secretarie and some of the Lordes againe mooued this Poynt, but the effecting and full aggregation must come from Spayne The Viceroyes will for their glorie hardly enforme their true estate, but make the King bee-leue they can woork woonders, vntill they haue lost India If it were fully questioned at home whither they make this warr by expresse command or by a generall pretence of I know not what title to all the world, I thinck it would soone bring it to issue, at least to a declaration, for I am perswaded the King of Spayne hath not giuen expresse Commission for yt and will disauow yt I am sure, were I in Spayne, I could make it euident to any Cast Viceroy that perswades the warr, that hee abuseth his Master and that Pride only and folly began and Continues it In conclusion of this I know how fitt a Peace or truce were for you If I can, vpon safe and Honorable tearmes, effect it, I shall thinck it of good Meritt toward you If it bee still war, the force of India<sup>2</sup> will not wrong vs (except from the Manillas), but putt you to many inconveniences, if greater strength prepared in Lisboa, you must discouer and prouide accordingly

To enforce the Portugall to Consent I haue tried many wayes and find the best by Chastising their neighborws for their sakes, but the roundest is, if the King wilbe insencible of his Honor, to suffer his subiectes to pay for leaue to trade in his owne seaes (which he seemes not to care for<sup>3</sup>), then must wee in the Red

<sup>1</sup> See also p 483

<sup>2</sup> Portuguese India

<sup>3</sup> The English had several times endeavoured to rouse the pride of the Mogul by pointing to the indignity put upon him by the claim of the Portuguese to control the navigation of his seas, "as yf both yourselfe and your Countreys were assubjected to the Crowne of spaygne" (Letter from James I, in *First Letter Book*, p 349); but their efforts were in vain "He is not sencible of the dishonor, giuing reason, he conquered Guzuratt and keepes it in the condition he

Sea force them alsoe to giue vs as much, for the Portugall hath noe other right but as lordes of the Sea, which it is euident now he is not, and therefore the tribute due to vs. Then eyther wee shall haue all the trade and the Portugall loose his Contract (for the Merchant will giue ouer), or the Mogol wilbe enforced to see it is necessarie for him to bring vs to accord, that both may giue ouer that quarrell and leaue the seas free for all. This I haue often vrdged, but they haue Pawnes and presume wee will not beginn. For my part, it should bee my first woorke if I durst hazard your trade, which I suppose I could restore to perfection in 6 monthes. But, to minister occasion I haue Pressed to your factors the employment of a ship to Mocha in Company though at first wee haue no ease by the Guzerattes, my reasons are at lardge in lettres. But their resolutions I cannot gett, and will doe nothing alone. The feare of vs already makes them requier my Passe which though I haue giuen to one ship (to satisfie her owner whom I could not refuse, beeing in tearmes of Peace<sup>1</sup>) yet the demand shall giue vs title to more if wee bee tyed to former inconvenience. The second way is by riding with our flecte at Goa the tyme wee spend at Suratt, which Captain Pring was willing to doe, but by the disaster of the *James*<sup>2</sup> and absence of the *Bee* hee was both weakened and tyme lost.

I well know what losse, hazard, and inconvenience you runn by the stay of your flectes. My last lettres to you and many to your seruantes to preuent it will fully declare my preuision in yt but, as you will fynd, I had no Power what I propounded was countermanded I might not Meddle. But since you haue entrusted somewhat to mee, I dare promise yoo to provide your ladinges ready by October, and soe you shall preuent the Portugall, who cannot bee fitt for an attempt two Monthes after. It was neuer beleueed I could effect that dooe. Wittnes the returne from Agra, treble almost to former yeares, prouided in a Month, Part by Creditt (which I haue kept, and therby entered you into more), part by bartar of 100 Clothes that lay by the wall 2 years, as the Motion did. The same Course I will take in tyme to Come, not to defer investmentes till our shippes annuall and the Indicoes swept away

At the arriuall of

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found yt, and vpon the same articles and Contracts made by Bahud [Bahádur Sháh], kyng of Guzuratt, who made them with the Portugalls before this Monarchy was vnitid (Notes by Roe in *O C.*, No. 611).

<sup>1</sup> See *L. O. Records O C.*, No. 612. Asaf Khán had asked for a pass for the junk *Jahangir* which he was despatching to the Red Sea. Roe accordingly supplied him with a letter addressed to the commanders of any English ships that might be met with, requesting them not to molest the Mogul vessel, but to assist her as far as possible. A copy of this pass forms *O C.*, No. 597.

<sup>2</sup> The leak already mentioned



the next fleete . . . if you wilbe before hand, goodes only must bee landed and returnes forborne one yeare, so, by the Courses I will sett, you shall for ever bee before, and if you encrease by Jewelles your stocke to make mony, may easely relade for 3 or 4000 fardles of Indico, and Cloth<sup>1</sup> to any fitt proportion. Amadivaz will fynd you lesse, by reason of the Dutch and the trade open to the Red Sea, but, Credit mee, at Agra you may every yeare have your whole *Partido*<sup>2</sup>. Ther is of ould store sufficient yet, and ther is made betweene that and Lahor at least 30000 fardles yearly, most wherof is carried away by land.

Biddolph followes the Court by reason of many debtes. Such a Course I have taken that I hope to recouer all or most. The most desperat I have secured, some Payd, and shall Cleare all the extortions of Suratt. part of the mony is collected and I have a *firmaen* for all.

What hath beene done in Persia you will fynd . . . All I can say is it is not now to bee giuen ouer, though begunn vnperfectly. The King[s] honour, in whose Name it was sett afoote, you haue goodes and your People engaged, to the mayntenance of which I haue thought fitt to lett the ship designed for the Red Sea touch there to bring off your silkes and Maynteyne your Credit, to supplie them and keepe life in the busines vitill by your better meanes and full tryall wee may proceed more roundly. What is Past I will not aggrauate, nor tread on the dead,<sup>3</sup> whose vanetye and follies, wast, and irreligion I did too justly suspect. To the busines, your freedome and admittance is very suer, the next consideration is how you may securely vse this Trade by want of a Port and compasse it without export of great quanteties of monies, for doubtles, if to bee done, it is the best trade of all India and will yeild you most certeyne Profit. For the safetie of your fleetes, I doubt the Sha will not fortessie for you, except you can satisfie his endes, to pass all his Comoditie and to furnish him with siluer. Ormus lies vpon aduantage. You must woorke your Peace at home with them,<sup>4</sup> and then you cannot trade in these partes vpon ill Conditions. Toward this I will exasperatt the Sha to my uttmost against them that would hinder free trade. To surprise or take their seate by force is not easily done. I confesse that were an end of the question, but it will cost a great Chardge, and such enterprises are vncerteyne, and after it would engage you into a warr. Therfore I can see no way sure but a Composition in Spayne, which to my Poore vnderstanding his Maiesties authoritie might effect. I knowe not by what pretence the King of Spayne can prohibit

<sup>1</sup> Calico

<sup>2</sup> *Partido* (Ital.), 'bargain,' investment

<sup>3</sup> The Portuguese

<sup>3</sup> Corroek

<sup>4</sup> Cp p 406.

you trade in a free Princes Countine to which he hath no pretence. If this were effected you need not insist vpon a Contract with the Sha, but having licence, trade for as much as you could and by what meanes you could. Not the meanes to furnish this trade will not arise from England neyther by our Cloth nor any other comoditie. It is folly to deceiue you with hopes that will faile. Of these some may yearly be vented by Contract with the Shaw, and some Tynne will sell well quicksiluer and vermilion, but not to Comjasse a tenth Part of that by you aymed at. By spices you may well assist your selues, they giue as good profit as in England within 30 per Cent as I am enformed. China ware is in good request, and from India great profit to bee made by Sugars, Cloth, Steele and other Comodities, by all which you may rayse a good Part of whatsoeuer you contract for or, if you trade at libertie, toward your prouisions the rest most bee supplied in Monie. To the furnishing wherof I must referr you to your owne meanes. One considerable thing is the distast of the Grand Signior who doubtlesse will seeke to hynder the Passage of the Persian Commerce by sea, hee reaping as much by Custome as the Sha by the Prime Comoditie. Master Steele is settled vpon water woorkes, rather for his owne ends then any profit to you. I haue proposed to him his helpe in Persia, but hee hopes hee is settled and lettis all other projects fall. Assure you I will doe my endeaoor to settle you in this trade, if I may doe it vpon such grounds as I may haue Credit by and you profit. If your factors agree to the litle supplie I now moue, with it I will send prouision for omissions and, if your fleet come next yeare Provided, will proceed roundly and effectually according to our adulse. If wee see the danger and Charge vnauoydeable and no meanes to enter into yt but by mony and that we cannot vent oura and southerne goods to profit and retorne you o fitt *Portide* of silkes to beare your expence and hazard, then wee will tymely recall your seruants and adulse you by land with expedition. If you proceede in these two trades fully you must furnish both with spices, for all wee can forecast will not rayse your stocke excepte only Jewells, if you can fitt them to profit. In these Poynts of the Peace and other that may help you I haue beene largd alsoe to Master Secretarie Wynwood,<sup>1</sup> and Playne according to my vnderstanding.

Of Master Steeles other projects<sup>2</sup> you will find the generall opinion in your seruants lettres and other discourses for that of lead, which hee only followes, the king hath taken the woorkmen at dayes wages, but I see no hope (nor end of his) to vent your lead. You must beare the hazard for giuing soe easy Credit. I must bee Playne. He came hither expecting to command vs all, euer

<sup>1</sup> This letter is no longer extant.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 439.

mentioning his desarts and Creditt with you, but I haue a little humbled him. The great wages you gaue him made all your factors eager to return, who say they trauell here and a light-braynd man that goes home and fills your ears with fables shall returne in better estate then they for paynfull seruice. You must pardon mee for my directnes. He neither can nor intended to performe any of his great braggs. I can gett noe reason of him for any one [and?] was enforced to lett him trie which hee would. For that of freight into the Red Sea, wee haue all experience nothing wilbe giuen, nor shipt in ours if wee would aske nothing,<sup>1</sup> if wee once compell them they will know vs. To that end I desire one of your shippes employed in Companie, they shall make better Conditions with them when they are abroad with them and in perill then wee can heare ashore wher they are safe, and this way I aduise to proceede.

To bring goodes by the Riuer of Indus to Lahor is an ould proiect but very hard to bee effected when we must wring it from the Portugal, who makes some Profit, but not the tenth mentioned by Steele. If wee trade into Persia wee may effect yt, and it may ease Chardge, but to hope of profit by the Conduct<sup>2</sup> alone is absurd. The trade is not soe great as to find your Men rise;<sup>3</sup> and yet if it must bee done by strength they will feare to aduventure with you. Ther is nothing but a Peace can settle all these. Ther is noe settled trade betweane Lahor and Syndu woorth the Mentioning, only a few *Banians* that shipp in frigotes for Ormus, whom it is hard to perswade to change their Customes, the woorst wherof they know. It is true ther Passe yearly 20000 Camells by Lahor from Agra and other Parts with spices, Indicoes, sugars and goods for Persia, but the most of these bring goods on Camells and sell and invest for returne, and will not bee drawn to the sea, except it were open and secure. I am perswaded, if you had the trade of Persia free and the Portugall frends, many would take that way,<sup>4</sup> but this is a woorke of tyme, what may bee done in yt shall not bee omitted.

Master Steele will, I hope, fall into consideration. I daylie presse him, but he would bee deliuered of mee. I vrdgd him to agree for a woorke by great, that you might haue some returne of your Chardge, but he is yet only in woords. Hee will not once name the renting of his woorke, it beeing soe absurd.

<sup>1</sup> "For the waftinge of the Guzeratt shippes to Moha or other places," wrote Fettuplace and Hughes sarcastically to the Company (*O C*, No 581), "we thincke they put soe much Confidence in our nation as that they had rather goe alone"

<sup>2</sup> Convoying

<sup>3</sup> Rice

<sup>4</sup> This expectation was realised. When the English were settled at Gombroon, their vessels were freely used by native traders between that port and Surat.

Noe Cast here will drinck of the water, but fetchd by his owne Cast, or, if they would, the Profit should not bee allowed you.<sup>1</sup> The king is desierous of all New arts, will entertayne the Artificers, and soone learne their skill and cast them off. Howuer I will provide hee shall not spend you more then hee shall earne. His wife I haue bound to Mistress Towerson at her sute. I was resolu'd to send her home, but shee hath one Child sucking and (as they say) forward of a Nother it were vnfit to send her home alone among Men. If her husband had returned, it had bene more convenient yet hee would haue tould you hee would haue performed all. Now hee is kept to triall and I beleue by the Next you may expect him, rich in Children and not vnprovided of other meanes, for hee brought in goods and Jewells aboue 400*li*. and tooke of Mochreb-chan 5000 *rupees* impresse vpon them, in hope of more, without my knowledge. Thus hee presumes he may trade freely that his Credit is greater with you then such trifles. Or if hee had not stock, hee layed his owne Plott well for hee brought a Paynter,<sup>2</sup> stole him aboard at the downes, [who] is bound to him for 7 years (a very good woorke man both in lymming and oyle) to deuide profits, him hee preferred to the king in his owne trade, Pretended to mee for an engineer in water woorkes. His smith makes clocks, of all hee shares the moyette. I required to bynd them to you by Couenant, which hee could not refuse, but his Paynter would not, and when I offer to send him home, I dare not for the kings displeasure, to whom Steele by his toong to my face may wrong mee, and hath already practised it.<sup>3</sup> But I shall defend my selfe and you If God blesse mee.

Captain Towerson and his wife find could reception here. Her frends are Poore and mean and weary of them. Hee came with

<sup>1</sup> Steel's projects are further criticised in a separate paper of about this date in the I O Records (O C, No. 611). Roe, in explaining to the Court after his return the absurdity of the waterworks scheme, pointed out that "first, the Ruer Gemini [Jumna] was vnfit to set a Myll vppon, raging with vyolence of Waters 3 months together overflowing his boundes a myle from his bankes, so that it appered impossible to settle such a worke either at the highest or lowest tyme therof, when he falls within his bankes againe. Secondly the *Banians* in Agra (who are the greatest part of the inhabitants) will not touch nor meddle with any water that is brought or handled by any other then themselves. Thirdly the King and Nobilitie haue as excellent and artificiall waterworks of their owne as can be desired. And lastlye, Lead may be had at Agra better cheape then can be brought vppon Camells from Surat" (*Court Minutes*, November 10, 1619).

<sup>2</sup> Named Hatfield (see p. 459).

<sup>3</sup> Steel was able to speak Persian, and had been used by Roe as an interpreter, an opportunity of which he did not fail to take advantage (see p. 484).



seuerall<sup>1</sup> but noe man can aduise certteynly except vpon Jewells. These People will Couett any thing when they see it, disgrace it, and not come to halfe the Pnce. Yet you shall finde sould of these many at two for one some at 50 per Cent, some at 3 and 4 and halfe shalbe putt to profit. Many things alsoe, as gloues, will giue nothing nor bee accepted as gulst,<sup>2</sup> but as Patterns to Pick out woorke.

The tokens you sent mee I receiue most gratfully, but all bee ing not for my vse, I take only two feathers and one hatt and band, a sword and hangers, and lace for bands. The rest yet lye by mee, that may serue your turne, if not, I will weare them for your sake, or sell them and put to your account. Your loue to mee is sufficient present. I dare nor perswade you to send any quantitie of such ware as these the kinds in its owne Place I haue mentioned. Ammell<sup>3</sup> is fallen in Pnce, yet it will giue good profit, but it must bee good. Ther is noe salue till the Court bee settled. About this quantitie yearly will passe at most, for the Portugall now overlays it.

I was fully resolved to returne by this flecte, as you may per ceue by many Passadges hut your earnest desier preuayles above myne owne occasions. Sir Thomas Smyth had power to send mee out, and hath lost noe part of his interest in mee. I doubt not his Maiesties lettre too mee<sup>4</sup> was procured by you, wherein I find his gracious acceptation aboue my Meritt, which bindeth mee to endeaour aboue my abilitie. I must acknowledge the fauour you did mee in relations to his Maiestie. That is the reward I labor for and expect and you shall finde I will not sayle you in my uttmost endeaours. When my experience was Raw I wrote you many things by report, and I am not ashamed to recant, but the end shall Iudge of mee and my endes. The Next yeare I shall take your offer to returne in one of your shippes and to Command her. If wee agree not here, I shalbe busie with her, but will not doe it but for that end which no sayre way can procure. Ther was neuer sayerer words and lesse sayth among the Cretans then in these People.

What the value of Pearle and other *Præreria*<sup>5</sup> is I haue specified in a Tariff here Inclosed. Those you sent, except the great, of which I haue giuen reason, are yet vsould and will neuer giue the mony you rate them att<sup>6</sup> you must either buy Cheaper or Invoyce your goods right, that your seruants may know what to doe. I know these are ouer valewed. But to the Poynt. At

<sup>1</sup> See p. 485.

<sup>2</sup> Cp. p. 395.

<sup>3</sup> Enamel.

<sup>4</sup> See p. 430.

<sup>5</sup> Jewels (Span.).

<sup>6</sup> See p. 423. They were finally sold in July 1618, to Asaf Khan for Rs. 8,092, having been offered to many and none would give soe much for them together. As they had cost £1521 17s., there was a considerable loss on the transaction.

the Rates by mee giuen, if they hould weight and bewtie, I giue you assurance you may sell for 50000*li* yearly ready Mony, and for as much more in any sort of stones by mee specifed,<sup>1</sup> and this way only rayse a stock, and your free recourse bee desired by the King and Prince and great men, and if they are pleased, the Crie of a Million of subiects would not bee heard

. I haue this yeare beene in the woods By my returne I will bring you an exact survey of all the trafiques of India, and bee by you to answere any misinformation Ther is no Complaynt by the Mogolls subiects that wee buy not their Comoditie, but Contrarie, that wee buy so much that their owne Merchants want for the Red Sea I knowe it true Wee haue raysd the Price of all wee deale in, and now wee feare the Dutch will make it woorse

I haue only two Poynts to touch That these Seas beginn to bee full of Rouers, for whose faults wee may bee engaged Sir Robert Rich and one Phillope Barnardoe sett out two shippes to take Piratts, which is growne a Common Pretence of beeing Piratts They missed their entrance into the Red sea (which was their desigine), and came for India, gaue Chase to the Queene Mothers Juncke, and, but that God sent in our Fleete, had taken and rifled her<sup>2</sup> If they had prospered in their ends, either at Mocha or here, your goods and our Persons had answered it I ordered the seisure of the shippes, Prises, and goods, and converted them to your vse, and must now tell you if you bee not round in some Course with these men you will haue the seas full and your trade in India is vtterly lost and our liues exposed to Pledge in the hands of Moores I am loath to lie in Irons for any mans faults but myne owne I loue Sir Robert Rich well,<sup>3</sup> and you may bee pleased to doe him any Curtesie in restitution, because hee was abused, but I must say, if you giue way, you giue encouragment I had rather make him any Present in loue then restore any thing in right For Barnardo, I doubt not you wilbe sencible of his Plott, and call him into question Hee getts the Duke of Sauoyes Commission, but the faces are all English Jhons, the Captain of the *Lyon*, was a Proiecter. The

<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese relied largely on jewels for their trade with Hindustán "We neuer heard of any commodity the Portingalls doe bringe to Goa then Jewells, ready mony and some few other provisions of wine and the like, except the marfeel [ivory], gold and amber which they bring from Mozambique Those factors which come from Goa to the Court, Agra, and Brampore, bringe nothings but Jewells, which they retorne employed in Indico, both of Biana and Cirkeis [Sarkhej], Semanaes [see p 322], Carpetts and the like" (The Agra factors to the Company, December 20, 1617 O. C., No 581)

<sup>2</sup> See p 420

<sup>3</sup> Rich afterwards married Roe's cousin, Susanna, widow of Alderman William Halliday

Mootams<sup>1</sup> envengled Sir Robert Rich and after Mutined, tore his Commission, disarmed his Captain and are breefly villaynes woorthey to feede in the Marshalsy one yeare. Such an example would deter others els you give them both title and hart. The Captaine of the *Francis* Master Newse, sett out by Sir Robert Rich, I will Commend to your favour as an honest discreet gentleman, who never consented to your Iniurie, but was forced by his disordered Cyng.<sup>2</sup> the rest I leave you to deale with as in your Judgement you shall find requisite. But if you suffer Rovers in these seas, ther must bee noe traders. It is hard to proove to these People the difference of Merchants and Piratts, if all of a Nation or if you could proove it, I am unwilling to lye for a Pawne untill Certificatt came out of Europe.

The second is the Dutch. They wrong you in all Parts and grow to insufferable insolencies. If wee fall soule here, the Common enemy will lau h and reape the fruit of our Contention. There must a Course bee taken at home which by his Maiesties displeasure signified, were not difficult, if he knew how they traduce his Name and Royall authoritie, robb in English Coultors to scandall his subjects,<sup>3</sup> and use vs worse then any brave enemy would or any other but vnthankfull dronekards that wee have releued from Cheese and Cabbage, or rather from a Chayne with bread and water. You must speedelye looke to this Maggat els wee talke of the Portugall, but these will eate a woorme in your sides. I neede not Counsell you which way only adaise you neuer to joyne stock to profit and losse, for their garrisons, Chardges, losses by Negligence will engage you to beare Part of their follyes for no Profit. But your accord must bee by a stint at those parts common to you both, and agreement to what Ports you may resort without offence one to the other. If they keepe you out of the Moluccoes by force, I would heat them from Surat to requite it. In both these I have beene lardge to Master Secretary and some of the Lords, that they may have feeling of the Iniunes and bee assistant to you.

This second february arrived with mee the footmen sent from

<sup>1</sup> James Mootham was master of the *Francis* John, possibly a master's mate. The latter was taken by Pring into his fleet in that capacity and died some thirteen months later; James, probably as the more guilty of the two, was sent home a prisoner in the *Bull* together with Newse and Jones. Bingham recommended him to the Company for employment, but apparently without success, and the last heard of him is that in 1630 the Company procured a warrant against both him and Jones for hiring away divers men from the *London* to serve the King of Denmark in the East Indies.

<sup>2</sup> Gang.

<sup>3</sup> Cp. p. 410. This was generally believed by the English factors in the East; cp. *Cork's Diary* vol. i, p. 260, vol. ii, p. 41 and *Letters Received by the E. India Co.*, vol. ii, p. 199.



Spahan by Edward Connaught with lettres of 8 Monthes date, directed to Master Kerridge and to noe other<sup>1</sup> I opened them In generall I fynd no more then the Coppies that came by the *Bee*, some Particulars<sup>2</sup> by which I discouer more of their triumvirat faction<sup>3</sup> and Priuatt plotts then matter of busines In one I find a New character,<sup>4</sup> which gueth mee some suspition, but I will vnderstand it before I accuse In others I and you will find that ther was a resolution taken to conceale all the proceedings in Persia from mee, and the better to enter Credit with you, the lettres I sent the King of Persia in february 1615<sup>5</sup> and january 1616,<sup>6</sup> with diuers aduises to you, both reasons and obiections, the full declaration of our entents in pursuing this trade, all directed for deliuerie or Conveyance to William Robbynns, Connaught gott into his Power, opened, and suppressed them, and, not supposing I sent Coppies other wayes, out of myne makes his use and writes you these lettres of his propositions to the King You may compare them Poynt to Poynt, the Phrase not altered Reading them I knew myne owne, and, though not woorth the Challendging, yet you may see how these New Ambassadors and Agents Packd<sup>7</sup> against mee All coppies fitt for you, which I doubted others would Conceale, I send you, all which might informe, or did concerne, the factories I dispeeded the same Night, that no pretence of delay might hynder my present desiers for a little supply thither, wher if a trade may bee settled with securitie and Compassed with your fitt meanes, I shalbe gladder then all they who would haue kept mee in ignorance I can spare them the Credit of yt that want yt, and my Manner of Prosecution shall giue both account of my affection to yt and your good and of my judgement in the Possibilitie and Profit.

Since the finishing of the former intent of supply for Persia I receiued full answere from the shippes that it was impossible to bee performed vntill the next Change of Monzone, and hereby wee are enforced to leaue it in imperfection By your next fleete I doubt not wee shall vnderstand the resolution of our hopes and bee furnished to releue the wants, and either to settle it or recall it In the interim I will send to your factors such direction as is requisite, and to the Sha excuse of our fayling that yet wee know not nor were agreed vpon the quanteties of goods nor Prises on both Parts I receiued to day Newes from Ormus of a reuolt of all the Mahometans subiect to the Portugalls for the stealing an *Alcaron*<sup>8</sup> out of their *Moschee*, which the Sha takes alsoe for a breach of Peace, it beeing one of the

<sup>1</sup> Probably the letters of 15 and 16 May, 1617, which form *O C*, Nos 480-481

<sup>2</sup> Private letters

<sup>3</sup> Barker reviling Connock, and Pley blaming Barker

<sup>4</sup> Cipher

<sup>5</sup> See p 132

<sup>6</sup> See p 373

<sup>7</sup> Conspired

<sup>8</sup> *Ie*, a Koran

Articles that the Moores should not bee offended nor Injured In Poynt of their religion. If it bee not suddenly appeased, It may occasion the Sha to take the sort into his hands, which by a little help might bee effected, and for him easy by our assistance, without joyning, very difficult for either of vs.

The New Pretend'd Spanish Ambassador<sup>1</sup> is refused audience, beeing come as far as Cambraya, within 2 dayes of Court. Principally because his Presents were not of great value. But the King shaming to Insist vpon soe base a reason, vsed for a full deniall a later Pretence that hee was no right Embassador, having of mee demanded by Asaph-chan if I would avow him for one, to which I replyed if I saw his Masters letters I was bound, if not I should not acknowledge him but as a messenger. The King demanded of the Iesuite if he had letters, who replying truth none from Spayne and, to avoyd the affront, professed alsoe that hee came but from Namon, a City of the Portugalls, but soe suddenly as the New Viceroy could neither prepare a fitt Present nor letters that his Comming was to congratulate in the Viceroy and Cytes Name his approach into these Parts at which hee had his full dmission, but with good termes that if hee came to see him hee should bee wellcome but if the Viceroy would send him or any other with Presents and authoritie in the Name of the King of Portugall, hee would receive him with Honor. The Iesuite is somewhat troubled, and the Embassador who came on in great Brauene takes himselfe scorned. They pretend to mee that another shall returne with ampler letters and full Power to treat with mee which Asaph-chan from the King gaue in Chardge. For my part, I am not sorry for any distast begunn, and thinck not that the Portugall will stoope so farre as to send a Nother nor Presents vpon such a demand and affront neyther that if any come that hee shall bring authoritie to make you a secure Peace. The Issue I attend.

Master Steele hath now fully deliuered himselfe and his woorke men into the Kings Power and them into his Pay hath had speech of the like for himselfe; and It is all our opinion hee will vpon that sett vp his rest. In woords he protested Not but hee hath gotten his wife vp with Mistris Towerson, as her seruant, and vowed to mee shee should lue in her house, to which end I took a Covenant from them. But the first day hee brake it, carried her to a house of his owne, where hee lues with Coach, *Palanke* 7 horses, and ten seruants and, beeing stayed in my house as Prisoner to search into his entents, he confessed hee said any thing formerly and consented to the Covenants to deceiue mee and to gett his wife into his owne Power. The excuse of all is affection. [*Marginal note by Roe*—Now he follows the Court with as great expence as I and as many seruants.] Send them

home by force I cannot, or is now too late, vntill the King bee satisfied in his expectation of great Promises from Richard Steele Neyther will hee proceed vpon the woorke of Agra (which was my Condition), but follow the *Leskar* to make Picturs, clocks, coaches and such deuices, by which hee hopes to creepe into great preferments I assure you I write of his Courses very modestly Wee are not yet wise enough to see any hopes nor any entents of his to effect a woork out of which you may make any aduantage He hath professed the woorkemen are his seruants that he spent 500 *li* to bring them for the King They haue not language to denye it, nor will to follow him, but now they are engaged, hauing receiued horses and Mony, and when I mooue their true employment, it is replied they are in the Kings Pay, and must obey his Pleasurs, they and their guide

*Marginal note by Roe*—When he was my toong to the King<sup>1</sup> he would deliuer his owne tales and not a woord what I commanded ] The Next difference is that hee will alsoe carry vp his woman, which I refuse, requiring her stay with her Mistris, according to yours and my intent. If hee consent, I shall giue him some employment and allowance from you, if not, that hee will runne in all contrarie, then hee gues mee such assurance of that all men suspect, that I shall neither trust him with your goods nor pay him any wages vntill I haue meanes to send him home, which will soone bee, if hee continew his expence and attend the bounties of this King You see I desier noe weomens company, but labour to leaue such incumberances behynd Beleeue mee the scandall already is not easely wyped off Your securitie shalbe at the woorst you shall loose no more by him, I will looke to your estate

. . . The King is anew gone into the woods, toward Mando as reported, but wee are not certeyne<sup>2</sup> I am entering into the miserie and Chardge of following What conclusion I shall haue I cannot presage. Hee is good to mee, his sonne latly better, who is absolute King Hee hath granted mee a few Priuiledges, and reconfirmed our trade and liberties at Suratt, but will heare of noe more Ports, his *firmaen* also for recouerie of Customes taken on the way and for your goods and seruants at Brampoore that were seized by the justice. He hath ordered all your debts in *Cerkar*,<sup>3</sup> and promised execution of the Kings sentence against other our debtors, which if wee could settle, in a Month I should doubtlesse finish I was not consenting to the

<sup>1</sup> See p 477

<sup>2</sup> He really went by Mehmadaábád and Balasnor to Jhalod and Dohad, returning the same way

<sup>3</sup> *Sarkár*, a word used in several diverse senses Roe seems to mean that the Prince had given orders to the officials to enforce payment of all debts due to the English at Court as though they were due to the King.

Making yet will not leaue them alone that did mee. I am soe weary of the wayes of this Court, which are gouerned by no rule, that I must open to you my full resolution. If this *Norose* I can finish my desires of vniuersall Priuiledges that shalbe of Power in all Parts of his Dominion, and recouer our debts, I shall desier to retyre and rest mee vntill the arriual of your fleete for the Next raynes, if I lye in the feilds or in an open house, will finish my trauell. If not, I will take my leaue, and bee ready at Suratt to meete with the ship I expect from the Red Sea, who shall both Pay mee all that is due and make those conditions bee offered which now I seeke with despayre. Assure you, I knowe these People are best treated with the sword in one hand and Caducean<sup>1</sup> in the other.

If I haue erred in my judgment you will easely fynd one man cannot see all. My affection to doe you right and honest seruice shall excuse many escapes. But in Generall I desier you to pre-serue in your opinion this thought of mee that whatsoeuer I conceiue good for you I will Practice neither feare nor Paynes shall diuert mee and that when I shall be present to giue you reason of any thing I haue written, Noe man shalbe soe impudent as to contradict it and for my life, it will not bee ashamed of any search and enquire. The issue of all yours and our endeauours I committ to Gods blessing who is able to Make rich and Poore, and to convert the successes of all to his Glorie.

Your honest frend to doe you seruice,

THO. ROE.

#### ADVISE FOR GOODES FOR SURRATT<sup>2</sup>

(I O Records O C., No. 637)

Broade cloathes: euerie two yeres 200, or euery yere 100, Red, greene, yallowe, poppingey<sup>3</sup> no stammetts,<sup>4</sup> or not aboue 10.

Corrall as much as you can provide the rates and sortes Suratt must informe.

Lead none this 2 yeres.

Quicksilver for 1000*lb* yerely

Vermillion a small quantitie.

<sup>1</sup> The wand or rod carried by Hermes as the messenger of the Gods.

<sup>2</sup> Endorsed "Advise from Sir Thomas Roe of Goodes and Presents for Suratt, 1617." In the *Cal. of State Papers (E. Indies)*, this is assigned (with a query) to March 1618 but there seems to be sufficient ground for assuming that it is the enclosure referred to in the preceding letter (p. 478).

<sup>3</sup> Popinjays were gay-coloured woollen stuffs, made chiefly in Gloucester and so called after the common green and red parrot.

<sup>4</sup> A woollen stuff resembling linsey woolsey.

Wine, hott waters, swordes, knives (except great and rich), Glasses (looking nor glasing) none, nor anie such like trash

Pearles ann<sup>i</sup> great well bought, Chaines of pearles, between 3 Carr[ats] and 10, the greatest the best

Rubies give the best proffitt, from 3 Carr[ats] vpwardes of all sizes, so high in coullour and faire.

Ballasses <sup>1</sup> faire and greate, of 60 Carr[ats] vpwardes

Cattes eyes if you knewe the right stone.

Emrauldes of the old and new rocke, the greatest

Aggats some fewe well cutt, the faces white

Armletts anie made to lock onn with one Ioint, sett with stones, diamondes and Rubies, good worke, will give you proffitt

Of this kinde of goodes, if you would finde anie rich stone to the value of 20,000*l* to equall the Portugall, would give you great proffitt and Credit It is howrely objected and required By this meanes only you can compas a stocke and make your trade desired, vpon such a rare peece you maie get anie Conditions, for their Coveteousnes of them is vnsatiable If you can send yerely in great stones of theis kindes or pearles 100 v 000*l*,<sup>2</sup> I dare be bownde it would vent to proffitt and make you highly requested Without this the Kinge wilbe wearie, and it will save you presents All other things will faile you and with theis you may putt of anie thing The Towre, I ame perswaded, could furnish you with many great olde stones that are vseles

Arras fresh and good Coullours, for one or two yeres you maie vent to some proffitt for 10,000*l*

Cloath of gould and silver branched, Grograines or Sattins, that make a fine shewe, mingled with fresh coullours, will raise monie, but to no great proffitt Gould Lace is much inquired after by the King I thinck it will yeld 30 per cento proffitt.

Chambleets<sup>3</sup> of Turkey, red, greene, yallowe, purple they come in quantities from the red sea

Shirtes of Male a hundred, so they be lyght, arrowe prooffe, and neatly made

Imbrodered Coates of the Indian fashion, for our wastcoates they canot vse here I haue patternes of the Kmg of diuers sortes sent you<sup>4</sup>

Cases for round Bucklers

Quivers for bowes and arrowes, Indian fashion

And generally I give you this rule whatsoeuer you send in

<sup>1</sup> See p 167

<sup>2</sup> The V is merely a symbol for "thousands"

<sup>3</sup> Camlets, a light stuff said (though this is disputed) to have been originally woven from silk and camel's hair

<sup>4</sup> See pp 391 and 395

this kinde must be made by Indian patternes, for then they are of vse and euery bodies monie.

Gloves, hangers, Scarfes by theis only they picke out the workes.

To steade of Sweete baggs, rownde Cushions gothered like cloke bags, to leane on<sup>1</sup>

Any of theis in needleworke or imbroidene will sell cent. per cent. or not much les, oll imbroderie being fallen in value, for they haue learned by ours to do as well. Boxes Imbrodered will sell to proffitt and great glasses.

Some light coullored Norwich stufes wrought in flowers for trall, the lighter the better I ome perswaded manie would vent, if chosen fitlie.

### *Concerning Presents.*

Not to followe the Course of presenting yerely in the Kings name. Once in three yere o letter and o good present. If you bring stooes you shalbe welcome to all

Furnishing yerelie 2 or 3,000*li* In other fine ware or cloath of gould, silver, &c., You must yelde to haue it seene at Customehouse, and sent all to the King or prince, with whome must go a merchant, ond when opened before the King (which is the slavene here) he maie give one or two toyes (such os he seeth pleaseth) ond, after all the rest to sell. I assure you they wilbe all bought and good payment, and the King better content then in this Course for our trouble is all aboute the presents, which, if all came to sell were finished at once. I am inforced by experience to change the Course. I haue tried all waies and hazarded this yere a quarrell to ovoid an affront. I will sett downe a course to prevent their greedines ond to tourne it all to proffitt, seeing they haue no honour

This Counsell Asaph Chan first gaue,<sup>2</sup> telling me we were fooles and had brought vp a Custome to our owne hurt the King expected nothing of merchantes but to buy, and at entrance (as fashlon) a toy and when anle petition, the like that when we gave in the name of the King it should be seldomer and then befitting his honour He demanded who practized this Course but yourselves, neither Duitch, Persians, nor Armenian merchantes, nelther dld the King expect it I knowe this both wise and thistue Counsell, but your Agent resident wilbe against it. For ther is no man hot will oyme at his owne proffit, my self excepted, as by my retourne it will appeare, I neuer gaue a knife for myne owne endes, nor vsed the least basenes of begging my riches are accordingly

*Fitt presentes from the King.<sup>1</sup>*

once in  
three yere,  
four or five  
of theis,  
with one of  
good value.

Some good stone for once, or some rich peece  
of Arras, silke and gould, but one or two at most.  
A rich peece of Tissue or Cloathe of gould  
A fine Crowne, sett with small stones  
A faire bed feild, with lace or some worke  
A rich feild Caparason and Sadle, the patterne  
from hence.

A Coate of Sattin imbrodered, the paterne from  
hence.

*With theis*

Some Cushions, Cabbennetts, glasses, Stand-  
ishes<sup>2</sup> and toyes of vse for others

Pictuers of all sortes, if good, in constant re-  
quest, Some large stonie, Diana this yere gave  
great content

*Goodes from the Southwardes*

Spices of all kindes give great p[r]offit China Dishes and all  
sortes of fine ware, as Chestes, Cabbenetts, bedsteades &c to as  
good profit as in England

Taffaties imbrodered with gould, silke in flowers, vearne well  
requested and rated.

From theis partes for presentes in toyes you maie be better  
furnished then from Europe.

Cocheneil will neuer sell a certenty Few knowe it For a  
pownd or two some may give a good price, but it is no  
comoditie of vse Those of Sinda only buy it The Persians  
bring a little and retaile it at 35 *ruppies* the great *seere*

Ammell<sup>3</sup> hath sould the red, if verie fine, ordinarily for twice  
the waight in gould The Portugales haue theis two yeres from  
Goa brought some, of which francisco Swart<sup>4</sup> 18 *li*, the red sould  
at 45s the ounce, blewe, white and greene att 18s The King  
being in the feild, all the workmen, both of the Court and the  
great men, are retourned to Agra, where I must sende it. It may  
yeld you, the red (against the *Norouse*) nere the waight of gould,  
the rest  $\frac{1}{4}$  the waight in gould

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, to be presented in the name of the King of England

<sup>2</sup> Inkstands

<sup>3</sup> Cp p 479

<sup>4</sup> A Portuguese merchant who was apparently resident at Court  
In a letter to Surat (*O C*, No 556) Roe calls him "the prodigal  
Portugal," and says that he is about to marry an aunt of Mrs  
Towerson

## TO CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING.

(I O Records O C, No. 613)

February 14 [1617 18].

By way of prouision I haue sent instructions for the voyadge into the Red Sea, to which Master heridge must add his for Marchandizing affayres and deliuer you goods to beginn our trade. The mayne obiection is that there is noe great foundation to beare Chardge, to which I answere wee haue many dead Commodities wee must seeke to put off and may either sell them by frendship or teach a trade by force. With whomsoever the ship meetes of the allies of the Portugalls, which are the Decannines or Samoring,<sup>1</sup> they are to vs as enemies. If shce should meete with no booty yet I suppose they shall not bee denyed trafique at Mocha, wher certeynly will bee Juneka, both of Diue and Dabull and of other Southern Ports, with which (if the Mochers will not accept of our goods) they should [trade?] for Indicoes and other Commodities fitting England or Suratt. The returne of a small stock from thence will pay the expence of the ship, towards which Master heridge sayth hee can procure freight for 15 or 16,000 *flarrendies* which I would accept off as a beginning. Hee doubts it will hynder the stay at Dabull, but I see noe reason if wee sett so much the sooner out then usually the Iuncks doe for the same voyadge off this Coast. Going into the Bay of Tasques is more doubtfull, of that I cannot Iudge, but referr it to your consideration if one ship may doe all, or any two, of which I thinck Tasques and the Red Sea of most consequence.

A second obiection is that the Grand Signior will embargue our English in his Dominions for our Molesting his trades to which I say wee goe to offer Peace, to secure his seaces, and not to disturbe any but our enemies that deny vs trade and by our vsadge many may bee encouraged to augment [adventure?] that way who are now afayrd of Routers and overlayd with tribute or the exactions of the Portugalls. In the Red Sea itselfe shall wee best make the Guzeratts vnder stand their danger and the benefitt of our offer, ther they will bee spoken with at leysure, wher now wee seeke to them at their houses. Nature is easier to deale with when it is a little afayrde.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The Zamorin of Calicut.

<sup>2</sup> The Bantam factors wrote to the same effect (Jan. 19, 1618 O C No. 595) — "For the troubles and abuses of our people by the Gouvernor and great men, remedy may be sooner found in the redd sea amongst their neighbour Iuncks then at the Mogullis Court, and better cheape. Nothing but feare keepes a Moore in awe; vse him kindly and he will abuse you, but deale with him in smooth words and nipping deeds and he will respect and reverence you."



Or, if wee are soe Iealous of our frends at Constantinople, how can wee proceede in Persia, the stealing away of which trade will more sharpen the Turk then the rifle of a Iunck or two of Rascalls that hee takes noe Notice off?

I once mooued you to keepe Close the Sowth shoare<sup>1</sup> for the Chances of the Malaccoas ships and others that in March come in to Goa Now I aduise you to bee warie, for the Vizeroy, as wee heare, prepares a fleete to goe about the Cape for the Coast of Cormandell and wilbe ready this Month<sup>2</sup> If you bee alone it is not good to tempt them

Concerning the Iuncks of Diu, I vnderstand that Mochrebchan and some Mogolls freight from thence Wee cannot take notice of on mans from anothers that Mingle with our enemies I would not spare any of that Port vpon the best Pretence Our warienes wilbe to keepe the Iunck it selfe, to putt a Merchant and Purser vpon it vtill returne to Suratt If it bee prooued Mogolls goods and that the King stirr in yt, I know this People, restitution alway makes Peace, and wee shall haue the advantage of some good condition for restitution, and make them feare to freight in the Portugalls and rather offer them selues to vs Vntill wee show our selues a little rough and busye they will not bee sencible

The woemen<sup>3</sup> are almost arrued at Court, but I hope I shall depart this towne before, the King goeing out suddenly, which makes mee now take my leaue I am in your debt for your loue aboue all your other kindnesses, which now you close vp with New . I assure you honestly I haue loued you 7 yeares for the good disposition and woorth I found in you If it were any way in my Power I would make it manifest My woord or report in England you Neede not, yet perhaps not soe well knowne to all as to the Companie Whatsoeuer I can add to giue you right, either to them or any higher, assure you I will not fayle, or, if I did, it is your fault not too lett mee know which way But I am gladd both of your assurance and Modesty Wee lue in a Barberous unfaythfull place, you in the sea with more securitie and Constancye Pray for vs, that God wilbe Pleased to keepe vs, that among heathens wee may bee as light in darknes,

<sup>1</sup> In proceeding to Bantam

<sup>2</sup> Cp p 470

<sup>3</sup> Mrs Steel, Mrs Towerson, and Mrs Hudson They were accompanied by the Rev Mr Golding, the chaplain of the *Anne*, who had at the Cape solemnised the marriage of Steel The reverend gentleman's devotion to the ladies while at Surat had caused some scandal, and he had been ordered to return to his ship, but, instead of obeying, he slipped out of the city disguised as a native, and went "after the women" to Ahmadábád Roe sent him back in company with Heynes and the rest, but he escaped from them on the way Subsequently, he rejoined the fleet and obtained pardon (*O C*, No 635) He seems to have died some time in 1619

at least that wee shame not the light. I will hope to live to see you safe returned, and for your happy voyadge, health, above all temperall Comforts, wealth and good successe according to your owne desiers, and a Ioyfull arrivall into your Countre. All the blessings that attended Iacob, when hee went out with a staff and returned with troopes of servants and herds of Cattell, accompanie you, that in the seas you may find *Machinyra*<sup>1</sup> and at your returne *Bethel*.

Since the finishing this former came your lettre of the 4th January, by which I perceave that which I doubted, that it was impossible to supply Iasques and soe that vnfortunate busines must lye in its wounds vntill better occasion. I have sent a declaration and Instructions of my intents into the Red Sea,<sup>2</sup> which is as much Commission as I can giue, if Master Kerridge can add to yt any enformation, wee are all for one end. For the ship or ships I referr it to you and am very well assured of Captain Shillings sufficiency. For Merchants I know not how Master Rastall<sup>3</sup> can bee spared nor with what qualeties the fleet is Prouided. I have sent my servant Haynes<sup>4</sup> for one because by often discourse hee knowes my intents. I hope hee will prooue diligent and honest.

In assurance of right I rest quiett, as farr as Master Steele the woemen and the indiscretion of Master Goulding will suffer mee. I woonder to see him here and shall as soone resend him. I must labor to mend all. I gaue consent for the best to Mistress Steele, but neuer for the minister. Now her husband discovers himselfe, but one of vs must breake in this busines. I expect noe more to heare from you, for the King is entering into the woods. The God of heauen blesse you and all your Company and send mee once more to live among men of honesty

<sup>1</sup> Mahanaim (Gen. xxxii, 2).      <sup>2</sup> See the document which follows.

<sup>3</sup> Thomas Rastell had come out in the 1616 fleet, and was now second at Surat. On Kerridge's departure for England in 1622, Rastell became chief a post which he held at the time of the visit of Della Valle, who warmly praises him (vol. I p. 19). He returned to England in 1625 and went out again in 1630, dying at Surat a year later (November 7, 1631). His wife's mother (widow of Alderman Gore) became the second wife of Sir John Coke, who was for some time Secretary of State.

<sup>4</sup> Roe's secretary in whose neat and legible hand are most of his letters, and the British Museum copy of the diary of which so much use has been made in the present work. He had been "bred a merchant with Alderman Gore, and had been employed in Barbary before he entered Roe's service. As the ambassador's mission was drawing to a close, Heynes was desirous of finding employment under the Company; and Roe, with characteristic disregard of his own convenience, took the present opportunity of complying with this wish. The new factor completely justified his patron's action: he rose steadily in the Company's service, and at the time of his death (August, 1632) was agent in Persia.

A DECLARATION AND INSTRUCTIONS for the shippe entended for the Red Sea, if the Comaunder of the fleete, Captain Martin Pringe, and Master Thomas Kerridge, Cape merchaunt of the English factors, with his Consultation vpon the motions made by Sir Thomas Roe, his Maiesties Ambassadour, doe thinke it fitte to proceed in the Voyadge

(I O Records O C, No 598<sup>1</sup>)

[February 14, 1617-18]<sup>2</sup>

1 The shippe to proceed vpon this voyadge to bee chosen by the Admirall and a Comission from him guen for theyr warrannte

2, Having taken in such goodes at Suratt as Master Kerridge shall prouide, as well for a trade at Dabull as Mocha, shee shall accompany the Admirall to Dabull,<sup>3</sup> where they may endeavour to putt of all theyr English goodes by faire meanes, or, if not, by the surprise of any juncke, and with them to barter for theyr Comodity fitte for the Red Sea, but to pay for it and to take nothinge els, but only signify that our Intent is to force them to vnderstand the Interest of free Commerce and that they shall not trade into the Red Sea but by our licence, beinge Lordes of the same, and not the Portingalls At this Porte cannot be spent above eight daies, if you finde any juncke out, you may dispatch in four

3 Having finished your Intent at Dabull, you shall speedily shape your Course for the Red Sea, and, meeting any juncke of Diu or of any other Porte vnder the Dominion of the Portugall, you shall endeavour to take and make prise thereof to the vse of the Company, or of any other people whatsoever beinge in league with our enemy, either of the Samorine or Decanines

4 Beinge arrived at Mocha with such goodes as shee shall have laden vpon her or such as shee shall gett by trade at Dabull or by reprisall, The Captain and Merchaunts shall sende to the Gouvernour of the Province and signify that our Intent is as well to keep the Sea free from Rouers as to demaunde free Commerce at the Porte, and therefore shall require both a safe Conducte

<sup>1</sup> There is another copy among the O C duplicates, by which the present version has been checked

<sup>2</sup> In the absence of a date, Mr Sainsbury assigns this document to January 20, 1618 But it is evident that the instructions were drawn after it was known that the ship could not go to Persia as well as to the Red Sea, and of this Roe was not aware until about February 14, 1618 (see pp 482, 491)

<sup>3</sup> As already mentioned (p 400), this intended visit to Dabhol was abandoned

for a Merchaunte to come ashore and his *firmian* for the free sale of our goodes and that if hee bee pleased for times to come to enterteine the English and to graunt them residence, whereby yearly our shipping will haunt his Porte with many sorte of goodes and the Seas bee thereby more secured, that then at Instant hee give his owne Contracte and therein Couenant to procure the Grand Simlors lettres for licence and Confirmation of such priueledges as are already graunted vnto our Nation for their abode and traffique to Constantinople and Aleppo.

5 If this faire motion of trade bee refused then shall you endeavour to force it by staying and hindernge the traffique of all such roaders<sup>1</sup> as you shall synde in trade, not subiecte to the greate Mogoll, and by exchaung with them put of all your goodes laden vpon the said voyadge, but if you meete any shippe or Iuncke freighted by the Portingalls or the goodes of any Moore or *Banjan* subiecte or inhablinge within theyr Territorie, of all [such] ships and goodes you shall make prise, signifying to all persons that you proceed in this Course with the Portingalls and theyr Subiectes only to Compell them to suffer the Seas to be free and Commerce open and not to take any tribute, passe money or Imposition vpon merchaunts goodes vpon the Sea, that whensoever the Portugall shall relinquish this vnjust Course, that the English will agree and Consente to the free open trades and liberty of all Nations freindes with them but if they will adbere and bee tributane to the Portingalls, wee shall make prise of theyr goodes as the Confederates of our Enemies.

6. You shall require of the *Guzuratts* to assist you in settlinge a trade at Mocha, and make them vnderstand that wee Intend yearly to visit that Porte that wee have offered to safe-Conducte or fraighte theyr goodes vpon as resonable termes as they give vnto our enemye, which if they shall still refuse to accepte, wee shall remayne Newtralls, so in Case they bee surprised by any Dutch or French Piratts wee will no waye bee tyed to helpe or relive them and if then they shall better vnderstand themselves and our freindly offer, the Captain and Cape merchaunt shall have full power to make Composition and Agreement with them and to take of them for the present voyadge such Content, eyther on goodes 5 per Cent. at least or by the great, as they shall agree, and shall draw from them a Confession in writinge of theyr good and freindly vriage and of theyr great security by our Company, with an humble petition to the greate Mogoll that hee wilbe pleased to give lycence to all his Subiectes to freight in English shipps aswell for Iasquas as the Red Sea, or otherwise to worke theyr owne safety by any such Composition as between themselves shalbe sounde most Convenient, whereby they bee

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<sup>1</sup> Vessels in the road.

deliuered both from the feare of Piratts and from the tributes and exactions vniustly raised vpon them by the Portingalls

7 Yf you shall obtaine libertie to trade and put of your goodes, I wish you to bee wary you trust not much ashoare, nor many men at once nor any Cheife Commaunder, but only twoe merchaunts in the Company of the Captain and merchaunt of the *Ghehangier*, to whom I haue giuen a passe<sup>1</sup> and who hath promised to assist you in all matters as frendes

8 The generall scope of this voyadge beinge to begin a trade and to give knowledge to all the seuerall Nations that vse into the Red Sea or give any Composition vnto our Enemies for the free passage vnto any Porte, that wee Ayme at nothings but to open the wayes for merchaunts therefore in matter of reprisall you must have especiall reguarde that you ceaze nothing into your full possession but only such goodes as you are assured belonge properly to the Portingalls or theyr Subiectes, for that many merchaunts of India freight in theyr Shippes and may perhapps require here satisfaction, therefore, in Case of such pretence you shall there come to Composition to waste home theyr goodes at as easy rates as the Portingalls doth, and accordinge to your discretions vse them fayerly At leastwise you shall keep together the said goodes, putting into any such juncke a merchaunte and a Purser for prouision that nothings bee ymbezeled away, whereby, if shee prove not good prise, wee may be Constrained to pay more then wee tooke And with all these Coasters whatsoever I hould it fitte that you proceed in trade with them or by Composition then by absolute reprissall, which Course will both awe these people and not give such occasion of dislike as wholly to rifle them, but in Case it be goodes of the Portingalls or of Dabull (having bene refused trade) or of the Samorine or of any of those petty Kinges in league with our enemy, of such you shall make full prize without any restitution and the same keepe vnto the Account of the Honorable Company

When you shall have finished your trade at Mocha you shall endeouour to keepe Company with the Guzuratts reladen, if so they come out tymely that you may gett into the Roade of Swally by the last of September, and shall with all Curtesy vse the said Guzuratts, but not suffer them to departe vntill you arrive at the Barre of Suratt, where you shall stay them by you and speedily advise to know in what estate our trade and Factors are, and after to proceed accordinge to such directions as you shall receiue from the Ambassadour or Cape merchaunt by his order

Being necessary to send also vpon the said shippe 2 or 3 merchaunts for the Red Sea, I, being vtterly ignorant of the quality of those now supplied, cannot make absolutely choyce,

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<sup>1</sup> See p 473

but am desirous that Edward Heynes may goe as one, because hee hath often heard and must needes vnderstand my purpose in this action, with whom I request Master Heridge to joyne any other that hee shall in his judgement know sufficient, in which hee will regard his language,<sup>1</sup> and in this pointe of the merchants that hee, being neare the shippes, see hir provided of such and so many as are fitte and requisite and in that Case whatsoever hee shall doe, I full[ly] allow and Consent vnto.

I have herewith sent you the Iernians bill that oweth vs money<sup>2</sup> liuinge at Gulkhandah, that yf you meete with any iuncke of Dabull, you may pay yourselve and give them the bill to recouer the debte of the Persian<sup>3</sup>

TO KING JAMES.<sup>4</sup>

(Public Record Office *E. Indies*, vol. i, No 58)

The Camp of Ghehangeer Sha, greate Mogoll,

15 February, 1617[18].

May it please your Majestie,

The most gracious reception of my trauels and the Comands which your Maiestie hath vouchsafed to mee, your vnable and vnworthy vassall, haue giuen new life and quickened mee almost in the graue. Ther is no bond more stronge then that by which I am tied to your Maiestie as your subject, hut that it hath pleased you out of your Royall grace to giue occasion to my weakenes, that also addeth strength and counadge to a minde already wholly deuoted and offered vp to your Maiesties seruice.

<sup>1</sup> Linguistic skill.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 403.

<sup>3</sup> The expedition to the Red Sea was on the whole a success. The ship employed was the *Anne* of which Shilling was captain, and William Baffin one of the master's mates; and Salbank, Heynes and Barber were the three merchants told off for the voyage. The cargo, being (as Roe mentions later) of poor quality, did not find a ready sale; but the authorities at Mocha showed the English every courtesy and the Pasha of Sana gave Salbank two satisfactory *farmans*. They remained at Mocha from the 14th April to the 20th August, and then returned in company with the Surat junk, as Roe had ordered them to do.

An account of the voyage, written by Heynes, will be found in *Purchas* (vol. i, p. 622).

In *Egerton MS 2066* is a letter of Captain Shilling's to Sir Thomas Smythe, written from Swally on the 12th March, 1618, in which he says that if the goods he carries "be nott vendable and that an honest trade vpon equall termes Cannott be procured, then I hoop Powder and shoot, Sir Henry Middelltons Comodittie, will passe."

<sup>4</sup> Printed in the *Cal. of State Papers (E Indies)*, 1617-21, Preface, p. xxvii, but with one or two slight errors.

The negotiation of Persia, by your Maiestie to mee Committed, was begunn a yeare past by the Factors of India and ouerture made in the name of your Maiestie, of which proceedinge I was vterly ignorant, but had written some letters and sent diuers propositions in myne owne name, as your Maiesties minister, vnto the Shabas, to giue him vnderstandinge of your desires in generall and to discouer to him somewhat of the Portugalls dealings with those who too easily granted them admittance or retraicts of strength The succeeds of both is the Sha hath sent your Maiestie a very noble lettre, procured by Edward Connoek, with diuers lardge and ample Priueledges granted vnto your Maiesties subiects for their acceptance and quiett Commerce, directed for deliuerie vnto Sir Thomas Smyth There yet are many difficulties, vneconsidered in the beginning, which forbidd mee to giue judgment, cyther of the conueniency or possibilitie of this trade, vntill vpon knowledge of the merchants meanes to Compass it without preiudice to your Maiesties Kingdomes and to their owne profit and securitie, their farther resolution bee declared The particulars are both too many and of too low an Elevation to trouble your Maiestie, your generall Commande beeing obeyed I haue opened my poore vnderstanding in the rest vnto your Maiesties Principal Secretarie, from whom you wilbe pleased to receiue lardger enformation If I finde by one yeares Experience more that this trade may be made, by vent of the Comodities of your Maiesties Kingdom or by the Industrie of your subiects from diuers Ports, without greater exports of mony or Bullion then Europe is able to beare, considering how many wayes it bleedeth to enrich Asia, I wilbee bould to confirme in your Maiesties name the treaty already begunn, and to add to yt some other Conditions which shall as well make it profitable for your Maiesties estates as easy for your subiects, to which end I haue sent vnder the limitations receiued from Master Secretarie Wynwood, and instructions from the East Indya Companie, a commission to proceede in and perfect this affayre,<sup>1</sup> or tymely to foresee the hazards and inconueniences, that wee may retyre without dishonor

To the monarch with whom I reside your Maiesties minister I deliuered your Royall letters and presents, which were receiued with as much honor as their barbarous pride and Custtoomes affoord to any the like from any Absolute Princee, though far inferior to that respect due vnto them I haue strouen, sometimes to displeasure, with their tricks of vnmeasured greatenes rather then to endure any scorne I dare not dissemble with your Maiestie their pride and dull ignorance takes all things done of duty, and this yeare I was enforced to stande out for the honor of your free gifts, which were sceazed vncivilly I haue sought to meynstayne

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<sup>1</sup> See p 462

upright your Maiesties greatenes and dignitie, and withall to effect the ends of the Merchant, but these two sometyms cross one another seeing ther is no way to treate with so monstrous ouerweening that acknowledgeth no equall. He hath written your Maiestie a l<sup>ettre</sup><sup>1</sup> full of good woords, but barren of all true effect. His generall [authorities?] are yet to publish, what hee will doe I know not. To article on euery tearmes he auoyds, and boulds mee to his owne Customes of Gouernment by new *firman*s vpon new occasions, in which hee is lust and gracious. It may please your Maiestie to accept the translation, being saythfull. The original In Persian, as yet of use to vs to vrge him to performe it, I am bould to keepe vntill I shalbee made happy by falling at your feete.

Greater matters then truth I dare not boast of, neyther will steale vayne prayses by false reports. What my endeauor is and how saythfull, what my trauell in the Camp of Confusion, I hope your Maiestie will graciouslie conceiue. This I will presume to avow that I will not lue and suffer your Maiesties Royall name to bee diminished for any Consideration. And, for the success of my employment, that I will establish your Maiesties Subiects in as good tearmes for their trafique and residences as any strangers or the naturalls themselves enioy, or at last by our force teach them to know your Maiesue is Lord of all the Seetes and can Compell that by your power, which you haue sought with Curtesie, which this King cannot yett see for Swelling.

The Portugall is not yet wise enough to know his owne weakenes, who rather enulously hinder vs then like noble enemies hurte vs. Lest your Maiestie bee pleased to giue mee leaue to enforme want of a peace with them (which by your royall authoritie were easily commanded) makes all these trades of Indya and hopes of Persia heavy and dangerous to the vnder takers.

I dare not trouble your Maiestie with more vnnesessarie discourse, but humbly craue pardon for so much intrusion, and that you wilbee pleased not to bee offended, after fīue yeares Pilgrimage, that I take leaue to enioy<sup>2</sup> the happines of those which attend your Presence, desiring the Almighty God to make your reigne so long, so blessed, and so glorious, that your name may bee the obiect of all enuy and the example of all prosperitie.

Your Maiesties most humble vassal and deuoted seruant,

THO. ROE.

<sup>1</sup> See Appendix B.

<sup>2</sup> In the version already mentioned, this word is read as "enuye," but it seems clear that "enioy" is right. Roe is, of course, speaking figuratively.



TO SIR THOMAS SMYTHE.

(Public Record Office . *E Indies*, vol 1, No 59)Amadauaz,  
16 February, 1617[-18]

Sir,

Your acceptation of my endeaours is a confirmation of the same affection which you began towards mee when I had merited nothing I now feare that I shall fall into another euill and bee preiudiced by too much expectation

These Princes and Customes are so Contrarie to ours that I shall trauell much in myne owne eies and performe little in yours Ther is no treaty wher ther is soe much Prid, nor no assurance wher is no fayth All I can doe is to serue present turnes The People are weary of vs The King hath no content, who expectes great Presentes and Jewelles, and reguardes no trade but what feedes his vnsatiabie appetite after stones, rich and rare Peices of any kind of arte The breefe is I haue sent you a lettre which will show his Promises, but they hould not one Minute Feare only keepes vs in, and vntill they feele vs once more and that his owne subiectes Petition for vs, wee shall neuer obteyne more then to run out in a Chardgable trade, with much seruitude. My employment is nothing but vexation and trouble, little honor, lesse Profit Whatsoeuer I haue done and my opinion in all your affayres, you will fynd in generall lettrs, discourses, and other Papers directed to you.

Only, I protest, to giue you testemony of your Power in me I changed resolution to stay this yeare, which will fullfill my banishment of fiae years In this tyme what I can add to you I will, for my owne Creditt is deeply engaged, and yet there is noe way to release me, but by a little force

The Presentes sent this yeare were too good, but (to deale playnly with my frendes) soc farr short of their greedy expectation that they rather disgrace then helpe mee Yet I cannot bee without vntill the whole Course bee Changed I will vse none but for your busines, and (if I may advise) I wish you send noe more in the Kinges Name, but only proceed as other Merchantes doe, which is to sit goods that they desier, and the Merchant that goes to Court at the showing to giue one toy for his entrance This way hath less trouble and Chardge Wee haue only begott our selues a Custome of slauerie now duly expected

I was not soe desierous of Command ouer your Seruantes as to procure myself trouble and envy. Master Kerridge was sufficient Now they ioyntly cast all vpon mee, hoping to overlay mee, vnder Couler of humilytie. I will dischardg myselfe honestly of all I can doe, and may show you an example, if they which should assist crosse me not I haue stayed Master Kerridge in the

Countrie and am therby obliged to promooue the Companies recompence which he pretendes. I must say truth his Paynes is very great and his Partes not ordinane, only hee loues dominion, and you shall perceauie by my Courses with him and all others I will not robb him of yt. In the mayne Poyntes I wilbe assistant to prouide your lading in season, and to direct the courses of your trades. The Mechnanicque part I must refer to others as burthensome.

I haue receued from you and the Company some tokens. Such as I shall vse I will make bould with, the rest convert to their vse, with as many thanckes as if I had in them receued a Pledge and assurance of your affections. The Pearle lies vpon our handes, as beeing either ouerrated or dearer in England than here. The sizes are too small. With great Pearle and stones according to the Tariff<sup>1</sup> sent you you may Comparse this trade to Content, and by no other way.

I haue recouered, by the kindnes of your Captains, a better constitution of health then formerly, but I feare this new remoooue will make mee relappee. Godes wilbe done.

I thanck you for Jhon Hatch,<sup>2</sup> your bible, Peice, and oyle—all your particular loue and kindnes. Belteue mee, Sir, I haue noe barren and vnthanckfull hart. Yet I send you Nothing but the common Phrases of such as are indebted. If I liue, you shall find what impression your loue hath made in mee, and if I dye, you shall loose more then yet you know of because you cannot know my hart.

The ship by mee sent out wherein you were an aduenturer is returned rich, but I cannot here who hath shared her. I left all her wrtinges with Sir Jhon Brookes. I am not yet soe rich as to send home any mony. If Master Christopher Brookes neede any for my vse, you wilbe pleased to pay him the 100<sup>l</sup> due for my seruantes wages, which I haue supplyed here. If not, I hope you will enter it as an encrease into the Joynt stock, and at the deuision of the last soe order mee and my part of aduenture as it may become profitable to mee. These courses I vnderstand not, but as by you I came to haue interest, soe vnto you I refer mee.

What was done in the busines of Persia the last yeare and since by Edward Connaughte, many relations will signifie, wher I should beginn I know not. The Priuiledges are very good, but

<sup>1</sup> See p. 483.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 473.

<sup>3</sup> There seems to be no information extant as to this ship or its destination. On February 20, 1618, Mr Christopher Brookes applied to the Company for 1000*l* to meet a debt for which he and Roe were pledged, producing at the same time a general power of attorney from the latter. The Court granted the request, on the condition that Brookes gave a bond for repayment should Roe disapprove of the transaction.

the Port, and ground to proceede in the trade, are yet vncerteyne If you send next yeare meanes to supply it, wee shall proceed, I hope to generall Content. The neglect of mee last yeare makes me vnwilling to bee too forward and hath stirrd vp Master Kerridge, who takes himselfe wronged that any thing is Committed to me, to many peruerse disputes I know not how I stand in his fauour Having opened Connaughtes lettres to him for my information, which I could not send and bee tymely enformed,<sup>1</sup> he takes it hotly; but I haue done nothing but what is just. I looke into no more then your busines, and in that I will not bee kept in Ignorance This is the benefitt, that if wee cannot agree (which I by all meanes endeauor) yet wee shall both bee wary of doing ill, and when euer I shalbe accused, it wilbe my honor. I write this because Master Kerridge doth magnifie his owne successe in Connock, and I proceede as if it concerned not mee, but vpon the groundes of reason whatsoever in that busines can bee effected shall haue both our helpes he for loue to his owne proiect, I for your generall good

I haue signified in my generall lettres that I haue sent home Anthony Wallys and some others . . . The rest of your seruants are for the most very Ciuill If any ouerspend, I cannot abridge that which they pretend Necessarie What I can doe, not to drawe all mens ill will vpon mee, I shall by counsaile, if I find dangerous or grosse faultes, I will stop them

The first is Master Steele, who brought to sea a mayd, Captain Towersons seruant, but great with Child, and married her at the Cape vnder a bush I could not perswade Captaine Towersons returne nor his wiues, though I offered conditions of your losse, nor send her home alone and anew with Child among men He pretended great matters. All your seruantes were willing to disgrace him I was both vnwilling and afayd to doe yt, but Consented to bring vp his artificers, who Prooue his seruantes for his owne endes I presented them to the King; but Steele getting accesse as linguist to his Paynter in Priuat<sup>2</sup> (who was pretended to mee to bee your seruant, sent by you as cheefe in the water

<sup>1</sup> See p 482.

<sup>2</sup> Of this incident Purchas (who heard it from Steel himself) gives, in his *Pilgrimage* (p 534) the following account: "Master Steele, hauing a proiect of Water-works, to bring the water of Ganges [*sic*] by Pipes &c., carried fise men him to the Mogol, who gaue them entertainment with large wages by the day and gaue to each an Arabian Horse One of these was a painter, whom the Mogol would haue to take his picture; and because hee could not speake the language, Master Steele (who could speake the language of the Court, which is Persian) was admitted (a thing not permitted to Men) into the Mogols lodgings, where he did sit for the said Limner At his entrance, the chiefe Eunuch put a cloth over his head that he should not see the Women (which hee might heare as hee pssed, and once also saw

woorke) entreated them and himselfe so into the Kinges service that I cannot without hazarding much displeasure enforce them eyther to retyre or to follow that they promised you. He surely either hopes to supplant mee, and to succeed (for so some tyme his vanetye Pretendes), or els he hath quitted his Countrie. I dare not trust him with goodes, seeing hee will follow the Court with his wife, notwithstanding all oathes and Couenantes, and at as great Chardge as I almost. How he pretendes to maynteyne it, I cannot foresee. This only I will trye him with Patience, keepe your Purse from him, if he runn right, I will assist him, if not, I will doe my utmost next yeare to force him home, when the King is as weary of him as all wee. I assure you hee is now our affliction, and may bee my shame, for ever yeilding to suffer him to land.

Captain Towerson Pleades leaue to trade. Hee wilbe deceued in expectation of his frendes and I know not what in these cases [to] doe. All the ill offices are cast vpon mee. You, Sir, must bee pleased to beare part of the buriben. I will consent aoe farther then I may defend my selfe, and yet would not bee ill spoken off of all men.

To Conclude, Sir, I am infinitely weary of this vnprofitable imployment, the successe wherof is not that I aymed at for you, and that which I hate in others, to gett an ill name. Bot hee that will please all men can neuer please the honestest. My Comfort is you professe you wilbe as Carefull of mee as of your owne sonn and at that I take you as a father. Examine all my Courses, if I shame you in any, renounce mee and this Name of

Your truly vnseyned frend and adopted sonne,

THO. ROE.

Remember my seruice to your ladie, and I beseech almighty God to blesse you and all your famelic. Master Jhackon<sup>1</sup> will I hope giue testimonie of my deserues to doe him any Pleasure.

TO CAPTAIN MARTIN PRING.

(I O Records O C., No. 628.)

Baroch, March 10, 1617[ 18].

Yt is now a month and more since I heard from you or Surratt, soe that I was Confident the ships were dispeeded. The misery

them, the Eunuch purposely putting on a thinner cloth oouer his head), there being of them some hundreds."

Purchas also relates the friendship which sprang up between Mrs. Steel and the daughter of the Khán-khánán. This lady was Jahángír's hostess upon his arrival at Ahmadábád, and the interest she took in Steel's wife no doubt strengthened his position at Court.

<sup>1</sup> See p. 439 n.

of these wrongs are insufferable, yf yt be the true Cause that your goods Could nott be despatched, which I by a former heard was donne vpon the arivall of Shaher-mull I hope to finde a way out for my self and others Steele will soon vanish and Come to nothing, affliction must humble him

I am sorry to heere the *Ann* hath no other Cargason<sup>1</sup> then the refuse of India. I meddled nott in the Subservient parts of trade to apoint what other goods, butt expected the wisdom of the factors would have sent a tryall of other sorts I Can make no other Collection but that they desire nott any great prosperity to yt God will mend vs all and turne honest wayes to the best I am Confident on the grounds that Surratt will never be a trade vnles the red Sea both Supply yt and awe the Guzeratts This yeare I only sought the way and occasion, but I know well by private provizons they are nott Ignorant what had been fitt, and yf yt fayle I shall well acquite my self Those of Messolapatan I feare write at randon, or els there is great Change since their last Your letter desires my resolucion for the *Annes* keeping Company to Dabull Yf by advice or other former experiences the Iuncks of that porte be departed or that yt be dangerous to loose tyme for getting in, then you may direct hir right for hir Course, butt yf nott, the Surprize of any goods there fitt for the red Sea would much advantage hir and be fittler donn then att the roade at Mocha for interruption of quiett trade, which I ayme att. Butt yf yt soe fall out, yet I wish you to doe somewhat yf you may, and to send the Persians lettres as parte of payment The noise of yt will doe good heare. I know in former yeares the ships of this Coast haue sett out later, butt in that point I Cannott resolve, but must leave yt to them who know the voyadges I am well pleased that Ioseph Saltbanck<sup>2</sup> vndertakes the voyage Heynes stands nott vpon place, and the ould man loves me

You are nott soe desirous to see me as I to Confer with you. Beleeve me, I am reddy to breake for want of an honnest free Conference and advice in the Companies buissines But I am weary, yt is Impossible, and I will not stay you an hower God in heaven blesse you, and send me once among men, for these are monsters The trouble and falce hartednes of our owne I will trample on in tyme You know nott these men nor, I hope, never shall. The god of heaven again and againe blesse you and all your fleet.

[P S] I wish nott that the *Ann* wayt vpon the princes ship outward though she goe nott to Dabull, butt loose her and leave her to her fortune, and that they know that their detention of our goods was the Cause and that we will nott doe them Courtesye for such vsadge Yf we doe, they will yearly practice ytt.

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<sup>1</sup> For the Mocha voyage.

<sup>2</sup> See p 101.

## TO THE AGENT AND FACTORS AT SURAT

(I O Records: O C, No. 645)

Crowda,<sup>1</sup> April 26 [1618].

Sunday night, if the raynes have not washt away a day

Your Coppie and letter I received tonight att Crowda. My myne yesterday you will know I mett your two seruantes and missed myne, but now haue all I expected.

Your offer to meet mee shortens all answers. I shalbe att Haroch, god willing on tewsday night, not resting att Vnclescare,<sup>2</sup> because my tentes must attende passage. You shalbe welcome to the remainyes of my wine.

I Forgott not to trie the pearles, but Finde the price as farr below the Courte as the proffitt of laying out mony two months will aske. I will not Consente that you pay Isack beage a *fine* of any new dewty nor ould, if vnjuste. Bid him, if hee dare,

<sup>1</sup> Roe's movements at this period are a little doubtful. On February 16 he was at Ahmadabad, preparing to follow the Mogul. Four days later he was still there for at that date the king's letter for England was delivered to him (see Appendix II). By March 10, however he had abandoned his intention and was at Haroch. No hint is given as to the reasons for the change of plan; possibly however on learning that the Emperor had merely gone on a short hunting journey he had taken the opportunity of proceeding to Harhānpur, where the factors had been very disorderly; or it may be that the Prince was at that city and for some reason or other a visit to him was necessary. At the date of the present letter we find him at "Crowda" on his return journey. This place we may identify with confidence as Karodra, a village at the point where the road to Haroch, i. e. Silvan turns off from the main road from Harhānpur to Surat. The distance of Karodra from Haroch (42½ miles) would permit of his making the journey in two days and its position with reference to Surat (11 miles off) meets the requirements of the case as regards the time indicated for delivery of letters, etc. It may be thought strange that if he were so near Surat, he should not have gone into that city or at least have waited at Karodra for the promised visit from Herridge. But as regards the first alternative, it must be remembered that Roe could not visit Surat without a certain amount of ceremony for which he was probably unprepared; while the want of accommodation at Karodra, and the season of the year will explain why he preferred to push on to Haroch, where there was a comfortable factory to rest in.

The suggestion in the *Calendar of State Papers (R. Indies)* of "Brodera" [i. e., Haroda] for "Crowda" is evidently inadmissible.

It has been thought best not to overcrowd the map of Roe's journey by including this excursion, especially as the route cannot be laid down with absolute certainty; but no difficulty will be experienced in following it.

<sup>2</sup> Ankleswar on the south bank of the Nerbaddi, opposite Branch

tell the prince I will haue right for all Injuries, and that vppon his shipp

Master Steele doubtlesse hath had a fall. His owne wayes were enemye enough. He Followed mee to Brampoore, and receaued once more good counsell. I pittie him whether he take it or no.

I perceauē your latter seruānt carried a good supplie number one, and that you haue passed a better by Amadavaz, though vppon credit. You haue taken a course that will in your Comoditie only helpe pay your Intreste, besides the Imployment now in best season. I haue not heard From Agra since the second bills I sent For their debtes acknowledged receaued. Yours Firste by Amadavaz were new written returned by their owne two expressers that brought their accountes downe. I doubt not come safe, and suppose that in my packetts yours are miscaried. I desigined him to direct to Amadavaz, because that Factorie would beste know my wayes, and I heard of one vppon the way, that is gone to Mandoe. Muddo will returne within tenn dayes to Amadavaz, I truste with good newes of godes mercy to them.

I sent Sprage to Gulchanda vppon good reasons<sup>1</sup>. Itt had bene fitter hee had gone sooner, and in my opynnyon Master Saltbanke should haue procecutud my order, which was indeede more needefull then the Red Sea without my knowledge. I could not conceaue that there was any neede of more helpe att Agra, when you lessened one of the Number I appoynted and you consented to sende thether. Whensoever hee goes, I am sure hee can serue no other turne then come downe with a *Caffila*. His merchandiz I haue tryed, and you haue seene his writeing. Hee will returne tyme enough for that hee is Fitt Captain Shilling hath neyther bill nor Coppie of the debtes,<sup>2</sup> butt a letter written to mee to Forbeare two months (now four expired)

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<sup>1</sup> A letter from one of the factors at Burhānpur to Agra, in August, 1618 (*O C*, No 676) says that "att his lordships beinge heere Sprage tould many tales" of his fellow factors, "and it is his Lordshipps quality to fauore those that tell tales, though neuer such knaues, and therefore hath made Sprage a merchant, who expected to haue bene sent home in disgrace." The object of Sprage's mission was the same as in the previous year, viz, the recovery of the debt due from the fugitive Persian (p 403). A rumour reached Surat some time after that he had managed to find the defaulter at Golconda, but "that the said Persian was forceably taken from him at this Towne, and Sprage also very much abused." When Bonner's fleet visited Dabhol in the spring of 1619, inquiry was made as to the truth of this report, "but they denied euer to haue seene or knowne any such men, but tooke notice from vs to apprehend both or either if they should at any time happen on them" (*Purchas*, vol 1, p 657). Sprage's fate was never known, but the Court Minutes (October 6, 1624) record that he died in the East Indies.

<sup>2</sup> The Persian's debt, which was to be recovered from any Dabhol vessel met with (see p 495)

If wee bee paid it is worth labour, if nott, itt will Justefie any reprisall, because wee have demanded Justice. If both, wee are once aforehand which wee were never with a moore. Master Fetteplace is of opynyon it had bene recovered if prosecuted laste yeare, and soe am I

I hope soe soone to meete as that I neede say nothing of the Teeth, but I wish you remember no price will recompence the stay of our Fleete for three fourths lading Six months day is not for vs, but if you were sure of mony att three, I am sure of Credit if Fetteplace live.

When your advices come from the South,<sup>1</sup> I pray send me full Coppies, and soe I shalbe att large informed

That I had a full parte of the raynes my laste<sup>2</sup> will signifie, but the domage of the Cloth you neede nott feare, though the merchants were in a house. I saw itt thatched. If that gone for Agra had such another as I attending itt might bee drie in a ryer

I hope to meete you within two dayes,<sup>3</sup> to laugh away my Journy, till when God keepe you

I pray you bring the Coppie of this with you For I am weary<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> From Nantam.

<sup>2</sup> Not extant.

<sup>3</sup> The road from Surat to Broach joined Roe's route at Sivan; so that there was a chance that kerriage would meet or overtake him before Broach was reached.

<sup>4</sup> From this date we hear nothing more of Roe until August. One incident of the time has, however, been preserved for us by Terry (p. 242), viz., an outbreak of the plague, from which the English suffered considerably. Jahāngīr who, as well as Shāh Jahān, was laid up with it, says (in the *Tūzāk*) that although widespread it was not generally fatal. "The city Amadavar" says Terry "(at our being there with the King) was visited with this pestilence in the month of May and our family was not exempted from that most uncomfortable visitation for within the space of nine dayes seven persons that were English of our family were taken away by it and none of those which dyed lay sick above twenty houres, and the major part well and sick and dead in twelve houres, as our Surgeon (who was there all the Physician we had), and he led the way, falling sick at mid-day and the following Mid night dead. And there were three more that followed him, one immediately after the other who made as much hast to the grave as he had done. All those that died in our family of this pestilence had their bodies set all on fire by it, so soon as they were first visited, and when they were dying, and dead, broad spots of a black and blew colour appeared on their breasts; and their flesh was made so extreme hot by their most high distemper that we who survived could scarce endure to keep our hands upon it. It was a most sad time, a fiery trial indeed. All our family (my Lord Ambassadors only excepted) were visited with this sickness and we all, who through Gods help and goodnes outlived it, had many great blisters, filled with a thick yellow watry substance, that arose upon many Parts



TRANSLATE OF THE FIRMAN FOR COJA ARABS HOUSE IN  
SURATT, SENT DOWNE 3D AUGUST, 1618<sup>1</sup>

(I. O. Records: O. C., No. 675.)

There hath come to vs a petition from the English resident in Suratt That there was a house belonging to Coja-Arab Tur-bethee,<sup>2</sup> lying in Suratt, for which the said English haue, as they affirme, giuen mony for the tyme of three yeares to the people of Coja Arab, and accordingly haue taken a writing in testimony of the same of the sayd Coja Arab or his assignes. [Whereof?] take knowledge, and if it bee so, and that the owner of the sayd house bee content that the English shall remayne and abide in the sayd house, then is it our pleasure that they abide in the sayd house; but if the sayd English haue not payd or giuen the sayd rent aforehand for the tyme of three yeares, but that they remayne therin by force, contrarie to his likinge, vpon receipt hereof you shall putt the sayd English foorth therof and deliuer therof into the hands of the sonne of the sayd [therof according to his will, and in lieu therof shall giue the sayd English another fitt house, such as shalbe to their content, and hereof signifie vnto mee the answere of the premises.

ARTICLES PROPOSED TO THE PRINCE SULTAN CORONNE, LORD  
OF AMADAUAZ AND SURATT, BY THE AMBASSADOR, VPON THE  
BREACH WITH THE PORTUGALLS, AUGUST 15, 1618<sup>3</sup>

(I. O. Records. O. C., No. 678.)

1. That the Prince had receiued the English nation into his protection and favour, and had concluded peace and ametic with them, according to the command of the great kyng, and herelby doth giue notice to all his Governor, Leiutenant and other officers

of our bodyes, which, when they brake, did even burn and corrode our skins, as it ran down upon them "

Terry also mentions (p. 380) that while at Ahmadábád he witnessed the spectacle of a malefactor being stung to death by snakes

<sup>1</sup> In Roe's own hand For the circumstances of the grant see p. 510 "

<sup>2</sup> Probably Túrbatí, i.e., of Túrbat (perhaps Túrbat-i-Haidari, in NE Persia)

<sup>3</sup> In Roe's own hand Endorsed. "Articles and Treaty with the Prince, Amad, August, 1618 " The occasion of the "breach with the Portugalls" is not clear, but possibly it arose from the dispute described in the Surat letter quoted later (p. 517). From this it would appear that the natives for a time resisted the payment claimed for the *cartaz* of the Gogo junk, and "made greate shew off warrs" As the junk lost her voyage through the dispute, it must have begun at least as early as March (the usual time of sailing), but it may have continued until the date of the present document

of Suratt and all his other Signories, to pub[li]sh the same and to obey it.

2. In consideration of this treaty and that the Portugalls are common enemies to their peace and trafique it shalbe lawfull for the english to land with their armes and to pass with them for defence of their persons and goods, and if the sayd Portugalls should attempt any thing by sea against the sayd English or the ships of the King and Prince that then the Governours of Suratt should deliver to the English as many frigatts as they should need for their mutuall succor, and in all poynts of selecue and succour should assist them as friends and as the naturalls of these kyngdomes.

3. That it should bee lawfull for the english to buy or hyre any house in his ports, where they might quietly dwell and no man to disturbe or displace them; and therein house their goods sufficiently and safely and that nyether Governor nor other officer should entermiddle nyether with them nor their goods, but in case they were not or could not of them selues provide sufficient housing, that then the Governor should assist them and procure for them a safe and quiett habitation.

4. That the Governor of Suratt and other officers should receive and dispend the English Ambassador with honor and curtesie, and see him well housed during his stay in Suratt, and that he [be?] offered no force nor affront to him nor to any of his servants, but they might live goe and pass at their pleasure.

5. And if it should fall out that they could not agree with the owner for the house they now resided in, having paid mony before hand, the Governor should cause the remayner to bee repaid to the sayd English.

6. That it should bee lawfull for the sayd English to land any sort of goods and to relade at their pleasure and vpon the land in any part to trade, trafique buy and sell according to their owne will, and that the Judges and officers of the *Affandicats* should not deteyne their goods longer then to take account and to agree for customes as by former treaty and therein should give them despatch, and in no sort nor vpon any pretence should stay or take by force or deteyne any of their goods contrarie to the owners will, nor should doe them any Injurie or violence what soeuer, and that for jewells, pearles and all sorts of that nature they should demand no custome nor duty, and that vpon the wayes to and from their ports no exaction or duty should be taken nor demanded, but only at their port, according to custome.

7. That the sayd English might live in their owne houses and among them selues according to their owne religion and lawes, and for that respect no Governor, *Casy*, nor other should doe them any affront nor in any sort trouble or molest them.

8. That if any quarrell or other controuersie whatsoeuer did arise among the english, that the Governours nor any other officers

should not intermeddle, but leaue it wholly to the President of their owne nation, and if any English did escape or flye away from their obedience and seruice, the Governors should assist to take and deliuer him into the hands and power of the English to doe in all thing[s] among themselues justice according to their owne lawes, but that in case any difference of what kynd soeuer happened betweene the English and any moore or *Banyan*, the Governors and other officers in their place should take notice and doe justice according to the offence or complaynt of eyther syde

9 That the Linguist and Brokars seruing the English should haue free libertye to speake and deliuer any thing in the behalfe of their masters, and should haue licence to bargayne, traficque, sell, or buy for them, and to doe them any other seruice, and for such occasion should not bee subject to any question or account nor any way prohibited nor molested

10 That all presents beeing showed at the Custome house, that the officers might avoyd deceit, beeing *chopped* by both parts, should bee deliuered to the hands of the English to send to the Court at their pleasure

11 That in all causes of complaynt or controuersie the Governors and *Cazies* of the place should doe them speedy justice and protect them from all Injuries or oppressions whatsoever, and should ayd and entreat them as frends with curtesie and honor, for that so it is the command of the Great Kyng, who hath giuen them his securitie, and that therefore it pleaseth the Prince to make declaration and confirmation of the sayd treaty by this writing, agaynst which no man shall presume to doe contrarie

*written under-neath*

That which I demand is bare justice and which no man can deny that hath a hart cleare and enclined to right, and no more then the Lawes of Nations doth freely giue to all strangers that arriue, without any contract, and in no case so much as the great kyng doth promise and command. If it please the Prince to Confirme these articles freely and without ill meaning or collusion and to command that they bee obeyed precisely, I shall rest content and shall giue satisfaction to my master and to my nation, but if not, and that any part bee refused or written fraudulently, according to former experiences, Then I desire the Prince to take knowledge that I wilbe free of my woord giuen the great kyng in his presence and of all blame or inconuenience that may happen after it, hauing giuen promese vpon these conditions or els to bee at liberty

After almost 3 yeares experience of the pride and falshood of these people, that attended only aduantage and were gouerned by priuat interest and appetite, I was forced to relinquish many

poyns often insisted vpon, when I could gett nothing, and to make offer of these few as the most necessarie to settle a trade and which might giue the least offence and might pass with ease, leauing the rest to the Generall order of the kyng to receiue justice from our Procurador Generall and therefore seemed content and deliuered it vp to the Princes *Dion*<sup>1</sup> for consideration and answer who excepted almost agaynst all, or agaynst all that might serue to giue vs ease. But after many disputes I went to the Prince and had there read and discussed the articles as followeth

To the first, it was wholly agreed vnto

To the second, to lend vs frigatts was agreed vnto, but more for the defence and bringing in of their owne ship then for good will to vs; yet it passed sufficient for both. But in no case would the Prince consent that wee might land or weare armes in Suratt. First they offered mee and my seruants liberty, after for ten merchants, and to more would not yeild, but that they should leaue their armes in the Custome house to bee deliuered at returne. They instanced the disorder and quarreling of our people, the offering to take Suratt, anno 1616 the erecting a bell,<sup>2</sup> and many words giuen out that the English would fortifie their house or surpriue the Castle with many more foolish jealousies arising from our owne faults. So that I consented, to cleare all, to the grant of ten at a tyme and the merchants residing on condition that other articles were granted sufficient for our securitie, and that our people going in defence of their goods to any other Inland Cytty might pass with their armes for their guard agaynst theeuers and exactions vpon the way

To the third, it was absolutely refused vpon no conditions that wee should buy or build a house nor hyre none neare the Castle or vpon the water, but that wee should haue giuen vs in the Cytty, in convenient place, a good, strong and sufficient house, one or more as wee needed, wher wee should liue for our rent, as wee could agree, and no man should putt vs out and that the Governor should see vs furnished and provided of such habitation to our owne liking.

To the fourth, it was fully agreed vnto.

To the fifth, it was agreed vnto but withall they declared that that house of Coja Arab wee should not haue vpon any conditions, first, because our earnest sute gaue them suspicion; next, because it was the ancient mynt, thirdly, because it stood agaynst their great *mesquite* and offended the moores, especially our people pissing rudely and doing other filthines against the walls, to the dislike of the mahometians, who with reuerence regard their holy places, lastly, because there was a rumor that wee ment

<sup>1</sup> Afzal Khán.

<sup>2</sup> See p. 467

to surprise the said *mesquite* and being of stone and flatt at the topp it was supposed that wee intended to make [it?] our fort and to annoy the Castle therefrom, which, though it was a most fruoulous, Idle, impossible suspition, yet they averring it arose from som rash speeches of some of our owne, they would not yeild; and that, seeing they offered us the choyce of all the Towne, wee could show no materiall reason why only that house would serue us<sup>1</sup>

To the sixt, it was fully agreed vnto

To the seuuenth, it was [a]greed vnto.

<sup>1</sup> The identification of the various factories occupied by the English at Surat would be an interesting and useful task for some local antiquary. Their first abode, the position of which is not indicated, was quitted in the middle of 1616 for one belonging to Khoja Aráb, "rented at 600 *mamoodies* per anno, which hath a Coupple of faire warchowes and is made reasonable Comodious for our dwelling, though with the smaleste" [*Surat Letter-book*, s.d. June 14, 1616, see also the agreement in the I O Records (O C, No 443 1), which, by the way, is wrongly dated in the *Cal. of State Papers* as Feb 7, 1617, instead of May 27, 1616] Farewell, in his *East India Collation*, describes it as having "an orchard, and pleasant walks vpon the rooffe (after the Spanish and the Moorish building)" The situation of this building should not be difficult to fix from the particulars here given, it had been once the city mint, and was close to the Káji Masjid, and not far from the castle—in about the same position, it would seem, as the ruined house now known as the *Wálandan kothi* (Dutch building), which is reputed to have been once the Dutch factory. The possession of this substantial dwelling by the English was much objected to by the local authorities, as appears from the text, indeed, in the quarrels which took place in November, 1616, an attempt was made to force the English to abandon their "fort" and live in a thatched house, but this was successfully resisted. In July, 1618, a further endeavour appears to have been made to oust them, on the ground that the house was wanted for the Prince, "being anciently his Mint" (cp the *farmán* printed on p, 506, and the letter from Afzal Khán to Surat in I O Records. *Treaties*, vol 1, p 61) They retained possession, however, till the expiry of their lease in the middle of 1619, when they were forced to look out for a fresh dwelling, their choice being limited by orders from the prince that they were not to be suffered to buy or build a factory, nor to hire one near the waterside (O C, No 818) By one of the clauses of the agreement concluded in 1625 between Rastell and the chiefs of Surat, it was stipulated that the English should be given a lease of Khoja Aráb's house, but whether they ever returned thither is uncertain; nor is it clear which was the factory referred to by Della Valle (1623) and Herbert (1626), and the one that was successfully defended against Sivaji in 1664 and 1670. Ovington, in 1689, describes the factory as a commodious building in the north-west quarter of the city, held of the Mogul, who permitted the rent to be spent mostly in repairs or augmentations. At some later period a move was made to the building on the river bank in the *Mulla chaklo* (Mulla's ward), which is still standing and is to-day pointed out as the English factory.

To the eight, it was agreed vnto that in causes of difference among ourselues it should wholly bee referred to the English, but in case the controuersie were with Maie or Gentile, it should bee referred to the Governor or officers praper to doe justice. But to deliuer vp any english that fled, it was refused, vpon pretence if they turned moore they could not refuse them protection, to which I replyed that wee would neuer consent that any should leaue his sayth, for under that coulour they might robb vs of all our goods. After much contention it was yeilded vnto, because I utterly refused all if that libertye were left to any ill mynded person.

To the ninth, it was fully agreed vnto.

To the 10, it was agreed vnto the presents beeing apened and scene, that vnder coulour of them the Prince should nat bee deceiaed of his rights, and, sealed, should bee deliuered to the English. But they added that if the sayd pretended presents were not giuen, that then in future tymes they should eyther pay custome or not bee deliuered to the English which, though most base and in our power to giue any or none I consented too but especially because els I could haue nothing, for these presents trouble all our busines.

To the 11, it was agreed vnto.

Hauiug thus gotten what I could, a draught was made to this effect and giuen to the Secretarie writer of *firmans* to bee digested into forme and was sealed and sent vnto mee. But comming to reade yt, I found prohibition to land with any sort of armes, nor no english in Suratt to weare sword, dagger or other weapon but a knife, my selfe only excepted and nine that I would nominate as my seruants, and in all other poynts with the like falshood and show of wicked cunning malice, not ance mentioning free trade nor libertye vpon the way to pass without exactions, nor any other poynt saythfully sett downe according to meaning and good intention, but mixed with exceptions and Cauills to bring us into mare danger and trouble. I had taken leave of King and Prince and could not come to complayne without leaue, and they would also know as seare my intention that should aske yt, and so hynder mee. Wherevpon I sent backe the *firmans*, vnterly refusing it, and withall these reasons ensuing

First, that far this vnwoorthy suspicion of our ill intents to disarme us utterly it was a signe of no frendship, good meaning, nor fauour toward us, and for no respect I would take any so disho[n]orable conditons, but keepe our armes and vse them against our enemies or any that should wrang us.

Neyther could I see the face of my soueraygne lord the King of England and report to him I had made peace with the Gbehan gler, who had giuen us full libertye of trade, and to that effect had written his lettres, and at the same instance bee contradicted by an vnder treaty with the Prince, for that one of these must

needes seeme false and counterfayt, and the later most vnjust and such as our enemies could show no more malice, that eyther wee would be frends as wee ought to bee, or enemies declared. How could I command my countriment to draw their swords in defence of the Kyngs and Princes ships at sea, which I had promised, when the Prince will not suffer them to weare their armes for their owne defence? That my Nation were men and reguardfull of their honor, and would neuer obey mee that had so neglected them, nor doe any seruice for them that so mistrusted and disgraced them

That in the tymes of peace with the Portugalls they neuer demanded nor offered any such condition; nor yet did command the like vnto the Hollanders,<sup>1</sup> who were crept in and offered no seruice nor assistance to the Kyng, and who in all parts sought to gett footing and to build forts, as was experienced in Mesolapatān, Belligate,<sup>2</sup> the Moluccaes and other places, but that the English neuer desired nor needed any such retracts, but came in peace to traficque in all these parts as merchants vnder the protection of the Kyngs or lords of the same

That hereby wee were exposed vnto the power of all theeues and Robbers on the wayes, wee passing yearly to Amadauaz and other parts with great summes of mony and Goods, could not keepe them, in a Countrie so ill gouerned, with kniues, and that it was an infinite shame and scorne to the Prince to feare that a few men could surprise or take so populous a cytty as Suratt, and build forts in an hower, especially wee hauing many pledges of our fayth and good meaning in so many parts of Indya by the residence of our people and goods, one of whose liues wee would not loose for 1000 moors

Lastly, that all other poynts agreed vnto were left out or falsified utterly, which demonstrated ill meaning toward us, and that it was more honorable to deale clearly and to prohibitt us all trade, giuing us license to depart, which now I only desired, and I would soone contract our people, or settle them in Goga and Cambaya, vnder the Protection of the Kyng, whose gracious grants were to us sufficient securitie and vnder whom wee were assured to liue in safety; for vpon no tearmes I would eyther accept this *firman* or stay in the port of Suratt, nor goe downe to yt, but seeke another way to ship my selfe, and after to doe that which was reason, recalling the promise and woord I had giuen before the Kyng, and did make protestation that I was guiltless of all the euill that might succeed by this unfaythfull dealing

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<sup>1</sup> "Vpon this was sent a *firmaen* to disarme the Hollanders, and that none of them in Suratt might wear armes, nor other Christian"—*Marginal note by Roe.*

<sup>2</sup> Pulicat, on the Coromandel coast

To this I added a commission sent to the next fleet to disarm all the ships and frigatts of the Princes ports (as appears by the Copy), which I translated into Persian and sent with these former reasons and protestations to the Princes officers and the Original to Suratt to be published there, and left *firmān* and all these in the Hands of Afrulchan.

A day after, new consultation was called, and in the night I was sent for and had lardge dispute vpon all particulars, pronounc[ing] that, if any woord were written of disarming us, I would refuse [it?] and if all the mentioned conditions were not clearly granted I would proceed according to the declaration made. At last Afrull chan freely confessed the truth, that the *firmān* was written with no good meaning, showing their feares more at lardge, and wee came to agreement that the clause of disarming should be left out on their parts, but that I should covenant that our people should not land in Hostile manner to annoy the peace, and many other articles which appears by my contract given,<sup>1</sup> which was vrdged in respect of the *Ann* in the red Sea, who had well followed directions,<sup>2</sup> and was the only cause which drew these to agreement, showing them the way to seeke justice. Vpon my agreement and Covenant to which articles demanded on their part, and alter many Intricate and perplexed disputes, a new draught was made of all my demands,

<sup>1</sup> No contemporary copy of this contract has been preserved. There is, however at the India Office (*Treaties* vol. i), what appears to be a transcript of it, made in 1789, which runs as follows —

"The Cause of this Writing is that Sir Thomas Roe, Ambassador of the King of England, hath given his word and faith for the Business underwritten in certain Articles that it shall be accordingly performed."

"First.....That the English shall not build any House in or about Suratt without leave obtained of the King; but only hire a convenient House for their Merchants and Merchandise, in which they shall abide till their Ships arrive."

"Moreover, that no Goods that come in the Ships, that may serve for the King's use, be hid or concealed from the Officers of the Haven of Suratt. And for such things as the Governor will buy for the King's pleasure, if they cannot agree upon the price, they [shall?] be sealed up with the Officers' Seal and sent to the Court to the English there residing who shall shew them to the King and if he shall like them they shall agree of Price. Further, that no Man shall touch or open any of those things that shall be brought for Presents to the King or Prince; but that they shall be brought untouched to the English Ambassador at the Court to deliver to the King."

"Lastly, that during the abode of the English at Suratt they shall do no wrong or hurt to any, but shall pay the Dues and Customs agreed on heretofore; and on these conditions it shall be lawful for them to come and go freely in the same manner as the King's Subjects or other Christians that abide there."

"*Endorsed*: Articles requird by Sultan Coromne, and signed by me."

<sup>2</sup> See p. 494.



and anew agreed vnto, with promise that, now they had receiued satisfaction by my reasons and opening the course of our trade and intents, they would satisfy the Prince and procure confirmation with loyall and true meaning, and that, all jealousies layd aside and forgotten on both parts, wee should liue in full quiett and peace and bee receiued as frends, and justice done in all our occasions, with many protestations of fayth and complements, not to bee hoped after in performance

The next day, Afzull chan sent to mee that he had acquaynted the Prince at lardge with this Conference and the Contract on my part, which had giuen him satisfaction, and that he had commanded to giue me a *firmaen* according to my desire, and professed fayth and good obseruance in all poynts, desired that I would make ready that on my part vnder my seale, and to show his true dealing had therewith sent me a draught of the new *firmaen*, which the Prince had yeilded too, with a warrant sealed to the Secretarie to pass it accordingly and that now I might bee assured of good meaning And it was the first tyme that euer I could gett sight of any *firmaen* before it was passd, they alwayes giuing what they please

I caused this draft to bee translated, and found it according to promise, effectuell in most poynts according to their formes and stile, and no materiall thing left out, and written clearly and rightly, only some clause inserted, not much to purpose, for which I was not willing to haue a new brawle, and the Prince gone I tooke one copy and sent the other to the Secretarie with warrant to pass yt<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Jahángír left Ahmadábád for Agra early in September, 1618, and in the same month Roe took his departure for Surat—probably about the 26th, on which date a payment to him is entered in Biddulph's books At Surat he seems to have been treated with respect, and a suitable dwelling assigned to him, in accordance with the "articles" given above, for Terry, after describing (p 201) the pleasant abodes of the native functionaries, with their gardens, tanks, and bathing-places, adds "in such a Garden-house with all those accommodations about it my Lord Ambassadour lay with his company at Surat the last three moneths before he left East India"

*Egerton M S 2086* (Brit. Mus) contains at ff 47, 49 and 50, three letters of Roe's which belong to this period. The first and longest, dated December 14, 1618, is apparently addressed to Brown at Ahmadábád The second is written to Capt Bonner (the commander of the 1618 fleet, which had arrived on September 20), and bears date the 16th of the same month The third is to Heynes, reproving him for being "so busy a factor for all men," and not attending more to the Company's business, this is dated December 17 Apparently all three were signed by Roe, but only in the case of the first has the signature escaped destruction Their mutilated state

## TO THE GOVERNOR OF MOCHA.

(I O Records O C., No 755)

Honorable and great Gouvernor of the Port of Mocha, Raja Raga, health and Greeting.

I receiued your Honourable letters<sup>1</sup> with much joy by the Hands of Ioseph Salbanek and Edward Heynes, who doe giue great testimonie of your Noble disposition and good affection to our Nation, wherein you shoue your selfe to bee a woorthy and discreet Man. Ther hath alway beene good response and Ametye betweene his Maiestie of England and the Grand Sinior, and it is reason all their good subiects should by all meanes maynteyne it, and wheras entercourse and trafique is the Principall bond of Ametye, wee doe desier on our Parts to resort yearly to your Port, ther to trade in loue and frendship as honest Merchants, not doubting but you will confirme the Pruisledges by you last yeare granted and procure the like and more Ample from the Grand Sinior and his Viceroy the Honourable Pashaw of Syan,<sup>2</sup> wherby wee may bee encouraged to Bring you all sorts of Comodities, as well from Europe as spices from the Sowthard and cloth from India, by which means your Port wilbe more famous and become the Mart of all Asia and this I promise you in the Honor of his Maiestie of England that wee meane saythfully to performe and to keepe your seates and Ports from all troubles to our vitmost, and not to molest nor doe Iniurie to any People or Merchants your Allies trading to your Port (the Portugalls, our viter Enemies, only excepted), but to maynteyne with you a firme and true leauge.

According to your desier I haue sent vnto you the same men that last yeare were with you, desiering you to receiue them as frends and to suffer them quietly vpon the Conditions agreed

makes them difficult to decipher but they seem to contain nothing of importance.

One or two incidents of Roe's stay at Surat are referred to on p. 517, and in the extracts from the Court Minutes given later

<sup>1</sup> Brought home by the *Anne* in her voyage the previous year (see p. 495). The letter which is in the I O Records (O C., No. 681), assures Roe of the governor's wish to be friends with the English nation and to afford them every advantage for trade. It was accordingly arranged that the *Lion* should be despatched to Mocha, and she sailed (carrying the above letter) in company with the *Anne* and the rest of Honner's fleet on February 17. As will be seen from the *Calendar of State Papers (E. Indies)*, these attempts to open up trade with the Red Sea led, after Roe's departure, to further troubles for the Surat factors, owing to the complaints of the native merchants that the English were damaging their commerce in this direction.

<sup>2</sup> Sana.

on to land their goods and to sell them and reship themselves at their Pleasure Herein you shall doe according to your Honourable Name and procure great proffitt and quiett to your Port

The great God of Heaven and Earth make your Honor to Encrease

From Suratt, February 16, in the yeare of Iesus the sonne of God 1618[-19]

THE FACTORS AT SURATT TO THE COMPANY.<sup>1</sup>

(I O Records O C, No 777)

Surat, the 12th March, 1618 [-19]

Per the *Bull* wee Certefie[d] you directlie and truly the termes itt ["our residence"] then stood on, which since as per Coppies of our registers per the *Ann* (wherto for more Ample relation of sundrie affaires wee referred you) you will perceau the poore remedie wee haue receaued, not only of our former Injuries butt many others since, and therby alsoe be ascertained of the meane grace his lordship stood in with this King and prince, that, after 3 yeares attendance, att his departure by earnest intercession could not procure the guifte of a house nor ground nor lycence to build vs a habitation nor soe much as Continue vs in this, from whence (our tyme neerely expired) wee shortly expect to bee remooued Wee haue already sought oute and obteyned from the Govnner another, but these Cheefes will not Consente wee shall haue any nere the waterside, and elcewhere, in the inner parte of the towne, there is not any strong nor for vs conueniente, excepte such as belonge to *Bannyanes*, who will nott lett them Soe where to be accomodated, as yett wee know nott

The depts remayning at Courte and manner of his lordships lycence you haue no doubt receaved relation from them presente. What hee heather brought for the establishing of your trade (his Capitulations refused, as per our laste advised) was only a *firmaen* from the King<sup>2</sup> and another from the Prince, the first gennerall, for our reception and Continuation in his domynyons, as many others (more ample) heeretofore receaued, the latter particuler

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<sup>1</sup> Roe left Surat in Captain Shilling's vessel, the *Anne*, on February 17, 1619 (O C, No 817)

This parting shot from Kerridge and his associates (Biddulph, Rastell, and Giles James) is given partly because it shows their continued hostility to Roe, in spite of his endeavours to smooth over previous differences, and partly because it mentions one or two additional particulars of the events of his stay at Surat.

<sup>2</sup> Cp pp 524, 558 This *furmán* is not extant.

for this porte of Soratt. The Fruicts which both haue produced you may please to perceae by your goods detention these six months in Customehouse and yett vnreleased, and our dwelling vpon euery triuall humor subject to Change, wherof, att his coming to Suratt, discerning the discomodities, hee endeauored by letters and presents to the king prince and nobility to releue vs, and receaued another *firmān* from the Prince to as little purpose as the former wherby itt is euident they haue commaunds of sondrie kindes and know which to obay, other wise the princes seuntie Could not be jested with by his servants. The Consideration and laste tryall wherof Caused a Cleerer sight of the Omission paste, and himselfe to propose the joncks detention next yeare, whenn by reason of the many difficulties beeing opposed, hee leste itt to the discretion off Councell (if not releued in the premises), whoe will not easilie bee induced to attempt itt without expresse order from your worships to warrant itt, aswell for the affiance you had in his lordships wisdom, who though hee had authoritie, Could not bee induced therto himselfe, as the Kings present remote residence,<sup>1</sup> which perhapps through the stoping of your buisnesse err the questions decyded might cause many Inconueniences and expose the actors to more then is Conuenient for them to hazard. Itt may please you therfore well to Consider this pointe. The debts are vnlikely to be soone recovered, and these are a people that curbd wilbe brought to any reason and if suffered in their owne wayys grow insolente and insupportable, which they exercise not on the Portingalls, that Inroacheth asmuch on them, permitt none of their shippes to saele without lesence, and even now since the *Anns* departure haue Forced the Goga junk, appertaining to the beloued Qucene, to pay them 65000 *mamoodes* for Custome to the porte of Dieu (an antient dutie), which, struing to Infringe, loste her voyage the laste yeare, and made greate shew off warra, yett after much Contention haue submitted againe in the yoke.

In this shipp [the *Anne*] is returned Sir Thomas Roe, to whom wee haue deliuered a box sealed, Maled and Couered, Containing the Accoumpts, letters and registers and inuoees and sundrie other writeings, both from this and the Agra Factnry, directed vnto your worships, which wee hope hee will safely deliuer in the same Condition others of your seruants, distrusting that conuoyance,<sup>2</sup> haue deliuered theirs to Captain Shilling, master of the shipp.

<sup>1</sup> Jahāngir on leaving Ahmadābād, proceeded to Fatehpur Sikri, near Agra and thence, in October, 1619, started for Kashmir.

<sup>2</sup> The innuendo shows the malignant feelings with which Roe was regarded by the factors.

In his Lordships Company is alsoe gone home Gabriell Towreson and Richard Steele, his wife, and Mistress Huddson<sup>1</sup>

ROE TO THE PRESIDENT AT BANTAM<sup>2</sup>

(Public Record Office *Holland Correspondence*, 29 May, 1619)

Coppy of the writing I gaue to Fredericque Hoftman to bee delucred to the President of the English in East Indya

Sir,

Meeting here with Fredericque Hoftman, Admirall of a fleete of eleven ships of Holland bound for Bantam, but now two

<sup>1</sup> Mrs Towerson had elected to remain behind with her relatives, and she afterwards gave some trouble to the Agra factors by her applications for the loan of money "until her husband's return" He, however, had evidently no intention of rejoining her, for in January, 1620, he sought for and obtained employment as a principal factor for the Moluccas As already mentioned, while holding this post he was executed by the Dutch at Amboyna, in February, 1623.

Steel, his projects having completely failed, had judged it best to return His reception by the Company was a cold one, for "he was much condemned for his unworthie carnage abroad, hauing perfourmed nothing that was intended and resolued of at his departure, but hath brought home a great priuate trade, put the Company to an extraordinarie charge by a wife and children, and wronged my Lord Ambassador by a false and surmised contestation and arrogating a higher title and place to himself then ever was intended" (*Court Minutes*, September 17, 1619) His offers of service in October, 1623, were declined, but later on he was more successful, and in January, 1626, was once again in the employment of the Company He desired to return to the scene of his former employment, but was sent instead to Bantam The last fact recorded concerning him is a resolution of the Court, in 1627, to recall him for private trading

Mrs Hudson also came in for censure, as she, after going out at the Company's expense and living in India in their house for five months, had brought home a considerable amount of private trade However, after some delay, she was allowed, by the intercession of her friends, to have her goods on payment of thirty pounds for freight

<sup>2</sup> Printed in the *Calendar of State Papers (East Indies)*, 1617-21. Preface, p xxxi This letter, written from the Cape, explains itself Roe's action in thus advising the factors at Bantam of the negotiations proceeding in London between the Dutch and English was commended by the Company "for a very wise and worthy course" (*Court Minutes*, September 17, 1619) His earnest wish for the settlement of the differences between the two nations is reflected in a letter from Van Ravesteyn (the Dutch chief at Surat) to his employers, under date of February 14, 1619 (I O Records *Hague Transcripts*, series I, vol iii, No CXV) After mentioning Roe's courtesy to him, both at Ahmadábád and at Surat, he says "I found him a very peace-loving man, who is very sorry for the differences between us and the English, and would gladly see an agreement arrived at," Roe has asked him to write to recommend the settlement of these troubles, and has undertaken, for his own part, to do his utmost to bring this about.

only in company of good force and well manned, the rest dispersed on the Coast of England, wee haue had some conference about the bad humors begunn betwixt us in Indya. Hee professeth affection of peace and that he hath no instructions to the contrarie and aroweth the arriuall and reception of the states commissioners in England to treat an accord. Wee haue agreed mutually to send our aduices, I to you by him, he to his Generall by the *Beare*, of what wee heare and that it is probable an vnion wilbe made, hereby on both sides to preuent, if possible, any farther occasions which will not bee so easely quenched. If you synd in effect as much as he professeth, a man of his place and authoritie may much aduance our desires, so it may bee done with due respects of Honor and the companies seruice. So I committ you to God

THO. ROE.

Master Barwicke,<sup>1</sup> Admirall of 2 good ships, the *Beare* and *Starr*, ready to depart, the 11 May, 1619.

# COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY<sup>2</sup>

(I O Records.)

2 September 1619.—A lcttre was red, written by Sir Thomas Roe from Plymouth,<sup>3</sup> another from Andrew Shilling, Master and a

A letter from Tiku, dated November 10, 1619 (O C., No. 822), states that "my Lord Rowe would haue taken two Flemishe shipps, had not Master Barwicke informed my Lord that some of the Comitties told him at Grauesend that He mighte boldly reporte that your worships and the Flemings were agreed" and another letter from the same place and of the same date (O C., No. 821) says that "had not those in the *Beare* perswaded Sir Thomas Roe that peace was concluded with the Hollanders, hee had resolved to haue taken four (*sic*) holland shipps at the Cape, which hee might easily haue done, they comming in butt one and one, wee hauing three good shipps well manned in the Roade. It is, however, highly improbable that any such action was contemplated by the ambassador; nor does his letter bear out the statement that Barwick had made him believe that peace was actually concluded.

<sup>1</sup> The commander of the *Beare*, to whom a copy of this letter was entrusted for delivery. The original, as above stated, was given to the Dutch admiral, who handed to Roe in return a similar notification to be transmitted to the Dutch chief (see *Holl. Corresp.*, as above, and *Dom. Corresp.*, Jac. I vol. cxvi, Nos. 19, 191). Barwick had come out to India in the same fleet as Roe (see p. 4).

<sup>2</sup> Several references to Roe and his embassy have been omitted as not of sufficient importance for quotation.

<sup>3</sup> This letter dated 29th August, is not extant but there is an abstract of it in the Factory Records (*Miscellaneous*, vol. 1), at the India Office. From this we learn that Roe stated that he had settled

third from Master James Bag, deputye for the Farmers<sup>1</sup> ther, all of the 29th August last, Giuing to vnderstand of the arryuall of the *Anne* in the Soundings at Plymouth from the East Indies, the shippe and the men in good estate, wher they are supplied by Master Bag with money and all thinges necessarye,<sup>2</sup> so as they are readie to take the advantage of the first saire wynd that shall blowe to bring them to the Downes, And by Sir Thomas Roe ther was a generall tast giuen of the estate of ther affairers as they are seiled at Surat, Persia and Moha in the Red Sea (a place of excellent hopes for Trade), And expectation of the retourne of the *Expedition*<sup>3</sup> with Pepper, by the blessings of God, according to his direction and order taken with Captain Bonner for the lading of her vppon the Coast and dispatching her away, which he expected should haue bene that he might haue found her here now at his coming.

This Court aduising how to ease my Lord Ambassador at his coming to the Downes (finding his resolution to contynue abourd vntill he may haue som other of sort to whose care to surrender his charge), They resolud to send downe 2 of the Comittees Resolving to haue a Caroch sent downe to bring him to Grauesend, wher some others shall meete him to accompanie him to London, with 2 barges that shalbe sent thether

15 September, 1619 — A letter was red written from the Downes by Master Styles and Master Abdye<sup>4</sup> of the [ ] of this instant, giuing notice of the arryuall of the *Anne* in the Downes, the

privileges and had left all in good order at Surat, had re-settled trade in Persia, and had initiated a profitable commerce with the Red Sea; and, finally, had "procured the Magoll to banish all the Portugales from all his ports, but contynued not" (*sic*) Of the voyage, he mentioned that he met the *Bear* and the *Star* at the Cape, and that those two vessels sailed for Bantam on the same day (15th May) that the *Anne* departed for England. St Helena was reached on the first and quitted on the sixth of June, after which they were twelve weeks getting home. They were much troubled by contrary winds, and their biscuits were "bad, dirty, and rotten;" so that this part of the voyage must have been attended with great discomfort. From passages in the *Court Minutes*, it would appear that there was something like a mutiny on board.

<sup>1</sup> Of the Customs

<sup>2</sup> Master Bag was presented with a piece of plate in acknowledgment of his services (*Court Minutes*, November 9, 1619)

<sup>3</sup> One of the ships of the fleet in which Roe went out, subsequently despatched again to India with Bonner's fleet of 1618. She never returned to England, for she was captured at Tiku by the Dutch in October, 1619, and when released and sent to Japan she foundered in a storm in Firando harbour

<sup>4</sup> The two "committees" who had been appointed to take over charge of the ship from Roe.

landing of my Lord Embassadour and Intents of his daylie journeyes to Graesend, whose charges they had defrayed with his Ladies and such as came to meete him, whervppon it was resolu'd to haue a letter retourn'd in answer to approue of their proceedinges and discretions and to wish them to contynue the same course to defray the expences vntill his retourne to London, And to giue knowledge that Master Depotie,<sup>1</sup> Sir John Merricke, Sir John Wolstenholme, Sir William Russell, Master Alderman Haliday, Master Alderman Hamerslye, Master Treasurer<sup>2</sup> Master Leate, Master Bell, Master Ven, Master Handford, Master Olley, Master Garway, Master Westrowe, Master Kirby and diuers others of the Committees (who were all entreated, so many as shalbe willing) purposed to be at Grausend to morrowe about 10 of the Clocke to conduct his Lordship to London. And resolu'd to haue a dosen coaches readie at Tower Wharfe to carry him to his house, Appoynting John Cappur to go away presently with a letter to Rochester and retourne back [to] Grausend that night to bespeake breakfast ther if they shall so resolu'e.

17 September, 1619.—Master Alderman Haliday<sup>3</sup> hauing very kindly proferd my Lord Ambassador his house, the Company gaue him great thanks for his fauor therein, And resolu'd to beare the charge of his entertaynement vntill he shall haue bene and deliuered his Message vnto his Majestie.

22 September 1619.—His Maiestie hauing appointed my Lord Ambassador to attend him at Whitehall on Fnday next to receiue his answer of his Embassage and presents, My Lord desired Master Gouvernor, Master Deputie and some of the Committees to accompanie him thether, who promised their presence accordingly.

#### JOHN CHAMBERLAIN TO SIR DUDLEY CARLETON

(*Dom State Papers, Jac I, vol. cx, No. 94.*)

2 October, 1619.

The King was here yesterday at Whitehall, but is now gon to Tiballs [Theobalds]. He came from Hampton-Court, where Sir Thomas Rowe presented him with two antelopes, a straunge and beautifull kind of red-deare, a rich tent, rare carpets, certaln vmbrellaes and such like trinckets from the great mogul. For ought I heare he hath not provided so well for himself as

<sup>1</sup> Maunce Abbot.

<sup>2</sup> William Harrison.

<sup>3</sup> William Halliday or Holliday Alderman, 1617 23, and Sheriff, 1617 18. He had married a cousin of Roe's, Susanna, daughter of Sir Henry Roe. As already mentioned, after her husband's death she became the second wife of the Earl of Warwick. Halliday was Governor of the Company from 1621 till his death (14th March, 1624).



was thought at first,<sup>1</sup> but must relie vpon the Companies liberalitie. I haue little acquaintance with any of them, so that I cannot promise much in theyre behalfe; but when Sir Dudley Digges comes to towne, I will set him on work, who is gracious among them and vnderstands theyre courses and I know wilbe redy to do any goode office in whatsoeuer may concern you

COURT MINUTES OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY.

(I. O. Records.)

25 September, 1619—Sir Thomas Roe hauing bene with his Maiestie and giuen account of his Embassage, It was made knowne that he doth purpose likewise to come and giue satisfaction to this Court of his proceedings and seruice perfourmed and will delyver vpp some Iornalls and accounts which he hath in his custodie

Sir Thomas Roe hauing taken a survey of all the seuerall dispositions of the Companies factors at Surat and those parts, with the bad and yell [ill?] qualities of many of them, some of which he hath delyuered very sparinglye, and remytted many wrongs comitted by them against him ther (as by the sequell he hath manifested in preferring some of them aboue their merit before others of better parts), It was found notwithstanding that some of them haue most baseley and iniuriouslye requited him by traducing him in their lettres and wrighting most bitterly and most inuectiuely against him; amongst which Iohn Browne<sup>2</sup> and William Biddulph are noted to excede in the highest measure, putting vppon him as much as malice can possibly inuent, with all the spitefull disgrace that may be, most of the factors ther being ioyned in a confederacy amongst themselues, being ielous that any strange eye should obserue or looke into their accounts, being growne to great matters in estate, many of them being worth a thowsand pounds apeece (as is said), gayned by lending and exchanging the Companies monyes and by such other courses as they do practise The Companie thought it necessary therefore to seeke to preuent those mischeifes in tyme and to consider of some perticlers of greatest consequence, take the examinations of as many as can be gotten, to be iustified *viva voce*, that if any

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<sup>1</sup> On the 11th of the previous month Chamberlain had written to Carleton that "Sir Thomas Rowe is come home rich, they say, from the East Indies" (*ibid*, No 54)

A casual mention of Roe's return "in a ship worth, by report, 160,000l" occurs in a letter dated the 16th September, 1619, printed in the *Court and Times of James I* (1848), vol II, p 190

<sup>2</sup> John Brown's letter was read at the Court meetings of the 28th September and 1st October, and was severely censured as "a most indiscrete scandalous inuectiue against Sir Thomas Roe little better then a libell" Roe, who was present, magnanimously praised Brown's ability and honesty.

falsehood can be proved ur base and disgracefull tearmes used by them of the Companie (as is enfourmed) they may be punished and some seuer course put in executiun against them without fauour, to the example of others, appointing Master Ellam to drawe the heads of all those complaints into a booke that they may be the more readie to charge them with hereafter, and amongst other things to looke out Furlands lettre, who wrights they kepe a comonwealth amongst them selues but for the persons themselves it was held fit and so resolu'd to gleane out the most culpable and to send fur them hume by degrees vntill all shall be weded thence, and to be carefull that they be not permitted to get those their estates out of the Companies hands vntill they may receiue satisfaction for their honest gaining of them.

28 September 1619.—Sir Thomas Roe hauing brought home sundry papers and accounts with uther consultations, which do concerne the Companie, himself and some other men, He was willing to leaue them desiring only to haue them put into a Chest by themselves and kept apart without any others to be mingled amongst them, that, if occation be, they may be sene apart at any time. The mutioun was approved and ordered to be so put vpp, with notice taken of them, written vppon and numbered.

6 October, 1619.—Sir Thomas Roe, desiring to giue the Company satisfaction of his proceedings since his goeing into the East Indies, first gaue to vnderstand in what a desperate case he found the factoryes at Surat, Amadava and elawher in the Mogores Countrey proclamations out against them to prohibite them of all trade and to depart the land, which at his coming to Court he caused to be reuokt and procured *fermans* to commaund their acceptaunce and frendly entertaynment, proving against the Prince himself that those things had bene done without auctoritie from the King and by wicked subornation to haue overthrowne the trade of the English. Assuring the Company that now by a faire and gentle course held and good correspondencie and obseruation of the Gouvernour in some reasonable sort they may haue as faire a passage of their buysines as can be expected or desired. Making it appeare what a profit may be hoped for and had by the trade into the Red sea, wher articles are confirmed with priuiledges for trade and fredome thereof and capitulations set downe with the Gouvernour of Sinan and of Moha, that for any comodities which may be caryed thether (wherof he hath intelligence of the particlers vendible) ther may be raised of the worst *centum pro cento* which comodities to serue those parts may be furnisht to the valewe of 10,000*li* for [from?] Surat without preiudice to the Prince his shippe, and 30,000*li* worth from Dabul and the Ports therabouts. At which place of Moha Captaine Shilling acknowledged that he was most kindly used ther affirming that ther is as much securitie ther for their goods as can be expected, which they dare not go about to infringe or attempt

any thing to giue distast. And seing those of Surat cannot trade saufely thether without the Company of the English into the Red sea, wher it is said that Trade is for two Millions yearely, they wilbe glad of the companie of the English for many reasons delivered, which shippe of theirs retourning is of very great valewe, hauing 1000 of their people in her, wilbe as a pawne and assurance for the good vsage of our people at Surat And this trade in tyme may be enlarged by the English as other comodities may be gotten from sundry other places of the Indies, and wilbe the life of the Surat and Persia Trade to supply both those places with monye which trade being brought to good perfection, he hopeth they wilbe carefull to preserue and contynue it notwithstanding any discouragment that may be objected by the factors at Surat, who are vnwilling to haue that Trade prosper (as is collected by many circumstances) Lastly, he made knowne that he recouered all the extortions which had bene exacted by sundry vnjust Gouvernors that yeare and the yeare before and had left all matters in a good, settled and peaceable course, drawing out 21 Articles, most of which he procured the King to confirme and got sundry *firmaens* graunted for Friggots to be delyuered furnisht to the English for ther defence against the Portugalls (who, as was delyuered, were preparing an *Armado* against the English), Together with many other priuiledges which he thought as much in generall as he could expect or desire, And recouered all debts, leauing none in the Countrye but only one of a *Banyan* who was the kings prisoner, And yet for him he hath the kings promise to force him to pay the said debt or else to delyuer the partie dead or alive vnto their hands And last of all he caused a list to be red, which he had drawne, of the remaynders in the Countrye at his coming away, both mony in specie at the seuerall factoryes, what good debts and comodities that would drawe in so much mony within the compase of such a tyme, and what of those things were appointed to make prouisions readie for the *Lyon* against the next yeare, Together with a note of the remaynders of all the generall goods in the Country, And what is ordered to be prouided for the Southwards, Persia and Moha And hauing made this generall relation (which gaue very good content and satisfaction), The Company intended to meete at some speciall tymes with him to viewe all his notes and wrightings, sort them, endorse them, and put them to be kept in their seuerall places, wher they may be found hereafter vppon any occation to vse them

18 October, 1619 —Sir Thomas Roe motioning to haue an end of matters by degrees betwixt the Company and him, desired to haue it first seene and knowne what seruice he hath perfourmed in setling some Trades and Factoryes at Moha [in] the Red Sea and in the Mogores dominions at Surat, Amadauaz and other parts, which may best be discerned by the consultations that haue bene

had about those matters, which he desired might now be red. The Company were willing to lay by all other matters to heare the same And entreated those Committees that were formerly desired (Sept. 17)<sup>1</sup> to confer with Sir Thomas Roe, to see his accompts, audyt and perfect them, And the said Committees to sit with him at some conuenient tymes, heare his opinion of the estate of their affaires abroad, take notice of all his wrightings brought home, sort them and endorse them and put them in seuerall boxes according to former order and whatsoever else may be necessarye and conuenient to be vnderstood for the generall good of the Trade.

Sundry Consultations being red out of a booke<sup>2</sup> by Sir Thomas Roe held at Surat and elswher concerning many matters of seuerall natures and qualities, In one of them it did appeare what care he tooke to saue and preuent a great charge they formerly ranne into by sending vpp mony by Conuoye vnto Amadauaz, but caused retournes to be made therof by Bills, whereby moch hazard and daunger shalbe preuented and great charge saued that formerly was wastfully expended. As also how the Persian trade was to be supplied, Together with many other matters of great consequence.

Sir Thomas Roe made knowne that Pursers formerly receyuing mony from the Factors on shore did neuer delyuer any accompts of the disbursing therof whereby ther was opportunitie to deceiue the Company of great somes, which abuse he caused to be reformed, Appointing the Pursers to delyuer vpp accompt of such somes receyued, how and vppon what the same was disbursd, and the remaynder at each Port delyuered vpp with the account vnto the said factors. And finding Steeles account to be extraordinarye (as he conceyued), he excepted directly against some of his demaunds and referd his whole accompt vnto the Consideration of the Company here to be altered and approued as they shall see cause, Together with some other questions concerning him, as appereth by that consultation which things Master Ellam was appointed to take notice of.

In a consultation held the 11th of January, 1618[19], It was resolud to haue my Lord Embassador go downe to Swalley to conclude with the Maryners for the Prize goods taken;<sup>3</sup> wher he finding some difference in the Inuoyces of the Prizes goods, made a praizure of the goods, which he sent vnto the Company and knowes how much difference ther is from the Bills of lading taken in the

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<sup>1</sup> " Master Gouvernor, Master Deputy Sir Dudley Digges, Sir John Wolstenholme, Master Alderman Haliday Master Sheriff Hamersley Master Threasurer Master Bell, and Master Handford.

<sup>2</sup> No longer extant.

<sup>3</sup> Apparently the captures made by the *Expedition* on her way Persia (see p. 462).

Prizes, which he hath in the originall . In that consultation [February 1, 1619] Sir Thomas Roe lymiting to ech factorie how many horses and seruants were fit to be kept, therby to abbridge the extraordinary expence and charge of the great number of vnnecessary seruants that had formerly bene kept, allowing the factors a competent number to attend them when their occations drawe them abroad

20 October, 1619 — Sir Thomas Roe reading some other Consultations held in the Indies about the buysines of Mocha, with directions and enstructions to the Merchant employed thether, as also to the Master of the *Lion* to make further search vnto Prester Johns Countrye, Together with some other enstructions to William Biddulph how to cary himself at the Court, and other passages of great consequence for other places, seriouslye considered of and iudiciouslye set downe and directed for the Companies good in the future charge of the buysines, The Company approued of them as necessarye and fitting and therefore were of opinion and resolud to haue them confirmed by wrighting vnto their factors, which will ad reputation vnto Sir Thomas Roe, as he hath deserued

Vppon reading of the last Court, wherein the buysines concerning Sir Thomas Roe were referd to certaine Comittees, By reason of some exceptions taken the consideration of his gratification was wholie left vnto this Court to be thought vppon and determynd as they should thinke fit and conclude, to take away all exceptions abroad

22 October, 1619 — Master Tirrye the Preacher hauing brought home 121 peeces of Callicoes, for which he now had his mony for readie freight [? freight readie] according to the appointment of the Comittees, He desired fauour for the same Sir Thomas Roe comended him much for his sober, honest and ciuill life ther and that theis Callicoes were his whole meanes he hath The Company, hearing so good reports giuen of him and being willing to encourage men of his fashion in weldoing, were contented to pas ouer this fault, and to remit the said freight vnto him, giuing him leaue to take them away, he hauing aunswered the Custome And wheras he had disbursed a matter of 14*l* in Bookes more then the mony he receyued for ymprest, which 14*l* is also charged vppon his account, and that he gaue away most of those bookes vnto the factors in the Countrie, as Sir Thomas Roe affirmed, The Company were therefore pleased to remyt the said 14 *l*, And ordered to haue his accompt freed from the same <sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> We here take leave of the Rev Edward Terry, whose quaint narrative has been so often laid under contribution in the preceding pages Shortly after his return, he wrote an account of his travels, and in 1622 presented it to Prince Charles This narrative was made use of by Purchas (vol II, p 1464) to supplement the journal of the

8 December, 1619.—Certaine divisions having bene in the first Joint Stocke wherein Sir Thomas Roe was an Adventurer 800 *li.* Two of his dividends having bene left in the Companies handes by reason of his absence in their service, It was ordered vpon his motion to haue Interest allowed for them from the tyme the warrant[s] were sealed

12 December 1619.—Master Deputie made knowne that Sir Thomas Roe his accounts having bene vewed and perused by those Audytors that were appointed according to order all are finisht and ended (excepting only 150 *Mamuthars*<sup>1</sup> lost by Henry Carret in disbursing the monyes, which being so smale a matter was not thought fit to be stood vpon). And that the accounts of all such monyes that came to Sir Thomas Roe his hands and all his expenses, both ordinarye and extraordinary are cast vpp, And do find great good husbandne vsed in his expence of housekeeping which cometh to about 250 or 260 *li.* ayeare, one yeare with another wherof he caused the account to be kept of euerye particler And hath cleared himself in the Countrey, owing nothing to the Companies account, nor ever borrowed 10 *li.* of them although he lyued 6 months vpon his owne meanes (the Cash being left destitute of meanes at Master Edwards departure) And paid his seruants their whole wages in the Countrey although he were allowed but half therof ther from the Company And for other allowances tooke not half so much in the Countrey, as by Covenant he might, but made payment ther for some monyes which he borrowed here, which was the better accepted because it was remembred by some that if he would haue traded in the Countrey with the monye he had ther he might haue gayned a great matter And having dueli weighed his carriage and behaviour from the begining till this present, they esteemed him a very worthie gentleman that hath husbanded things exceedingly well and very

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ambassador himself. Many years after Terry who had been made rector of Great Greenford in 1629, revised and enlarged his original account and published it in a small volume in 1655. The additions consisted largely (as the author confesses) of "pertinent, though in some places very long digressions" on moral and religious topics, in the hope "that they who fly from a sermon and will not touch sound and wholsom and excellent treatises in divinity may happily (if God so please) be taken before they are aware and overcome by some divine truths. In 1665 the work was reprinted (slightly condensed and without Terry's name) in a folio volume, which contained also Havers translation of Della Valle's letters; and this has often been mistaken for Roe's own account of his embassy. A third (octavo) edition, a reprint of the first, was issued in 1777. The quotations in the present work have been taken from the rare first edition.

Terry died at Great Greenford on October 8, 1660, and was buried in the chancel of his church.

<sup>1</sup> Mamúdis.

moderate in his expenses And one that by his modestie, honestie and integritie hath giuen good satisfaction, And taking to consideration what gratification to bestowe vppon him, Some motiond to referre it to be concluded by some fewe in priuate, least others abroad may make him a president, But, his inerits speaking for him, it was thought they could be no president to any others, because none shall meryt euery day as he hath, whose example to the factours in the Countrey will aduantage the Company much by his frugalitie. And comparing him with other Embassadors in other Countreyes who haue great allowances, his good husbandrie will appear the more, And therfore in the iudgment of some, if 2000*l* should be giuen him for a gratification, it will not arise to 1000*l* a yeare, one yeare with another, during the tyme of his seruice with all his charges and expences annexed, And knowing much in him which may giue the Company content, It was wisht not to giue him distast, And resolud to make an end now (without putting of tyll another tyme, as some wisht) And the question being put to thre somes, 1000, 1500 and 2000*l*., ther was giuen him by erection of hands the some of 1500*l* as a gratification for his seruice perfourned, wherein they had no regard to the future tyme, but heareing of his readynes to giue his assistance at any meetings hereafter, they supposed his future seruice might deserue according to the tyme And he presenting himself, Master Gouvernor made knowne the Companies mynd who, acknowledging his honestie and frugalitie and comending his care, desired him to accept of the foresaid some of 1500*l*, which they held too little, compared with his deserts, but ther smale retournes pleaded partlye their excuse<sup>1</sup> Sir Thomas Roe made knowne that he tooke in good part whatsoever is giuen, In the meane time purposed to thinke therof And at next Court purposeth to come and giue his thanks.

15 November, 1619 — A lettre was red, written by Sir Thomas Roe, of thanks for the gratification which they had bestowed vppon him, wherein he layd open himself in his former courses what he aymed at, the good of the Company and his owne reputation, who, hauing habilitie to perfourme further seruice for their good, is willing to dedicate himself wholie theirs, expecting onely that, if they will make him one of their bodie, they affourd him meanes wherby to mantayne himself amongst them without thinking of any other course; And delyuered in a note of certaine monyes

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<sup>1</sup> This was rather a lame excuse. Three days before they had listened to an estimate made by Alderman Hammersley, by which the net gains of the Surat trade, from the beginning of the First Joint Stock, were reckoned at 200,000*l*, or 120 per cent on the capital employed. Another calculation (*Court Minutes*, November 2, 1619) made the capital employed 89,526*l* and the net proceeds about 210,860*l*, which gives a still more favourable result.

in his possession in the Indies, as 250*l.* of Master Boughtons<sup>1</sup> & 13*l.* of Hempalls,<sup>2</sup> which he might haue made his aduantage of, but paid them vnto the Companies account, And paid 100*l.* in the Indies which he might haue answered here, Forbore to borowe any of the Companies monyes, as he might according to couenaut, And paid his seruants 50*l.* and 60*l.* per annum in India more then he receyued, yet had lycense to repay himself but did not, Gaue certaine gifts to the King, Prince and Lords of his owne goods, which cost him in England 152*l.* 3*l.* 2*d.*,<sup>3</sup> and were not put to account, Refusing certaine gifts to the prejudice of the Company and recouered certaine debts to their great aduantage to the value of 3000*l.*, By all which they considered his faire cariage in their buyanes, which appereth the better, compared with others that haue made other vse of their tyme by priuate trade. Whereupon some delyuered that what hath bene alreadye done was well done and he well deserued it, in regard of his honestie and faire carriage. And supposing his experience and meanes here haue enabled him to do the Company good seruice, either at Court vppon occasion or by his aduise in drawing their lettres and Comissions, and that ther is a kynd of necessitye to vse his helpe about the new trades, It was thought fit to haue him accepted as a Comittie amongst the rest and so to reward him accordinglye by giuing him a present yearelye allowance to bynd his presence and aduise amongst them which wilbe an honour and reputation vnto him and right to the Company. And thervpon was remembered the good office he hath done since his retourne, that some about the King hauing latelye prest to ruyne that buyanes of my Lord of Warwicks,<sup>4</sup> he tooke it wholie vppon himself and tould the Lords that it was his owne act and he is readie to make answer for it and iustifie the same, which gaue a tast what further vse ther may be of his courage and seruice. And thinking of a competent some that may be fitting to giue him for this yeare ensuing, they concluded by erection of hands of 100*l.* vntill the election, which all supposed he will well deserue by his sufficiencie for his paines and aduise in the yeare ensuing, which may be a president for the tyme following, as they shall fynd the good herof as the Company shall haue occasion to vse him and his leisure giue him leaue to attend the buyanes. It appearing by his note that he gaue away certayne presents which cost him here in England 152 *l.* 3*l.* 2*d.*, They ordered to haue so much mony answered vnto him for the same, as was formerly resolud at last Court, And bestowed vppon him the 100 *l.* which was layd out in plate for him at his going, that

<sup>1</sup> See p. 32 *n.*<sup>2</sup> See p. 323 *n.*<sup>3</sup> For an account of these, see *Addl. MS* 6115 f. 276.<sup>4</sup> See p. 420 *n.*



his mony disbursed for those guifts may not retourne barely vnto him againe <sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> At this point the passages in the *Court Minutes* relating to Roe's embassy come to an end. He still, however, maintained close relations with the Company. On November 19, 1619, they asked him whether he was willing to proceed to Bantam in supreme charge, Roe, however, while thanking them for the offer and professing his readiness to go "if the necessitie of their occasions did require it," desired "a breathing tyme" before going into a further exile. In December, 1619, he offered 400*l* towards the proposed almshouse for persons maimed in the Company's service. On January 24, 1620, he suggested that a royal letter should be procured, acknowledging the Mogul's kind usage of the English, and thanking him for the presents he had sent, a draft which he had prepared was accordingly ordered to be engrossed for signature. The Court Minutes of 1620-21 are missing, and it is impossible, therefore, to discover whether his services were retained for that year, but apparently they were, for his allowance appears to have been continued. At the election of 1621 he was present, but was not proposed for election; and about this time, it would seem, his allowance was stopped. On August 3, 1621, he informed the Court that "some of the genneralltie had reported grutchingly of the 1500 poundes that was guen him att his returne, which he presumed he had deserued, if in nothing elce, yet in the frugalitie of keeping their house, also there was guen him (as he vnderstood it) 200 poundes per annum, but it seemes the Companie ment it not so." Counting on this he had invested in the current joint stock, and though he had paid in 800*l*, 300*l* was still due, which, owing to the stoppage of his allowance, he was unable for the present to pay. He hoped, however, to be able to find the money by Christmas, and he begged them to impose no fine for the delay. This was agreed to, but a further request that the Company should purchase his share in the old joint stock was refused, as the "generality" had disapproved of some previous transactions of the same nature. Roe then asked that as, owing to "his intended employment [as ambassador to Constantinople] and the encrease of his familie he shalbe driven also to larger lodgings, he should want three peeces of their vellvett embroydered hangings to add vnto five of the same kind which he had allready bought and three of their Persian Carpetts," they would either bestow them upon him or allow him to "take them vpp vpon Stock." The Court very willingly made him a present of the goods, "assuring him that howsoever the Companie was so vnhappy as to loose the employment of so well a deseruing gentleman, yet their loues should follow him, and therefore desired the Continuance of his good affection to the Company, which he freely promised and tooke verry thankfullie the Curtisie now donn him." Roe did not forget his promise, and both during his embassy at Constantinople and in after years, his advice and assistance were always at the service of the Company which had given him "his first public employment" by sending him to represent England at the Court of the Great Mogul.





## APPENDIX A.

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### ROE'S GEOGRAPHICAL ACCOUNT OF THE MOGUL'S TERRITORIES.

**T**HIF SEVERALL KINGDOMES AND PROVINCES SUBJECT TO THE GREAT MOGOLL SHAH-SELM GEHANGIER with the principall Cittyes and Rivers the Scituation and borders, and Extent in Length and Breadth, as neere as by description I could geather them. The names I tooke out of the Kings Register I begin at the North West.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> From *Addl MS 6115 f 256*. This interesting document was printed by Purchas in his first volume (p. 578), and again (in Terry's version) at p. 1467 of volume two. Terry in his book reproduces it, with a few additions and corrections; these, however are based almost entirely upon Haffins map (see p. 542), and consequently are seldom worthy of special notice.

This description of the Mogul territories is evidently quite different from the systematic survey based on fiscal divisions, which we get in the *Ain i Akbari*. Though always taken as topographical (and apparently he himself so understood it) the list copied by Roe seems rather to have been of an historical nature, enumerating roughly the states which had fallen under the sway of the Mogul emperors. Hence we find several petty Himalayan states, such as Siba, Jarwan and Nagarkot, figuring on the same plane as Bengal and Gujardt; hence, too, Ajmere and Oudh—well known and important provinces—are not specifically mentioned; while Gaur is differentiated from Bengal, Narwar from Agra, and Haskin from Multan. The names Roe says he "tooke out of the kings register" and he seems to have re-

1 CANDAHAR. The Cheefe Citty soe Called Lyes from the hart of all his Territory North-west, confines with<sup>1</sup> the Shabas [dominions of Sháh Abbás, *i.e.*, Persia], and was a Prouince of Persia<sup>2</sup>

2. TATA [Tatta, in Sind] The Cheefe Citty soe called Is diuided by the Riuer Indus, which falls into the Sea at Syndu,<sup>3</sup> and lyes from Chandahar Sowth, from the middle of which I suppose Agra West,<sup>4</sup> somewhat Sowtherly

3 BUCKAR The Cheefe Citty called Buckar Suckar [Bukkur-Sukkur] Lyes vpon the Riuer of Syndu or Indus, to the North-ward somewhat Easterly of Tata, and West Confines vpon the Baloaches [Baluchís], a kinde of Rude warlike People

4. MULTAN The Cheefe Citty soe Called. Lying alsoe vpon Indus, Sowth East from Candahar, Northly from Backar

arranged them in what he understood to be their geographical order, commencing from the north-west, and to have added such further particulars as he was able to obtain, possibly by questioning some of the natives. As will be seen from the notes, these were frequently erroneous, and the list in general contains a number of discrepancies which it is impossible to reconcile. However, with all its imperfections, it was the first attempt to supply to European readers an account of the political divisions of the Mogul empire, and subsequent writers, from Terry and De Laet onwards, were content to adopt it almost in its entirety. In 1824 Robert Kerr (*Voyages and Travels*, vol. ix, p. 378) endeavoured to explain Roe's terminology, but without much success.

In the present reproduction, the modern names of the various provinces, cities, etc., have been mostly added within brackets without further annotation. In identifying the names given by Roe, considerable help has been derived from a series of articles by the late Professor Blochmann, on the geography and history of Bengal during the Muhammadan period (*Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society*, vol. xlii, pt. 1, p. 209, vol. xliii, pt. 1, p. 280, vol. xliv, pt. 1, p. 275), in the course of which he deals briefly with Roe's list as given by Terry and De Laet. Sir Roper Lethbridge has also discussed the list in his interesting articles on De Laet in the *Calcutta Review* (vol. li, p. 336, vol. lii, p. 67). It would seem, however, that neither of these gentlemen had Roe's earlier version at hand, or was aware of the extent to which Terry's (and consequently De Laet's) list had been influenced by the locations adopted in Baffin's map.

<sup>1</sup> Borders upon

<sup>3</sup> Lárfíbandar (see p. 122)

<sup>2</sup> See note on p. 257

<sup>4</sup> East must be meant.

5 HAACICKAN<sup>1</sup> The Kingdome of the Baloches, to the West of Tata and Backar and Confines West vpon the Kingdome of Lar [Laristán] subiect to the Shah. Indus wyndeth itselfe into the Easter syde of yt. It hath no renowned Citty.

6 CANULL The Citty soe Called. A great Kingdome, the Northermost of this Emperours Dominion and Confineth with Tartaria.

7 KYSHMIR [Kashmir] The Cheefe Citty is called Sirinakar [Srinagar]. The River of Bhat [Behat or Jehlam] passeth through it and findeth the Sea by Ganges<sup>2</sup> or some say of it selfe in the North Part of the Bay of Bengala. It bordereth Cabul to the East Southerly. It is all Mountaine.

8. HANKISH<sup>3</sup> The Chiefe Citie is Called Beshar.

9. ATACK [Attock] The Cheefe Citty so Called. It lyeth on one syde the River Nilab<sup>4</sup> which runneth [from?] the North west into the River of Indus.

10. The Kingdome of the KAKARS<sup>5</sup> lyeth at the foote of the Mountaynes. It hath principall Cittyes Dankely [Dangálí] and P'urhola [Pharwála]. It bordereth North east on Kishmír.

<sup>1</sup> Háján was a *sarkár* of Multán (*Asín-i Akbarí* vol. II p. 340).

<sup>2</sup> This is, of course, an error. The Jehlam flows into the Indus, and is so shown in Haffin's map.

<sup>3</sup> Professor Blochmann identifies Hankish with Bangash, in N.W. Kohat, on the Punjab border and Beshar with Bajaur, a district still farther north, the name of which has become familiar in connection with recent frontier troubles.

<sup>4</sup> The term is generally applied to the upper Indus. In the map, as here, it seems to be identified with the Kabul river.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Blochmann (*Asín-i Akbarí* vol. I, p. 456 n), quoting Mr J. E. Delmerick, says "the Ghakkars inhabited the hilly parts of the Rawul Pindí and Jhelam districts, from Khánpúr on the borders of the Hazira district, along the lower range of hills skirting the *takhts* of Rawul Pindí, Kuháta and Gójar Khán as far as Domeli in the Jhelam district. Their ancient strongholds were Pharwála, Sultánpúr and Dangálí."

11 PEN-JAB [Punjab],<sup>1</sup> which signifieth five waters, for that it is seated within five Rivers The Cheefe Cyttye is called Lahor It is a great Kingdome and most fructfull The Citty is the Mart of India for trafique It borders North East on Multan<sup>2</sup>

12 JENBA<sup>3</sup> The Cheefe Citty soe Called It lyeth East of Pen-Jab It is very Mountanous

13 PEITAN<sup>4</sup> The Cheife Citty so called It lyeth East of Ienba, and from the North-west of Bengala It is full of Mountaynes

14 NAKARKUTT<sup>5</sup> The Cheefe Citty so called The

<sup>1</sup> Of course Roe gives the title to only a small portion of the present province.

<sup>2</sup> "Upon the north-east of Multan" is intended

<sup>3</sup> Chamba, one of the Punjab hill states, lying between Kashmír and the British districts of Kángra and Gurdaspur

<sup>4</sup> Professor Blochmann says "This is Paithán, the form used by Abulfazl for Pathán or Pathánkot. Terry evidently means the whole hill-tract of the Sirmúr range, as far as the Alaknandá. It is, however, possible that he meant the Markandá, but this river does not flow into the Ganges" The identification is probably right, but it is not necessary to stretch the boundaries of the district in order to account for Terry's statement that it is watered by the "Canda, which falleth into Ganges on its borders," here, as elsewhere, Terry is merely inserting what he has found in Baffin's map

<sup>5</sup> "*Nagracot*, the chief City so called, in which there is a Chapel most richly set forth, being seeled and paved with Plate of Pure Silver, most curiously imbossed over head in several Figures, which they keep exceeding bright by often rubbing and burnishing it, and all this cost those poor seduced Indians are at to do honour to an Idol they keep in that Chapel. The Idol thus kept in that so Richly adorned Chapel they call *Matta* [Máýá], and it is continually visited by those poor blinded Infidels, who, out of the officiousness of their Devotion, cut off some part of their Tongues to offer unto it as a Sacrifice, which (they say) grow out again as before, but in this I shall leave my Reader to a belief as much suspensive as is my own in this particular In this Province likewise there is another famous Pilgrimage to a place called Jallamakee, where out of cold springs that issue out from amongst hard Rocks, are daily to be seen continued Eruptions of Fire, before which the Idolatrous People fall down and worship Both these places were seen and strictly observed by Mr Coryat."—Terry, pp 86, 87

The reference is to what is now the Kángra district in the N E of the Punjab Its historic capital at the present time bears the same name as the district, but was formerly known as Nagarkot The temple referred to by Terry is that of Devi Bajresari, which still

North Eastermost confine of Mogor It lyes to the North East of the head of the Bay of Bengala It is very Mountainous.

15 SIDA<sup>1</sup> The Cheese Citty soe called. It borders with Nakarkutt Southerly It is all Mountaines.

16. JESVALL<sup>2</sup> The Cheese Citty is called Ragepur It

ranks among the oldest and wealthiest shrines in India. "Jalla makee" is the even more famous temple of Jawla Mukhi in the same district, where certain jets of natural gas issuing from the ground are kept constantly burning being looked upon as a manifestation of the goddess Devi (*Adagra Gasteriter*). Roe does not mention this spot, but it appears in the map as "Jallamakee, the Pilgrimage of the Banians."

There is an interesting reference to hāngra in the travels of William Finch in 1611 (*Parrhas* vol. i p. 438), who describes "the great Raue called Tullock Chand [Trekoka Chandra] whose chiefe City is Negercoal in which City is a famous Pagod, called Ie or Durga, vnto which worlds of people resort out of all parts of India. some also are reported to cut off a piece of their tongue and, throwing it at the Idols feet, have found it whole the next day. This Raja is powerfull, by his Mountaines situation secure not once vouchsafing to visite Sha Selim."

A detailed account of hāngra and Jawla Mūkhi will be found in Cunningham's *Archæological Reports* vol. v, pp. 155 175. See also Blochmann and Jarrett's *Am i Akbari* vol. ii pp. 312 4, where the statements of Finch and Coryat as to the sacrifice of tongues are corroborated.

<sup>1</sup> "Sida the chief city is called Hardwar where the famous River Ganges passing through or amongst large Rocks, makes presently after a pretty full Current; but both this and that other great River Indus have their Rhee and Original out of the Mountain Caucasus, from whence they both first issue. That principall Rock, through which this River Ganges there makes a Current, is indeed, or (if not), according to the fancy of the Superstitious Indians, like a Cowes Head [cp. the map], which of all sensible Creatures they love best. Thither they assemble themselves daily in Troops to wash their bodies, ascribing a certain Divinity to Waters, but more especially to the Water in the River Ganges. And thither our famous Coryat went likewise to view this place. —Terry p. 88.

Professor Blochmann could not find a district of this name anywhere near Hardwar. Probably however, the reference is to Sīdā (now the Sīdā talūka of hāngra district), which for a time established its independence under a branch of the ruling family of hāngra. Terry's inclusion of Hardwar in his territories is an error due to Blafin's map.

A description of Hardwar and of the bathing ceremonies which yearly attract thousands of pilgrims will be found in Cunningham's *Archæological Survey Reports* vol. ii, p. 231

<sup>2</sup> Professor Blochmann gave up this name as hopeless, though he hazarded a conjecture (based on a reference to it in Blaeu's map as a

bordereth with Bengala South-East, North with Syba and Nacurkutt. It is full of Mountaynes

17 DELLY [Delhi]<sup>1</sup> The Chiefe Citty so called It lyeth on the North-west syde of the River Iemny [Jumna], which falleth into Ganges and runneth thorough Agra It is an ancient Cytty and the seat of the Mogolls ancestors It is ruined<sup>2</sup> Some affirme it to haue been the seat of Porus, conquered by Alexander, and that ther stands a Pillar with a Grieke inscription<sup>3</sup>

18 MEUAT<sup>4</sup> The Cheefe Citty called Narnol It lyeth on the East of Ganges

19 SANBALL The Cheefe Citty soe Called<sup>5</sup> It lyeth between Ganges and Iemna to the North-west of their meeting

20 BAKAR<sup>6</sup> The Cheefe Citty is called Bikanir It bordereth North-West one Ganges

"country for elephants") that Ragepur might be Raipur in the Central Provinces Jesuall appears, however, to be the ancient Rájput principality of Jaswán, which centered in the valley of that name in Hoshiárpur district (Punjab) In that case Ragepur is Rájpura, not far from Amb, where, according to the district gazetteer, an old building, fort and palace combined, of the Jaswál Rájás may still be seen

<sup>1</sup> "Which signifies an Heart, and is seated in the heart of the Mogul's territories," says Terry He is evidently thinking of the Persian *dil* (a heart), but the etymology, though ingenious, is entirely wrong

<sup>2</sup> This, of course, refers to old Delhi, the ruins of which still spread over an extensive area to the south of the present city

<sup>3</sup> See p 103

<sup>4</sup> Mewát lay to the south of Delhi, and included parts of the present Muttra and Gurgáon districts and portions of Alwar, Bhartpur, and Patiala It was subdued by Akbar, and was included in the *síbah* of Agra. Its geographical position is very incorrectly given, for it was considerably to the west of the Ganges In the map it is still further displaced

Nárnaul, its chief town, which was for a time one of the strongholds of the famous George Thomas, now forms part of Patiala, having been bestowed upon the Mahárájá in recognition of his services during the Mutiny

<sup>5</sup> Sambhal, in Moradábád district, N W Provinces Under Akbar it was the capital of a considerable *sarkár* Roe is mistaken in placing it between the Ganges and the Jumna.

<sup>6</sup> Bikaner, in Rájputána. The form "Bakar," and the erroneous position assigned to the district, may be due to some confusion with Bahar.

21 AGRA, a Principall and great Kingdome. The Citty soe Called the hart of the Mogolles territorye in North latitude about 28d] <sup>1</sup> It lieth most on the South west syde of Iemna the Citty vpon the riuier wher one of the Emperors Treasuries are kept from Agra to Lahor being 320 *Cours* which is not lesse then seven hundred mile It is all a Playne and the high way Planted on both sides with trees like a delicate walke it is one of the great woorkes and woonders of the world <sup>2</sup>

22 JENUPAR <sup>3</sup> The Citty soe Called vpon the Riuier of haur which I suppose to bee one of the five Riuer enclosing Lahor and the Country lyeth betweene it and Agra, North west from one South East from the other

23 BANIX <sup>4</sup> The Cheefe Citty so called. It confineth Agra to the West

24 PATNA The Cheefe Citty so called. It is inclosed by lower great riuers Ganges Iemna Serseli <sup>5</sup> and Kanda [Gandak], so that it lyeth from Agra South East towards the Bay of Benpala wher all these pay tribute.

<sup>1</sup> Really 3° 10' 6"

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tavernier's *Travels* (ed. by Ball), vol. I, p. 96. No doubt Coryat, who had travelled along this road, had described it to Roe. It will be seen that this "Longe Walke" is a prominent feature of the map.

The distance is much overrated. It is really about 440 miles from Agra to Lahore. William Finch, who journeyed along the same road in 1611 and gives his stages, makes it 281 *dos* in all.

<sup>3</sup> This may be Jaunpur formerly a considerable Muhammadan kingdom, extending from Naddun and Etāwah to the frontier of Bihar; but if so, Roe is mistaken in placing it between Agra and Lahore. Can he have confused it with Jaipur? By haur (hālī) may be meant the Gogra; but the city of Jaunpur is on the Gūmti, and neither of these streams falls into the Indus.

<sup>4</sup> Bāndhū (Banda), now a district of the Allahābād division of the N W Provinces.

<sup>5</sup> Professor Blochmann identifies this with the Sarasuti (Saraswatī). "According to the legend," he says, "the Saraswatī, which is lost in the sand east of Bhatinda district, joins the Ganges below the ground at Allahābād."



25 GOR [Gaur] The Cheife Citty soe called<sup>1</sup> It lyeth toward the head of Ganges

26. BENGALA A mightie Kingdome enclosing the Western syd of the Bay on the North and wyndeth Southerly It bordereth on Cormandell The Chief Cittyes are Ragmehhal [Rájmahál] and Dekaka [Dacca] There are many Hauens, as Port Grande [Chittagong], Port Pequina,<sup>2</sup> traded by the Portugals, Piliptan [Piplí(patam)], Satigam [Sátgáon] It conteyneth diuers Prouinces, as that of Purp and Patan<sup>3</sup>

27 ROCH<sup>4</sup> It hath noe Citty of Note, and bordereth the South-East, East of Bengala, and the Bay

28 VDEZA<sup>5</sup> The Chiefe Citty Called Iekanat. It is the vtmost East of the Mogulls Territories beyond the Bay, and Confines with the Kingdome of Maug,<sup>6</sup> a sauage People lyeing betweene Vdeza and Pegu

<sup>1</sup> The ruins of this, the ancient capital of the Muhammadan kings of Bengal, are still to be seen in Maldah district, 25 miles S E of Rájmahál

<sup>2</sup> Usually identified with Sátgáon As the latter port is mentioned separately, it is possible that here the neighbouring port of Húghl is intended.

<sup>3</sup> Purp (Hind. *púrba*, from Sanskrit *púrba*, "the east") was used loosely to signify Oudh, Benares, and Bahar Finch applies the term to parts of Oudh (*Purchas*, vol 1, pp 436, 438), Jourdain (1611) says, "Pierb is 400 *Cose* longe and hath beene the seate of four Kinges," Van Twist (1648) calls it Purbet, "a province on the borders of Tartary," Manrique (1649) carries it as far west as Agra ("llamose esta prouincia antiguamente Purrop") Patan may be a duplication of Patna, or a confused notion of Bhotán

<sup>4</sup> Sir Roper Lethbridge (*loc cit*) suggests that this is meant for Koch, *ze*, Kuch Bahar Professor Blochmann, however, holds that it is Arakan, which is often called Rukh by Muhammadan historians, and from Roe's description it would certainly appear that this identification is correct.

Terry omits Roch from his list, possibly because he could not find it in Baffin's map (which does not go beyond the boundaries of Bengal), but he replaces it by Jaisalmer, which is in the map but not in the list of provinces

<sup>5</sup> Were it not for the mention of Jagannáth, this would scarcely be recognised as Orissa, especially as the latter duly appears on the map (as "Orixa") in something like its proper position (cp p 545) Possibly there is some confusion with Dacca.

<sup>6</sup> The Maghs are a tribe inhabiting the northern part of Arakan

29. KANDUANA.<sup>1</sup> The Cheefe Citty is Called Kerhaka tenkah. It lieth South west of the Sowth of Bengala.

30. KUALIAR [Gwalior]. The Chiefe Citty soe Called. It lyeth to the South-east<sup>2</sup> of Kanduana, and bordereth on Burhampur

31. CRANDES [Khandesh]. The Chiefe Citty called Burhanpur. A great Kingdome, one of the Ancient seates of Decan and Conquered from them. It lyeth East of Guzaratt, South of Chytor West of Decan. It is watered with the Riuer Tabeti [Tapti], which falleth West into the Bay of Cambaya. It is now the seat of the Decan.

32. MALVA [Malwa]. The Cheefe Cittyes called Vgen [Ujjain], Narr [Dhár?], and Seringe [Siron]. It lyeth West of Chandes, betweene that and the Countrey of Ranna, on the West of the Riuer of Sepra,<sup>3</sup> which falls into the Bay of Cambaya, not farre from Suratt.

33. BERAR. The Cheefe Citty is called Shahpur<sup>4</sup>. It bordereth on Guzeratt and the hilles of Ranna.

34. GUZRATT. A goodly Kingdome enclosing the bay of Cambaya. The Cheefe Citty is Amadavaz [Ahmadábád]. It Conteynes the Citty and Gouverment of Cambaya, the bewty of India, the Territorie and Citty of Surat and Barooch [Broach]. It is watered with many goodly Riuers, as that of Cambaya [the Máhi], falsely supposed to bee Indus,<sup>5</sup> the Riuer of Narbadah, falling into the Sea at Ba

<sup>1</sup> Gondwáná, nearly all of which is now comprised in the Central Provinces. Kerhakatenkah is Garhakatanika, near Jabalpur but the name was often applied to the whole district.

<sup>2</sup> North west.

<sup>3</sup> The Sipra (see p. 379). It falls, not into the Gulf of Cambay but into the Chambal, a tributary of the Ganges.

<sup>4</sup> Sháhpur six *kos* south of Bálapur, in Akola district. It was for a time a place of importance as the head-quarters of Sultán Murád (son of Akbar), but is now a heap of ruins.

<sup>5</sup> Cp. pp. 96, 112.

rooch, that of Suratt, and diuers others It trades to the Red Sea, to Achyn, and many places

35 SORETT [Sorath, in Káthiáwár]<sup>1</sup> The Cheefe Citty Called Gunagur [Júnágarh] Lyeth to the North-west of Guzeratt.

36 NARUAR<sup>2</sup> The Cheefe Citty called Ghehud Lyeth South-west from Chitor

37 CHYTOR [Chitor] An ancient great Kingdom The Citty soe Called on a Mightie hill, walled about ten English Mile Ther stands yet aboue an hundred Churches, the Pallace of the King, many braue Pillars of carued stone Ther is but one assent, cut out of the Rock, Passing fower Magnificent Gates Ther remayne the ruines of 100,000 howses of stone It is vninhabited<sup>3</sup> It was doubtlesse one of the seates of Porus and was woonne from Ranna, his issue, by Eckbarshaw, the last Mogoll<sup>4</sup> Ranna, flyeing into the strength of his Kingdome among the Mountayns, seated himselfe at Odepooore [Udaipur], who was brought to acknowledg the Mogol for his superior lord by Sultan Coroonne [Khurram], thirde sonne of the present Emperour, in the yeare 1614. This Kingdome lyeth North-west from Chandes, and North-East from the North-west of Guzaratt, in the way betweene Agra and Suratt Ranna himselfe keepes the hilles to the West, nearer Amadavaz

The length is North-west to South-east from Chanda-

<sup>1</sup> "But a little Province, yet very rich"—Terry, p 80 In the map it is placed on the mainland

<sup>2</sup> Narwar, now part of Gwalior state. It is classed in the *Ann* as a *sarkár* of Agra. Ghehud seems to be Gohad, also in Gwalior state, but a considerable distance from Narwar "South-west" should be "East," or "North-east"

<sup>3</sup> "Its chief Inhabitants at this day are *Zim* and *Ohim*, Birds and Wild Beasts, but the stately Ruins thereof give a shadow of its Beauty while it flourished in its Pride."—Terry, p 82

<sup>4</sup> See p 102

har to Lahor 350 *Courses*<sup>1</sup> about 800 miles from Lahor to Agra 320 *Courses* about 752 miles from Agra to Ilhagipurpatna<sup>2</sup> 300 *Courses* about 680 miles from Ilhagipurpatna to Kirasunder<sup>3</sup> 300 *Courses* about 670 miles. In all *Courses* 1270 miles about 2872.<sup>4</sup>

The breadth in all is North East to South West, from Hardwar to Duarsa<sup>5</sup> 630 *Courses* about 1500 miles.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>1</sup> "As for *Courses* they are diversly taken (as Southerne and Northerne miles with vs), in some places longer in others shorter which causeth scruple in the computation (Note by Purchas)

<sup>2</sup> Ilhagipur Patna *Id.*, Patna.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to be Kydra Sundar which is mentioned in the *Atla* (Blochmann and Jarrett's ed., vol. ii, p. 124) as a township in the *sarkar* of Sondrgson in S.E. Bengal.

<sup>4</sup> The total mileage on the figures given, comes to 2902. Probably we should read 732, instead of 752, as the distance between Lahore and Agra, and 670, for 680, to the next stage. This would give the required total.

These figures are very rough, especially as regards the mileage. From Amdahar to Lahore, *via* the Holan, would be about 700 miles from Lahore to Agra, by way of Multra, 440 from Agra to Patna, 530 from Patna to the Bengal border (in a straight line) something over 400 say 2100 miles in all. The breadth from Hardwar to Dwarka (as the crow flies) would be about 800 miles; it would, of course be further by road. From the figures he gives, Roe appears to take the *kos* as equivalent to from 2.23 to 2.38 miles. Finch seems to make it about 1.56 miles, which is fairly exact. On the latter basis, the length (1270 *kos*) would be 1981 miles, and the breadth (630 *kos*) 982.

<sup>5</sup> Dwarka, on the S.W. point of the Kathiawar peninsula.

<sup>6</sup> With Roe's list of provinces we may compare the almost contemporary list given by Jourdain in *Voyage* 1758 (British Museum), viz., "Cabull, Casmeir Candahar Balucke Delly Cambau, Sinde, Bengalla, Iotann, Mandna, Guallier Hassier Amadavar part [of] Decan, and Ierth. Hawkins says "the Empire is divided into five great Kingdomes, the names of which he gives as "Pengab," "Bengala," "Malwa," "Decan, and "Gureral (*The Hawkins' Voyages* p. 420).

## NOTE ON THE MAP

WITHIN a few months of Roe's return to England, and while his embassy was still a subject of general curiosity, appeared the *Indolstani Descriptio*, a reduced facsimile of which, from a copy (probably unique) in the British Museum, is herewith placed before the reader. Quite apart from the fact that it is the earliest English attempt to delineate the territories of the Mogul emperors, the map is of great interest, alike from the circumstances of its production, the information it embodies, and the extent to which it has guided (and misguided) the work of later geographers. We will briefly consider it under these three heads.

First, however, a few facts concerning the map itself may be mentioned. The original, which is known at the British Museum as K. 115 (22), measures (exclusive of margin) about nineteen and a quarter inches by fifteen. The full title (in the bottom left-hand corner) is *INDOLSTANI Imperii Totius Asiæ ditissimæ descriptio ex indagatione Illust. Domi Tho. Roe Equitis Aurati in Regia Mogollanica Legatum agentis Illustrata Anno Sal. 1619 Vera quæ visa quæ non veriora*. At the top of the map is a short title, *A Description of East India conteyninge th' Empire of the Great Mogoll*, and in the upper right-hand corner appear the Mogul's standard and his seal, with the Persian names given in English characters. Along the lower margin we find the names of the engraver (*Renold Elstrack sculp.*) and of the vendor (*Are to be sold in Pauls Church yarde by Thomas Sterne, Globemaker*), and, in a small label between them, the significant inscription *William Baffin deliniavit et excudebat*.

Although generally known, in after years, as Sir Thomas Roe's map, it bears, as we have seen, the honoured name of William Baffin as its draughtsman. This fact at once affords a clue to its history. For Baffin, who was an indefatigable surveyor and map-maker, was a master's mate on board the *Anne*, the ship in which Roe returned to England,<sup>1</sup> and we may surmise that the acquaintance which would naturally spring up during the voyage between the ambassador and a navigator of Baffin's experience had led to a project for the publication of an accurate map of India, and that for this purpose Roe had placed at Baffin's disposal all the information in his possession. It may be that the map was actually drawn during the voyage,

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<sup>1</sup> This interesting conjunction, and also the fact of his connection with the first English map of Hindustán, appear to have escaped the notice of Baffin's biographers.

and that the ambassador assisted Baffin in locating the interior cities and provinces, but the character of some of its inaccuracies, and the fact that it is not mentioned among the maps submitted to the East India Company by Baffin shortly after his return (for which they voted him a gratuity),<sup>1</sup> militate against this view, and it seems more probable that it was compiled during the few months that elapsed between the arrival of the *Anne* in September, 1619 and Baffin's departure as master of the *London* at the beginning of February 1620.<sup>2</sup>

It is important to note in this connection that Roe had himself intended at one time to prepare a map of the country to which he had been accredited. There is no reference to the subject in his extant letters or journal, but the fact is placed beyond doubt by a passage in one of Lord Carew's letters to him (Maclean's edition, p. 123). Lett me entreat you," wrote the latter, "to be carefull to make the mappe of the Mogolla territorie, as you have intended. Itt will be a worke worthye of your selfe and adorne your travell and iudgement, and leave to the world a lasting memorie when you are dust." Doubtless it was with this purpose in view that Roe had compiled (some time before October 1617) the geographical compendium which has been printed in the foregoing pages. Probably he intended to supplement this by the collection of fresh information as opportunity offered, but was prevented by ill health and the many other troubles of his mission from following up the matter, and the slenderness of the material he had obtained may have made him all the more willing to commit the task to other hands.

The extent of the assistance afforded to Baffin by Roe must remain largely a matter of conjecture. On the one hand, the manner in which the map differs from the list, often without apparent reason, seems to negative the idea that he had any voice in the matter. That Baffin had a hard—sometimes an impossible—task in reconciling the statements occurring in the list and in locating his provinces from the meagre information available, may

<sup>1</sup> As the Company had specially desired the preparation of a map of India, Baffin had every reason to exhibit his if he had it ready. The instructions given to Downton in the 1614 voyage had contained a clause directing him to send some fit person to discover "the river of Sinda" and the surrounding country with a view to the preparation of a "trew mappe for our better understandinge of the same" and the like mapp" (they continued) "would we have him drawe exactly of the whole Country of the great Mogoll, for the Citnation of Agra, Labor Biana, etc., and all the riuers whearvppon ther Citties stand and which come down to Cambaya or other places, which to this day we could neuer haue. Downton, however had found no opportunity of carrying out this project.

<sup>2</sup> Of course either January or February 1620, would be included in 1619 in the old style of reckoning.

be admitted, but it is difficult to see why "the kingdom of the Kakares," which is stated to "border north east on Kishmier," should have been placed itself to the north-east of that province, or why "Kanduana," which Roe had located (with tolerable accuracy) to the S W of Bengal, should have been moved to the far north. Multán is described in Roe's list as "lying vpon Indus," but in the map it is quite away from the river, probably because it is said, by an error, that the "Pen-jab" borders "north-east upon Multan," while Attock, which Roe had placed, quite rightly, at the junction of the Kábul river with the Indus, is fixed to the south of Lahore. On the other hand, it is almost incredible that Baffin should not have shown at least a draught of the map to the person at whose suggestion (probably) it was undertaken, and who would certainly feel the liveliest interest in such a matter. The fact, too, that Narwar, which is stated in the list to be S W of Chitor, should have been changed to the N E instead, suggests the influence of Roe, or of someone who, like him, knew enough of western India to make the correction, and the introduction of the "Longe Walke" between Delhi and Lahore, of the Cow's-head gorge at Hardwar, and of "Jallamakee, the pilgrimage of the Banians"—all obviously derived from the narratives of Tom Coryat—may also have been due to the ambassador. Terry's statement that the map was "first made by the 'special observation and direction' of Roe would of course settle the question, if it could be relied on, but it was made many years after the date of publication, and (as we have seen), the reverend gentleman's memory was not to be trusted implicitly. The general attribution of the map to Roe is sufficiently explained by the use made of his name in the title, and the fact that what fresh matter it contained was undoubtedly derived from information supplied by him.

That that information, though often inaccurate, constituted on the whole an important advance, may be seen on comparing Baffin's map with the one given in the standard atlas of the period, viz, the *Gerardi Mercatoris Atlas denuo auctus*, of which a fourth edition was published by Hondius at Amsterdam about 1612.<sup>1</sup> A glance at the latter will shew how little was previously known as regards the interior of the Indian peninsula. The coast line and the chief ports had been given with fair accuracy in Linschoten's map (see the English edition of 1598), from information drawn from Portuguese charts, and in the atlas this is copied fully, though somewhat carelessly. But the interior is still a region to be filled in almost at random. The Indus falls into the Gulf of Cambay (an error which Roe specially emphasizes), while its proper place is occupied by a river called the R. de

<sup>1</sup> This was the atlas presented by Roe to Jahángír and returned by him, as related on pp. 414, 417.

Diul Sindé. Even the best known of the up-country cities—Lahore, Delhi, Agra, Patna, etc.—were located by guesswork and the whole country is portrayed in a most rudimentary fashion.

In these respects the map drawn by Baffin was a great advance upon its predecessor. The Indus for the first time assumes somewhat of its proper shape, and it is duly identified with the river entering the ocean near Diulsind (Laribandar). In fact, the whole of western and the greater part of central India may be said to be portrayed with fair though far from complete accuracy. Where the difficulty came in was to locate the provinces—such as Jenapar, Bankush, Syba, etc.—which were known only from Roe's list. In that document the indications given were often either too vague to be of use, or else irreconcilable with other statements. The map-maker seems therefore in desperation to have filled them in almost at random, and, as we have seen most of his guesses were very far from being successful. Vdera, again, was not recognized as the Oriza of the Portuguese charts and its erroneous location in Roe's list (the utmost East of the Mogulls Territories beyond the Bay") led to its insertion between Bengal and Burma, while "Oriza" occupies its proper position.

There was at least one re-issue of the map in its separate form. Mr C. G. Cash, of Edinburgh, possesses a map of India similar to the one under discussion, except that its date is 1632 and that the copies are stated to have been *Printed for Isenry Tombs and Benjamin Fisher and are to be soulede at the Talbot without Aldersgate*. Mr Cash has kindly compared the two in detail, and has found that they are absolutely identical in all other respects, and that the figures in the date are evidently not the original ones. It is clear, therefore, that the plate had been passed on from the first proprietor to Messrs. Tombs and Fisher who had then issued a fresh impression, after altering the date and inserting their own names.

Some six years after its publication, Baffin's map was re-engraved on a reduced scale for *Purchas His Pilgrimes* and as the form in which it there appeared is the only one which has hitherto been generally accessible, it may be useful to make a brief comparison. The same engraver Renold Elstrack, was employed, but his work had nothing like the accuracy of the first edition. In the one case he was working (we may assume) under the superintendence of Baffin, in the other he was left to his own devices. Hence we find that in the later map signs of haste and negligence abound. Elstrack has, in the first instance, marked the Ganges delta as Sindé, for in spite of attempts to erase the name from the plate it may still be read, the frontier of Bengal has had to be corrected, and the alteration has left part of the name outside the boundary of the province, while Haiacan has been turned into Halacan, Brodera into Brodem, Jallamakee into Illamakee, and so on in at least half a dozen



instances. In other respects, the copy follows the original with fair accuracy, but it must always remain a careless and untrustworthy version of Baffin's handiwork.

The next appearance of the map (on a still smaller scale) was in Terry's work in 1655. In this, many of the names of provinces and towns have been omitted, and amongst other mistakes "Ugen" has become "Upen," "Cambay" "Campay," "Buckor" "Bucko," and "Jeselmeere" has been shortened to "Jesel." But the (unknown) engraver avoids some of the errors of Purchas's version, and it is evident that he worked not from the latter but from the 1619 map. Ten years later (1665) the same plate was made use of in the version of Terry which was published as a supplement to Havers' translation of Della Valle's letters (see p. 527). The copy, by the way, given in the 1777 reprint of Terry's book is still more inaccurate than its predecessor.

To follow in detail the influence of Baffin's map on the work of succeeding geographers would carry us beyond our limits. It may suffice to say that it is writ large upon every map of India, English or foreign, which was produced for quite a century. Roe's name lent the map an authority which probably he would have been the first to deprecate, and though later geographers might doubt the accuracy of some of its details, it was only after great hesitation that they ventured to amend them. Consequently, Siba, Nakakutt, Jenupar, Peitan, Kanduan, Jesuall, Meuat and the two Orissas—mostly in the positions assigned by Baffin—appear in turn in the maps of Blaeu, Van den Broucke (Valentyn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost Indien*, vol. v), Sanson, Ogilby, Bernier and even Catrou (1715), and it was not until the advent of scientific map-making with Rennell (who went back for his political divisions to the *Ain* itself) that Indian geography shook off at last the incubus of these and similar errors.









## APPENDIX B

### I.—THE COMPANY'S AGREEMENT WITH ROE.<sup>1</sup>

(I. O. Records *Miscellaneous Court Book* f. 155.<sup>2</sup>)



ARTICLES of Agreement made and concluded the Sixteenth date of November 1614 betwixt the Governor and Company of Merchantes of London trading Into the East Indies on the one parte, And Sir Thomas Roe knight, on thoth[er] parte as followeth

Whereas the Gouvernor and Company haue nominated the foresaid Sir Thomas

Roe and procured his Majestie to employ him as his Ambassador to the Grand Mogore for the better establishing and settlinge an absolute trade in any partes within the Dominions of the greate Mogore aforesaid,

The said Gouvernor and company finding that they cannot conveniently proportion any certainty for the expens[e] of Diett both for Sir Thomas Roe and his retinewe, doe leave the managing thereof to his Discretion, care, and wisdom, relying vpon his frugallity wherein he promiseth his vitermost endeavors, And to cause a iust accompt to be kept of all expences from the beginning to the End, as alsoe to deliuer vnp a particuler of whatsoever shalbe allowed vnto him by the grand Mogore And if it shall soe happen that the Grand Mogore shall graunt a daylie or yearly allowance vnto him for his Diett and followers during his abode there to counterraille those expences, That then he shall free the Company from the said charge.

<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The First Letter-book of the East India Company* (p. 446) but again reproduced on account of its importance to the subject in hand.

<sup>2</sup> This is only a copy what became of the original covenants is not known.

The said Sir Thomas Roe doth promise to forbear all private Trade for himselfe or any other, either directly or indirectly, and doth assure the Company by a faithfull promise to hinder it in others (All that he can) and to giue intelligence vnto them of any that he shall take notice of to offend in that nature or shall by any meanes come to the knowledge of, and wilbe ready to giue his best assistance vnto there cheife Factor, vpon any occacion, to punish all offenders that shall deserue punishment, according to the quality of there offences

And lastly, to free himselfe from all iust cause of doubt concerning there stock in the Country, Hee is willing not to intermeddle with any of there moneyes there, as he doth voluntarily offer, And will not desir aboue the value of One hundred poundes vpon any spetiall occacions, to haue it repaid back againe out of his meanes, when they shall growe due, Promising not to haue to doe with any parte of there merchandize, but to Leaue it wholly to the Managing of there factors whome they shall appoint for theis purposes

In consideracion of the premisses, the said Gouvernor and Company doe for themselves and their Successors promise to allowe vnto the said Sir Thomas Roe yerely, for soe long a time as he shalbee employed in this service, the somme of Six hundred poundes, Three hundred thereof to be paid in the Country at fower shillings sixpence the Riall, for his maintenance of Apparrell and other expences, And thother Three hundred poundes shall yerely be put into the Joinct stocke to be ymployed for his benifitt proportionably with all other aduentures For his better encouragement, whereby to tye his uttermost endeavours to be ymployed for the good of the Company, They were willing to giue him a true Testimony of there affections, And therefore bestowed on him freely the some of Five hundred markes ymprest vpon his Salarie, to dispose of as he should thinke fitting

The said Gouvernor and Company, desiring to be at a certenty concerning the wages of all such servantes as shall attend him, are contented to allowe him a hundred poundes per Annum for him to giue them satisfaccion, besides a preacher and Chirurgeon whoe shall haue wages at the Companies charge, the Preacher 50 *li* per Annum, and the Chirurgeon Twenty and fower poundes, And did freely bestowe the some of Thirty poundes to be disposed by him for the Liuries of his said followers, In consideracion whereof he promiseth to entertayne none to attend him but such as the Company shall approve of

The said Gouverner and Company are likewise contented to deliuer vnto Sir Thomas Roe the somme of Fifteene<sup>1</sup> poundes in hand, being the one halfe of the yerely allowaunce guen by the Company towards the entertainment of his followers, and alsoe

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<sup>1</sup> An error for "fifty"

Five and Twenty poundes for the halfe of the yearely allowance given by them vnto the Preacher, and Twelue poundes for the like halfe yeares allowance vnto the chirurgeon, And for the time ensewing it is agreed to haue them<sup>1</sup> halfe of theire said yearely allowance to be paid vnto Sir Thomas Roe in the Country for theire dischargd.

And lastly the said Gouvernor and company are contented to lend vnto the said Sir Thomas Roe the somme of one hundred poundes to buy plate for his Table, which some he promisseth to repale back againe at his retorne or deliuer the value thereof in Plate, Or to haue it answered out of his Adventure, if he die.

*Memorandum.* Whereas Sir Thomas Roe, Kt., hath receyved the somme of Three hundred thirte and three pouodes six shillinges and Eight pence, parte of the Salary which is to bee allowed him for the ymployment, according to former agreement, whereby there cannot be soe much put into the Jointe stock the first yeare as is formerly mencioned, The said Sir Thomas Roe doth therefore Couenant to haue one hundred markes more of his salarie to make vpp the full of Fower hundred poundes to be paid heare to such as he shall consigne it vnto, and onely Twoe hundred poundes put into the loynt stock for his vse in this his first yeare of ymployment, The second yeare Three hundred poundes as was formerly resould<sup>2</sup> of, and the like for the Thurd, which in theis Three yeares will arise to the somme of Eight hundred poundes to be disposed for his benefit in the Joint stock accordinge to former Couenant and agreement.

To witnes of which agreement and Covenantes concluded, the said Gouvernor and Company haue for themselues and there Successours caused there Common Seale to be fixed to one parte thereof, and the said Sir Thomas Roe hath to the other parte put his hand and Seale the day and yeare first aboue-written.

## II.—ROYAL COMMISSION TO SIR THOMAS ROE.

(Rymer's *Fœdera*, vol. xvi, pp. 775, 776.)

*De Tractando cum Monarcha Indiarum Orientalium super  
Amicitia et Commercio*

JAMES, by the Grace of God, of Great Brittain, Fraunce and Ireland King, Defendor of the Faith, etc.

Whereas the high and mighty Monarch, the Greate Magoar King of the Orientall Indyes, of Condahy, of Chusmer and of Corasou<sup>3</sup> etc., hath of late confirmed vnto our Subjects, vnder his Great Firma, diuerse Rytes, Libertyes and Privileges for their

<sup>1</sup> "The one" is meant.

<sup>2</sup> An error for "resolv[e]d.

<sup>3</sup> Kandahar, Kashmir, and Khorassan.

peaceable Trade and Commerce with his People throughout all his Domynions, promiseinge and undertaking to safe conducte and defende them therein

We, being ready and desirous on our Parts to correspond in the lyke Offices of Frendshippe with the said Greate Monarch, and to maintayne the Entercourse and Traffique which hath so happylie been begun, have resolved, for better supporting of our said Subjects in their Trade, to sende expressely unto the said Great Magoar our Trusty and Welbeloved Subjecte, Sir Thomas Rowe, knight, a principall Gentleman of our Courte

Knowe yee therefore that, for the Confidence and Trust which We have in the Fidelity and Discretion of the said Sir Thomas Rowe, We have constituted, appoynted, ordayned and deputed, and hereby do constitute, appoynt, ordayne and depute the said Sir Thomas Rowe our true and undoubted Attorney, Procurator, Legate and Ambassador

Giving and Graunting unto him full Power and Aucturity to treate, as well with the said Greate Monarch, as with any his Servants, Councillors, or other Deputyes to be by him appoynted in that behalfe, and with them agree and conclude concernynge the Maintaynance and Continuance of the Amity and Course of Marchandiz betweene Us, and our Realmes and Dominions, and the Realmes and Dominions of the said Great Magore, and therefore to agree, compound and covenant in such forme, and upon such Articles, Covenants and Conditions as to the same Sir Thomas Rowe shall in his Discretion be thoughte meete for the naturall [mutual?] Good of both our Subjects

Promiseing hereby, in good Faith and in our Princely Word, that We will allow, approve and confirm whatsoever our said Ambassador shall doe and agree unto in and concernyng the Premisses

And whereas it may fall out that, either by the Emulation and Envy of other Nations, who seeke to engrosse the whole Trade of those Parts into their Hands, our said Ambassador might be hindered and interrupted from landing into the said Great Magoare his Country, or, by the Inconstancy and Mutability of those People, after his first Reception may be driven suddaynlye to retire from thence for as much as, in either of those Accidents, or uppon any other just Occasion that may fall out to frustrate the execution of the Charge committed to him as afore-said, the Governor and Company Trading into the East Indies have resolved to use the further Service of the said Sir Thomas Rowe in some of their Shippes for further Discovery into the Redd Seas or any other Places elsewhere

We, likewise approving and favoring the said Course of our Marchants, doe hereby straightly charge and commande the said Sir Thomas Rowe and all other under his Government that neither in their Voiage outward or homeward, or in any Country,

Island, Port or Place where they shall abide during the tyme of their being abroad, if they mete with any the Subjects of the King of Spayne or of any other our Confederats, Frendes or Allyes, or of any other Nation or People their Ships, Vessels, Goodes or Marchaundizes, they doe not attempt or goe about to set upon, take or surprise their Persons, Vessels, Goods or Marchandizes or offer any Injury or Discourtesy unto them, except they shall be by them first thereunto justly provoked or driven, either in the just Defence of their own Persons, Shippes, Vessels, Goods or Marchaundizes by any their Disturbance or Hinderance whatsoever in their quiet Course of Trade, or for Recompence and Recovery of the Persons, Shippes, Goods or Marchandizes of any our Subjects that are or have been already in or near the East Indies, or for any other just cause of their Defence or Recompence of Losses sustayned, In which Cases so excepted, yf they attempte, surprise and take the Persons, Shippes and Goods of any Prince or State by whose Subjects they shall sustayne any Wrongs or Losse in manner as aforesaid, they shall not for any such Act or Acts, grounded upon the Occasions abovementioned, be in danger and subject to the Perills and Penalties of our Lawes.

In witness whereof We have caused these our Letters to be made Patents and sealed with our Great Seale.

Given under our Hand, at our Palace of Westminster the eight<sup>h</sup> Day of January in the twelveth Yere of our Reigne of Great Bryttayne, Fraunce and Ireland, and in the Yeare of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and fourteen [1615].

*Per ipsum Regem.*

CAREW

### III —THE KING'S INSTRUCTIONS TO ROE.<sup>1</sup>

(Public Records Office *E. Indies*, vol. 1, No. 44.)

*Instructions for Sir Thomas Rowe knight, authorised by vs under our Great Seale of England to repaire as our Ambassadour to the Great Magoar*

JAMES R.

Whereas wee have given you Commission to negotiate with the Great Magoar or Emperour of the Orientall Indies &c., and also have given you Credit by our letters for anie thing you shall deal with him or his Ministers Concerning the good and safety of our subiectes Trade and Commerce, Wee have thought good, for

<sup>1</sup> Carte, in some MS. papers preserved in the Bodleian, gives the date as the tenth of January but he was probably mistaken.

<sup>2</sup> A full abstract of these instructions will be found among the Carte MSS. (No. 103, f. 282), in the Bodleian Library



your further direccion and Carnadge therein, to deliuer you theis instruccions

First, in your Carnadge, to be Carefull of the preservacion of our honour and dignity, both as wee are a soveraine Prince and a professed Christian, aswell in your speeches and presentacion of our letters as in all other Circumstances as farre as it standeth with the Custome of those Countries.

Next, that you vse all the Meanes you can to advance the Trade of the East India Company and to procure them all Commodities of safetie and profit that you may, which being the Maine scope of your ymployment, Wee doe therein referre you to such further direccions and prescripcions as you shall in that behalfe at present or hereafter receaue from the said Companie,<sup>1</sup> from which, either towards the persons of their factors or their Goodes, you are in noe wise to digresse, as you will answeare the Contrarie at your peril

And if the Great Magoar shall aske you why the Portugalles of Goa or therabouts doe not agree with our subiectes in those parts, but as Enimies doe vse all hostility against them (their King, our brother of Spaine, being in league and amity with vs), you may thervnto answeare that it is true that there is a Generall league and amity betwixt that King and vs, with libertie of free Trade and accesse to each others dominions, But the Portugalles, desirous to engrosse to themselues the whole Trade and Commerce of those partes of the East Indies, and thereby to keep as it were all those Kinges and Contries vnder their subieccion and Commaund, doe seeke to deprive our subiectes from that libertie of Commerce in those partes which the lawe of Nations doth Cast vpon vs Yet Notwithstanding, being able to repell their force in those partes by way of defence against their vniust oppressions, Wee are Willing to abstaine from further Actions of offence in respect of our Generall Amity with them

For all other matters Concerning our state, because those Princes are most apt to seeke to Maintaine Correspondencie with the greatest and Mightiest Princes, wherof they make their particular Judgmentes much by fame and report, their Contries being so farre remote from Meanes to vnderstand them in more particular fashion, you may by way of discourse, the rather to drawe on the Constancie of his affection towards you in your Ambassage and our subiectes, describe more particulerlie the qualitie and Constitucion of our Estate, aswell in regard of the severall Kingdomes and People which Almighty God hath subiected vnto vs, as in those other blessings which God hath

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<sup>1</sup> The Company's instructions to the ambassador, drawn by William Harrison (their treasurer) and Hugh Hamersley, were approved at a meeting held on January 4, 1615. Unfortunately, no copy is now forthcoming.

bestowed vpon vs and our hopesoll Posterity, for the quiet and peaceable governing of the same.

To which Circumstance of Greatnes, you may add the accesse of our power and strength at Sea, which giveth vs not onelie reputation and autority amongst the Greatest Princes of Christendome, but Maketh vs even a Terrour to all other Nations, Concluding all with this happines, that Wee be not oelie absolute obeyed but vniversally beloued and admyred of all our People.

And lastly, forasmoch as in partes remote there may fall out many occasions that may induce you either to send or vndertake a Iourney your selfe vnto the bordering Nations, the Emperor of China or any other, for Confirmation of league and amity with them, to whom also we haue sent our Royall letters to procure trade and Commerce for our loueing Subiectes the Marchantes trading those partes, you may then take holde of such occasion to advance the benefitt of our said Marchantes, whereto chiefly tendeth your employment, and by vertoe of this our Comission capitulate with him or any other bordering Nations according to such Instructions as shalbe given yoo by them.

*Raphe Winwood.*

Signed at Whithall  
the 29 of December, 1614

#### IV—LETTER FROM KING JAMES TO THE GREAT MOGUL

(Purchas's *Pilgrimes*, vol. i, p. 580<sup>1</sup>)

*The Kings Letters sent to Selim Shagh,<sup>2</sup> the Great Mogor, in the yeare 1614 [15] by Sir Thomas Roe.*

James, by the Grace of Almighty God, the Creator of Heauen and Earth King of Great Britaine, France and Ireland, Defendor of the Christian Faith, etc.

To the high and mightie Monarch the Great Mogor, King of the Orientall Indies, of Chandahar of Chismer and Corazon, &c. Greeting

We hauing notice of your great fauour toward Vs and Our Subiects, by Your Great *Firma* to all Your Captaines of Riuer and Officers of Your Customes, for the entertaynment of Our loueing Subiects the English Nation with all kind respect, at what time soeuer they shall arriue at any of the Ports within Your

<sup>1</sup> From a copy found by Purchas among Hakluyt's papers.

<sup>2</sup> Salim Sháh, the emperor's proper name. He is, however always known by the title of Jahángír which he assumed upon his accession to the throne.

Dominions, and that they may haue quiet Trade and Commerce without any kind of hinderance or molestation, &c, As by the Articles concluded by Suc Suff, Gouvernour of the Guzerats, in Your Name, with Our louing Subiect Captaine Thomas Best appeareth Haue thought it meete to send vnto You Our Ambasadour, which may more fully and at large handle and treat of such matters as are fit to be considered of, concerning that good and friendly correspondence, which is so lately begunne betweene Vs, and which will without doubt redound to the honour and vtilitie of both Nations In which consideration, and for the furthering of such laudable Commerce, Wee haue made choice of Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, one of the principall Gentlemen of Our Court, to whom Wee haue giuen Commission vnder Our Great Seale of England, together with directions and instructions further to treat of such matters as may be for the continuance and increase of the vtilitie and profit of each others Subiects to whom We pray You to giue fauour and credit in whatsoever Hee shall moue or propound toward the establishing and enlarging of the same And for confirmation of our good inclination and wel-wishing toward You, We pray You to accept in good part the Present, which our said Ambasadour will deliuer vnto You And so doe commit You to the mercifull protection of Almightye God

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## V—THE COMPANY'S INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS IN PERSIA

(I O Records *Miscellaneous Court Book*, f 157<sup>1</sup>)

*A declaration of the opinions of vs the Gouvernor and Company of Merchantes of London trading into the East Indies, what we thinke fitt to set downe as Enstruccions for the right Honourable Sir Thomas Roe, his Maesties Embassador residing with the great Mogoll, concerning the setting of a Trade in Persia*

First, That your Lordship receiue due informacion from Armenians, Moores, and such other Merchantes as trade out of Persia into the Mogores dominions, of the distance of place wher the Silke is principallie to be had vnto the Port that may be most commodious for our Shippes to repaire vnto

2 Also to take good knowledge of a sufficient Port, both for fitnes (in regard of repaire and entrance therunto) as also for the saufetye of our people and goodes

3 Likewise of the quantitie of silke that is yearlye bought by merchantes and exported out of Persia, as also of the current

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in *The First Letter book of the East India Company*, p 455 The circumstances in which these instructions were drawn are explained at p 421

price that it beareth in those partes ordinarily, and what the charge therof may be by canage from that place vnto the Port wher wee ar to lade it, To the end that the principall cost and charges may plainlye appeare vnto vs.

4. Which pointes being dulye examined and informacion taken accordinglye, then to consider of some fitting person or persons (two or three at the most) whome you may send to treat with the King of Persia on our Kinges behalf for the establishment of such a Trade with vs as will aunswer with our meanes and ventes of our Commodities, well enstructed by your Lordshipp in the Articles following, and such other thinges as to yoo shall seme most convenient. And therein to lymit the charges according to your Lordships discrecion, for that wee haue fownd the expences of Richard Steele to be vene extraordinarye and much distastfull to the Company

5 And the better to enable them to treat with the Kinge of Persia or his officers wee haue sent you a Coppie of the Capitulations agreed vpon betwixt the Kings Maiestie and the Grand Signior for our free trade into Turkey, wherby with your Lordshippes good helpe, such Articles may be framed ther to be sent with them as may be fit to be presented to the King of Persia for the establishment of what wee desire, least, being referred to their setting downe, somewhat may be mistaken to our disadvantage. And for the better enhabling of your Lordship therein wee haue set downe such other notes as wee thinke fit to be incerted.

#### To say

I That there may be a certaine rate agreed vpon for Customes or Tolles (yf any be ther payable) and that with as much fauor as may be.

II. That ther may be assigned vs a saufe and secure Port, wher our shippes may ride, without perill of the Seas and daunger of the Enemyes, And wher our Mart for the selling of ours and buying of their commodities may be settled without ouer farre cariage into the Countrey.

III. That wee may haue some good assurance That for their Silke they will accept at the least thooe half of English commodities at reasonable rates, especiallye

Cloath at 20*h.* sterling per Cloath or 80 Ryalls of 8.

Blewe Kersies of 20 yardes per peece, at 15 Ryalls of 8 per peece.

Northerne Kersyes in coulours, of 17 yardes the Kersye, at 16 Ryalls of 8.

Tynne in barres, at 30 Ryalls of 8 the 100 weight English.

Batterye<sup>1</sup> alias Brasse kettles at 40 Ryalls of 8 the 100 weight.

The other half to be paid in ready mooy Spices, and other Indian commodities.

<sup>1</sup> *I.e.*, metal utensils wrought by hammering

6 And the better to explaine our selues what wee desire, That the price of Silke may be contracted for more certaintie and some good assurance giuen that it may be laden cleare of all charges abourd our shipps at a Riall and a half of 8 the pownd of 16 ounces, which is the greatest price that we can resolute to giue and is more then the whight China silke doth cost in the Indies, that is sould here for aboue 20 shillings the pownd of 16 ounces, And this Persian silke sould here (according to ordinarie price) not for aboue 16 shillings the pownd of 16 ounces At which prices, and good condicions as aforesaid, wee shalbe able to take from the Persian yearlie 8000 Bales of his silke, of 180*li* English ech Bale or ther aboutes

Your Lordship may perceiue what our desire is by the premisses, But if you cannot effect it in the same manner and condicions, Then to trye howe neare you may bring it thervnto, And therof to certifye vs with all possible expedicion, That according as wee find cause wee may procede

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## VI—LETTER FROM KING JAMES TO SIR THOMAS ROE

(Public Records Office · *E Indies*, vol 1, No 57<sup>1</sup>)

To our right trustie and well beloued seruant Sir Thomas Roe, Knight, our Ambassadour resident with the Grand Mogull  
JAMES R.

Right trustie and welbeloued, Wee greete you well. Wee haue seen your Letters written vnto vs in February last<sup>2</sup> and we haue bene also more particularly informed by our principall Secretary of the aduerticementes which came from you at that tyme in your other private letters, which haue giuen vs very good contentment, being resolved to retaine in a gracious memory the dilligences and dexterity which you haue vsed in your negociations there. In particular we do approue of the entrance of a treaty which you haue begon to make with the Sophy of Persia for the opening of his Gulfe and inlarging the

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<sup>1</sup> Printed in the *Calendar of State Papers, E Indies*, 1617-21, Preface, p xxvi

<sup>2</sup> See p. 132 The present letter was written at the instance of the East India Company, as Roe guessed (p 479). A note from Smythe to Winwood, asking his assistance in procuring it, is among the MSS of the Duke of Buccleuch (*Reports of Hist MSS Commn*, 1899, vol 1, p 180) Its receipt by Roe is noted on p 430, and his reply will be found on p 495

trade of our subiectes into his Dominions, especially for the traffique and commerce of silke, beinge resolved to prosecute the same to effect, accordinge as we shall iudge it requisite vpon the further adverticementes that we shall heerafter receave from you. In the meantyme we do authorize you to proceed in your good beginnings and to dispatch into iersia some fit persons with such instructions as you shall receave from the Gouvernour and Committees of the East Indie Company to ripen and prepare that busines. And moreover if you shall find all things there so well prepared that you may come to the conclusion of a treaty to the purpose aboue-named, without further circumstance we do in such case heerby give you power to perfect and conclude, or cause to be perfected and concluded, a treaty of Commerce betwixt the said great Sophy and vs, for the mutuall good of the subiectes and dominions of vs both, without attending from hence any other directions then a confirmation only of that treaty which shalbe by vs forthwith ratified, according as you shall in our name undertake the same.

Given vnder our signet at our Pallace of Westminster the 4th of February 1616[ 17].

## VII.—LETTER FROM THE GREAT MOGUL TO KING JAMES<sup>1</sup>

(British Museum *Addl MSS.* 4156 f 100.)

When your Majestie shall open this lettre lett your royall hart bee as fresh as a sweete garden Lett all people make reuerence

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<sup>1</sup> This is the document mentioned in the ambassador's letter to King James of February 15 1618 (see p. 497). The text here given is from a copy in Roe's handwriting and may therefore be accepted as authoritative. Mr Sainsbury has printed a slightly different version in the preface to his *Calendar of State Papers, E. Indies*, 1617 21 taken from an undated copy in the Public Record Office (*E. Indies* vol. 1, No. 68); and a third copy also presenting some unimportant variations, is in *Addl MS* 29975 (f. 37). There is further among the Marquis of Salisbury's MSS. at Hatfield, a document containing (as Mr R. T. Cuntton has been kind enough to ascertain for me) copies of both this and the following letter on a single sheet endorsed, "Two letters from the Great Mogol to his Majesty 1619" and yet another copy of the two is among the Carte MSS. in the Bodleian Library (No. 103, f. 280). Terry quotes the opening lines of both, and says (not quite correctly) that one was written a year before the other.

Mr Sainsbury was unable to assign a date closer than "1618". This want is now supplied by Roe's note at the end of the letter.

These salutations  
are much amplified  
in phrases in the  
original<sup>1</sup>

at your gate, lett your throne bee aduanced  
higher, amongst the greatnes of the kyngs of  
prophett Iesus lett your Majestie bee the greatest,  
and all monarchques deriue their counsell  
wisedome from your brest as from a founteyne,  
that the law of the majestie of Jhesus may reuiue and flourish  
vnder your protection

The lettre of loue and frendship which you sent and the presd by  
tokens of your good affection toward mee, I haue receiued  
the hands of your Ambassador, Sir Thomas (Roe)  
In the original are many titles of honor and prayes cast away vpon mee. (who well desserueth to bee your trusted seruic)  
deliuered to mee in an acceptable and fixed  
houre, vpon which myne eyes were soe many  
that I could not easelye remooue them to  
other object, and haue accepted them with great joy and delight my

Vpon which assurance of your royall loue I haue giuen  
generall command to all the kyngdomes and ports of my Dominions  
to receiue all the merchantes of the English nation as the subjects  
of my frend, that in what place soeuer they choose to lue and  
may haue reception and residence to their owne content they  
safety, and what goods soeuer they desire to sell or buy, Port  
may haue free libertie without any restraynt, and at what shall  
soeuer they shall arriue that neyther Portugall nor any other shall  
dare to molest their quiett, and in what Cytty soeuer they Cap-  
haue residence, I haue commanded all my Gouvernors and  
teynes to giue them freedome answerable to their owne desire  
sell, buy, and to transport into their Countrey at their pleasure your

For confirmation of our loue and frendship, I desire  
Majestie to Command your merchants to bring in their Shippes  
of all sorts of rareties and rich goods fitt for my pallace, I hope  
that you bee pleased to send mee your royall lettrs by euery  
oportunitie that I may reioyce in your health and prosperall  
affayres, that our frendship may bee enterchanged and eternall and

Your Majestie is learned and quick-sighted as a prophette.  
can conceiue much by few woords, that I neede write no more

The God of Heauen giue you and us increase of Honor

Written in Amadauaz, the cheefe cytty of Guzuratt, seale  
a case of gould Satten, sent to the Ambassador the 20 day of a  
1617[-18] (the copy firmed by the secretarie), in answer to which  
lettre by his majestie of Great Brittain dated 1616[-17], which  
should haue bene sent for England by the fleete returned per-  
March 1617[-18], but deteyned because ther was nothing Am-  
formed according to the contents therof, that therby the  
bassador might vrdge the kyng of Indya to performance or re-  
the lettre

<sup>1</sup> These are, of course, marginal comments by the ambassador.

# VIII —LETTER FROM THE GREAT MOGUL TO KING JAMES.

(Public Records Office *E. Indies* vol. i No 67<sup>1</sup>)

Many of these phrases being in the Arabick tongue (*sic*) cannot bee expressed literally in English words: but they import the height of honor and are in their owne dialect very elegant. The translation beares the full sense, many flourishes being omitted for the diffinitive.

How gracious is your Maiestie, whose greatnes God preserue. As vpon a rose in a garden, so are myne eyes fixed vpon you. God maynteyne your estate that your Monarchy may prosper and bee augmented and that you may obteyne all your desires woorthy the greatnes of your renowne, and as your hart is noble and vpright So lett God giue you a glorious reigne. Because you strongly defend the law of the Maiestie of Ihesus, which God make yett more flourishing,<sup>2</sup> for that it was confirmed by miracles. And the same Honor which God hath giuen vnto Moses and to Iesus, the same God giue vnto you.

This clause in the Originall is adorned with many curious prayes.

The lettre of friendship which you wrote vnto mee I haue receiued and haue vnderstood all that was conteyned therein and all the presents and rareties which you sent mee are deliuered vnto mee, which I haue accepted with much delight, loue and great content, and haue receiued them as if the kyngs my ancestors had sent them to mee. And in whatsoeuer I may giue you the like content I haue given my command to all my kyngdomes, subiects and vassalls, as well to the greatest as to the least, and to all my Sea ports, that it is my pleasure and I doe command that to all the English marchants in all my Dominions there bee given freedome and residence, and I haue confirmed by my woord that no subiect of my kyngdomes shall bee so bold to doe any Inurie or molestation to

<sup>1</sup> In Sir Thomas Roe's hand, and endorsed by him — "Copy of the lettre of Ghehangier sha, great Mogol and of his agreement and contract for reception of the English, made with Sir Thomas Roe, his maiesties Ambassador, and sent by him to his maiestie, Anno 1618, 8<sup>e</sup> die August.

A second copy containing a few unimportant variations and without the marginal notes, forms part of No. 68 in the same volume.

This is the letter delivered to Roe before his departure from Ahmad Abad (p. 511) as the Mogul's reply to King James's further letter (of which no copy is extant) presented in December 1617 (pp. 449, 451).

<sup>2</sup> A striking instance of Jahangir's want of orthodoxy



This is expressed in the originall by a woord that signifies they shalbe so fret as that no man shall meddle att all, but lett them pass without casting an eye vpon them

the sayd English, and that their goods and merchandise they may sell or traficque with according to their owne will and to their owne content, and that of all things which they desire in my kyngdomes whersoueuere they may buy, cary foorth and trade freely, for that it is my good will and pleasure that they may soe doe, And that all their ships may come and goe to my ports whersoueuere they choose at their owne will

To whom is added many high titles

belonging to the land

The words carry a sence that Asaph chan shall grant to the English all their desires, and in these tearmes he receiued his commission

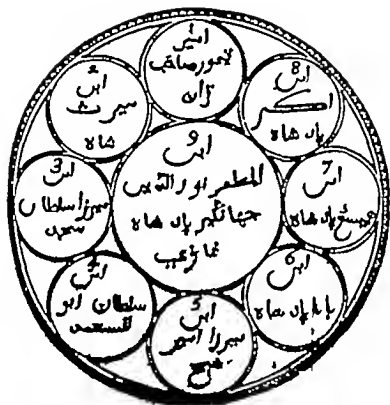
And I haue commanded the great lord Asaph-Chan that he take this contract and busines into his care, that he may farthar giue or enlardge in all mattres or seas, according as I haue guen my securitie and made agreement, And whatsoeuer the sayd great lord Asaph-chan shall doe shall stand in force as well in any articles of contract as in all other their desires or occasions, and that whatsoeuer goods shall come from your kyngdome hither vnto mee of any kynd or shall goe to you from my kyngdome shall receiue no hinderance nor impediment, but shall pass with honor and frendship

So God giue your maestie health

Written in Amadauaz, the cheefe cytty of Guzeratt, Anno Domini 1618, Mense August, die 8<sup>th</sup>

Sowed in a purse of gould and sealed vp by the *Diuon* at both ends, sent to the Ambassador and the copy off the records testefied by the Secretarie





*The Royall Signet of the great MOGOL*





## APPENDIX C

### NOTES ON THE ILLUSTRATIONS.

#### PORTRAIT OF SIR THOMAS ROE.



REPRODUCTION by the Autotype Company of the engraving by George Vertue which forms the frontispiece to *The Negotiations of Sir Thomas Roe in his Embassy to the Ottoman Porte 1621-28*, published in 1740.

The present copy is from a "proof before letters" presented for this purpose by Sir George Birdwood (the lettering which appears on the print has been added by some former owner). In the engraving, as published, the following inscription appears on the pedestal: *SIR THOMAS ROE, Kt. Ambassador to the Great Mogul, Grand Signior Kings of Poland, Sweden and Denmark, the Emperor and Princes of Germany at Ratisbon Chancellor of the Garter and Privy Councillor Obit. An. D. 1644* " while round the rim of the portrait is inscribed *Te colui Virtus ut rem sed nomen inane es*—a Latin rendering of the gloomy sentiment which Brutus is said to have quoted just before his death.

The portrait is stated on the engraving to have been painted by "Mi. M. a Delph," i.e. Michiel Janszen Mierevelt of Delft. The date of its execution is not known but, as Roe is shown wearing his robes as Chancellor of the Garter, it must necessarily have been after January, 1637.

At the time when it was engraved the painting was in the possession of the Honourable Wills Hill, whose father Viscount Hillsborough, had married Mary widow of Sir Edmund Denton and elder daughter and co-heir of Anthony Rowe, the representative of the elder branch of the Roe family. The portrait would

naturally now be looked for at Hillsborough Castle, but the Right Hon Lord Arthur Hill, in response to an inquiry, has kindly informed the editor that it is not there. A portrait of Roe, depicting him as a young man with dark-brown hair, is preserved at the Castle, and also a painting of Sir Thomas and Lady Roe, ascribed to Vandyke. The latter, by the way, is probably the "Sir Thomas Roe and his Lady, done by Corn Jansen," referred to in an old list of historical portraits (of date about the end of the seventeenth century) which is now in the possession of Mr Lionel Cust, and it may also be the "effigy by Vandyke" (to whom pictures by Jansen are often attributed) referred to in Richardson's Preface to the *Negotiations*.

The frame and accessories in the engraving were of course added by Vertue. At the top of the picture a laurel wreath is placed, on one side of which is a shield with the arms of England, and on the other two escutcheons bearing the arms of the Empire and Scandinavia respectively, in allusion to Roe's embassies to those countries. Underneath the portrait the most prominent object is Roe's coat-of-arms—three bezants, on a chevron, between three trefoils slipped. Encircling this is the collar and George of the Order of the Garter, and behind it lie on the one hand the bag of the Chancellor, and on the other his mantle, chain and badge. As befits a lover of learning, books are piled on each side of the pedestal, above these may be seen a document bearing a number of seals, and a Hermes-wand, both alluding to his ambassadorial functions, while in the background is the sword which marks the soldier. Finally, the Oriental headgear and weapons make a special allusion to Roe's missions to Ajmere and Constantinople.

### JAHANGIR AND PRINCE KHURRAM

This plate has been copied from *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, vol II, p 1474, where it appears as an illustration to Terry's short sketch of his Indian experiences. As indicated in the superscription, it is taken from the work of a native artist. The Persian inscription at the bottom of the picture has suffered at the hands of the English engraver, and is consequently difficult to read, but Professor Denison Ross renders it as "In the year [illegible] in the town of Bándhú, I, the writer of this, Minuchehr (?), was fifty years of age."

It seems probable that the illustration is a combination of two native miniatures, one containing Jahángír and his attendant, the other Prince Khurram. Jahángír, it will be noticed, has a hawk on his right hand, and grasps a small bird in his left. The Prince holds a small book in one hand and the conventional flower in the other.

## SIR THOMAS ROY'S LETTER TO MR. LESCKE

A facsimile of No. 359 of the India Office series of *Original Correspondence*. The text has been printed on p. 168

## MAP OF WESTERN INDIA, SHOWING ROY'S ROUTE.

No special remark is necessary in this case. As already explained (p. 359), Roy's route from Ajmere to Mandi and thence to Ahmadabad has been laid down chiefly from entries in the *Tuzak-i-Jahangiri*. His flying visit to Burhanpur from the latter city has not been entered on the map for the reasons given on p. 503.

Cordial acknowledgments are due to Mr. Ravenstein, who kindly put into form for the draughtsman the editor's original map.

## THE EMPEROR JAHANGIR

"And now that my Reader may see the great Mogol in a Portraiture (which was taken from a picture of his drawn to the life) I have caused that to be here inserted, which presents him in his daily unvaried Habite as he is bedecked and adorned with Jewels he continually wears. For the fashion of the Habite in which he is here presented, it is for the fashion the Habite of that whole vast Empire so that he who strictly views this may see the dresse of the men throughout that whole great Monarchy — Terry, p. 364.

This portrait is doubtless a copy of a native miniature brought home by Terry. It appears to have been engraved in a careless manner — cp. the poor rendering of the turban, and the hair which is represented as escaping from it at the back.

## THE EMPEROR'S STANDARD.

Terry (p. 364), describing this illustration says that it represents the 'royal standard of the Great Mogol which is a Couchant Lyon shadowing part of the body of the Sun.' It is probably adapted from Baffin's map, where a similar drawing is given as the *Insignia Potentissimi Monarchi Magni Mogoll*.

This device appears on many of the portrait-coins issued by Jahangir with the difference that the face in the sun is rising. In his remarks upon these coins (*Coins of the Moghul Emperors of Hindustan*, p. lxxx) Professor Stanley Lane-Poole says: 'The presence of the sun has been explained as a reference to the fact that Jahangir was born on a Sunday' but it is more probable that the sun's image appears in virtue of the tendency

towards solar worship which undoubtedly found encouragement under Akbar, and was never positively repudiated by his successor. It is possible that the choice of the zodiacal sign Leo may be connected with the month (rather than the day) of the Emperor's birth, which was surrounded by mysterious omens and spiritual agencies, if we are to believe the historians." It may be noted, however, that Clavius in his embassy to the court of Timúr, 1403-6, saw upon a palace in Samarcand "a figure of a lion and a sun," which he says were the arms of the former "lords of Samarcand" (*Embassy of Clavius*, p. 124), and it would seem, therefore, that Jahángír, whatever his motive, was but reviving an ancient symbol.

Apparently the device was not adopted by any of his successors. It is, of course, well known that the lion and the sun constitute the present badge of the Persian state. In the Persian emblem, however, the lion is to the left, and is represented as "passant guardant," with a curved sword in his right paw.

#### PORTRAIT OF THE REV EDWARD TERRY

From the frontispiece to the first edition (1655) of his *Voyage to East India*

An account of his career has already been given at pp. 246, 377. Further details will be found in the article written by Mr Stephen Wheeler in the *Dictionary of National Biography*.

#### WILLIAM BAFFIN'S MAP OF HINDUSTAN

This has been sufficiently described on p. 542.

#### THE ROYAL SIGNET OF THE GREAT MOGUL.

This is the fourth and last (excluding the map) of Terry's illustrations. The following is his explanation of it (pp. 364-367) —

"And after that I have caused his Imperial Signet or great Seal to be laid down before my Readers eyes, where in nine rounds or circles are the Names and Titles of Tamberlane and his lineal successors in Persian words, which I shall make presently to speak English, and (as I conceive) no more in English than what is fully expressed in those original words.

"This Seal, as it is here made in Persian words, the great Mogol, either in a large or lesser figure, causeth to be put unto all *Firmaunes* or Letters Patents, the present Kings Title put in the middle and larger Circle that is surrounded with the rest. The impression whereof is not made in any kinde of Wax but Ink, the Seal put in the middle of the Paper and the writing about it, which Paper there is made very large and smooth and good and in divers colours beside white, and all to write on. And the

words on the Mogols Seal, being Imboss'd, are put upon both sides of his Silver and Gold Coin (for there is no image upon any of it).<sup>1</sup> And the like little Signets or Seals are used by the great men of that Countrey and so by others of inferiour rank, having their Names at length engraven on them, with which they make Impressions or subscriptions, by Ink put on them, to all their acts and deeds, which round Circle is their hand and Seal to.

"For Timar lang or Tamberlane he was famous about the year of Christ 1398, in the last year of the Reign of Richard the Second King of England. And he the first of the Race of those great Monarchs hath a Title which speaks thus

1 Amir Timur Saheb Ceran,<sup>2</sup> that is *the great Conqueror or Emperor Timur or Tamberlane Lord possessor of the Corners or of the four Corners of the World*

2 The second, his Son, was called Mirath Sha, *the King and inheritor of Conquests, or the inheritor of his Fathers Conquests*<sup>3</sup>

3. The third his son, was called Mirza Sultan Mahomeda, *the Prince and Commander for Mahomet or the Defender of the Mahometan Religion* for this King (as it should seem) was the

<sup>1</sup> These statements can only be accepted with limitations. The emperor's name and titles appear on the coinage, but not together with those of his ancestors as on the seal and there were coins with images on them, though apparently they were not in general circulation.

<sup>2</sup> *Sahib Qirdn* "Lord of the (auspicious) Conjunction, a title largely used by Timur. The following quotation from his *Memirs* (Stewart's translation p. 13), explains its origin "A celebrated Astrologer waited on me and delivered a plan of my horoscope, stating that at the time of my birth the planets were in so favourable and auspicious conjunction as certainly to predict the stability and duration of my good fortune and sovereignty; that I should be superior to all the monarchs of the age; that whoever were my enemies should be subdued and whoever were my friends should be prosperous that I should be the protector of religion, the destroyer of Idols, the father of my people that my descendants should reign for many generations and that they should be prosperous as long as they continued to support the Muhammadan religion but if they should deviate therefrom, their dominion would soon be annihilated. As is well known, it was held by astrologers that a grand conjunction of the planets heralded the birth of a child destined to exercise a profound influence upon the history of the world; and amongst others Abraham, Moses and Muhammad were said to have come into existence under such auspices.

In later years the Emperor Shah Jahán took the title of *Sahib Qirdn-i Sani* or "Second Lord of the (auspicious) Conjunction" and the Emperor Jahándár adopted a similar designation.

As Professor Ross suggests, Terry (or his informant) must have confused *qirdn* with *hárn* ("boundary" or "limit").

<sup>3</sup> Here again the etymology is wrong. Terry is thinking of *Parmirs* "an inheritance." The name should be *Mirán Sháh*.



first Indostan Emperor that professed Mahometisme, which Tamberlane his Grand-father was a great enemy too, and therefore ever strongly opposed it<sup>1</sup> But this third Monarch of that line and all his successors since have been Mahometans

4 The fourth, his son, was called Sultan Abusaid, *the Prince and Father, or fountain of Beneficence*

5 The fifth, his son, was called Mirzee Amir Sheick, *the Imperial Princely Lord*

6 The sixth, his son, was called Baba Padsha, *the King, the Father, or the King the Father of his Countrey*<sup>2</sup>

7 The seventh, his son, was called Hamasaon Podsha, *the King Invincible*

8 The eighth, his son, was called Achabar Padsha, *the great King, or Emperor that is most mighty, or the King most mighty*

9 The ninth, his son, was called Almozaphar Noor Dem Changer Padsha Gaze, *the most warlike and most victorious King, the Light of Religion and the Conqueror of the World*

“Here are very high titles taken by Tamberlane and his successors, and the lower we go the greater still they are, but the last of them swells biggest of all, calling himself amongst other phansies *the Conqueror of the world*, and so he conceits himself to be”

It is interesting to compare with Terry's figure the one given by Purchas (vol 1, p 591), and we accordingly reproduce this below Of course, neither drawing purports to be an exact copy of the seal, but only to give a rough plan of it The original would probably be a very ornate piece of work, with flowers, for instance, in the spaces between the circles

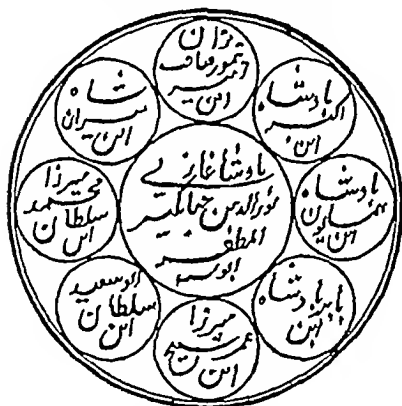
Purchas does not mention whence he obtained his drawing, but its superiority over the later production is at once evident. In the first place, there is a great difference in the character of the Peisian employed in the two cases “Though Purchas's drawing,” writes Professor Denison Ross, “is obviously not the work of a native, yet, being presumably a first copy of the original, the form of the letters has in most cases been accurately preserved With regard to the other, this is evidently the work of a European, and copied rather from a transcribed version than from an original” Again, there is an important difference between the two as regards the general arrangement of the names In the drawing given by Purchas the name and titles of Jahángír stand alone in the innermost circle, while the word *ibn* (“son”) is introduced into each of the other circles in such a way that Jahángír is shown as the “son” of each of his ancestors, and at

<sup>1</sup> This is quite wrong Timúr and all his descendants were Muhammadans

<sup>2</sup> Terry's ingenuity has again misled him The name is not *Bábd* (Father), but *Báber* (Lion)

the same time, reading the names in the right order each emperor is shown as the son of his predecessor. This is a conceit quite in Oriental style. Terry on the other hand, gives the genealogy rather in the fashion of an English pedigree. Timūr stands alone at the top, while the *ibn* is prefixed to the name of each of his descendants, including Jahāngir. The seal is thus reduced to a string of names, in which Timūr is the most prominent figure and the reigning emperor is only distinguished from the rest by his longer title and its central position. This

### *The Description of the Great Mogols Seal*



arrangement is far less probable than the former, and taken with the mistakes in the Persian, it seems to give good reason for believing that the drawing given by Terry is not to be trusted as an exact representation of the seal.

It may seem strange that Terry publishing thirty years later than Purchas, should give a version so much less accurate but probably what occurred was this. Terry as we gather from his *Voyage*, had acquired a little Persian and Arabic during his stay in India. When writing his book, or at least when superintending the preparation of the illustrations, he either forgot that Purchas

had given a sketch of the seal, or else he had not a copy of that work at hand. He therefore—we may surmise—took the drawing of the seal on Baffin's map (of which we know he or his engraver had a copy, see p 546), and did his best to transliterate into Persian the various names and titles there given. Noticing, however, that in Baffin's drawing all the titles are prefaced by "Aben" (*ibn*), he amended it by omitting this from the first circle (Timūr). This theory would account to some extent for Terry's strange form of "Homasaon" (for "Humayun"), which seems to be his improvement upon the "Homashaun" of the map. It is true that, on the other hand, it would not explain the transformation of "Miran," but this may be due to Terry's desire to find a suitable etymology for the name.

From a curious note by Purchas (vol 1, p 591), it appears that the seal was not impressed in the usual fashion on the letters sent to James I, but was sent separately, engraved on a silver plate. The note is as follows —

"I haue heard that Sir Thomas Roe at his Returne, desiring the Great Mogor or Mogoll his Letters of Commendation to His Maiestie, easily obtayned that request, but found him very scrupulous where to set his seale, lest, if vnder, hee should disparage himselfe, if ouer, it might cause distast to the King. His resolution and preuention therefore was this to send the Letter vnsealed, and the great Seale it selfe, that so His Maiestie might according to his owne pleasure affixe it. The Seale is Siluer."

A similar plan had been adopted with the royal letter delivered to the English factors in March, 1615. Kerridge writes (*OC*, No 270) that the seal was "putt loose therein, which is the Costome, for if itt were on the top itt sheweth superyorytye, if vnderneath, Inferiorytye, but beinge loose, equallytye. The scale is sett in Inke, hauinge therein eight seuerall names in signettes and himselfe the ninth placed in the Middest, deryuinge himselfe from Tamberlayne, the firste of the nine."

Della Valle, in his *Letters from India* (Hakluyt Society edn, vol 1, p 51), mentions Jahāngir's seal, "the impression whereof I keep by me, wherein is engraven all his pedigree as far as Tamerlane, from whom Sciah Selim reckons himself the eighth descendant."

P S — Since the above was put into type, the editor has had an opportunity of examining an imperial *farman* bearing the seal of Aurangzib. This confirms the correctness of the arrangement shown in Purchas's drawing, and proves that (as was suspected) Terry's version is entirely wrong.



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